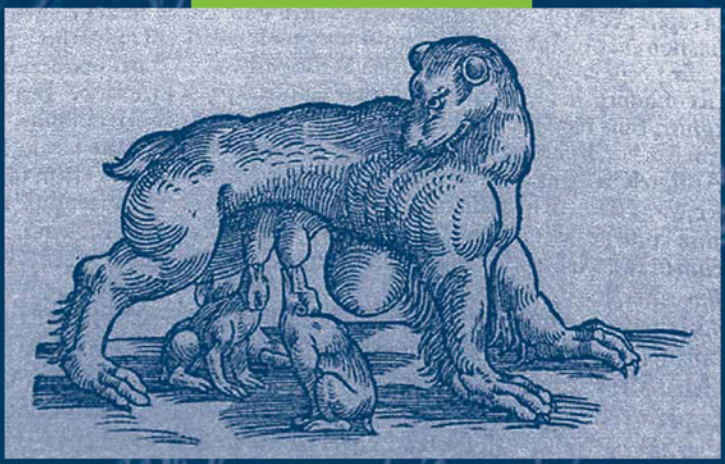
Edited by
Karl A.E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith

Emblems and the Natural World



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Intersections

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN CULTURE

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Emblems and the Natural World (ca. 1530–1700)

Karl Enenkel and Paul J. Smith

Emblematics

The genre of the emblem book is one of the most successful and influential inventions of early modern book production, which was born through a combined effort of Neo-Latin humanism, the printing press, and the renewal of the graphic arts by the technics of woodcut and engraving.[1] The emblem book represents a bi-medial genre built up from a series of combined texts and images (called *emblema*). Each single emblem consists ideally, at least of three parts: a motto (title), an image or *pictura* (normally a woodcut or engraving), and an accompanying text (originally a Latin poem/epigram). The genre was created by the jurist and humanist Andrea Alciato,[2] from northern Italy, who from ca. 1518 on composed Latin poems rooted in the epigrammatic verse of classical antiquity (especially the *Greek Anthology*), and by the Augsburg

1 For the genre of emblem books cf., in general, Daly P.M. (ed.), *Companion to Emblem Studies* (New York: 2008); and Henkel A. – Schöne A. (eds.), *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: 1967/1996); Heckscher W.S. – Wirth K.-A., "Emblem, Emblembuch", *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* 5 (1959) cols. 85–228. For emblem theory, cf. Daly's contribution in his *Companion to Emblem Studies* 43–78; Sulzer D., *Traktate zur Emblematik. Studien zu einer Geschichte der Emblemtheorien* (St. Ingbert: 1992); Scholz B.F., "Das Emblem als Textsorte und als Genre: Überlegungen zur Gattungsbestimmung des Emblems", in Wagenknecht Ch. (ed.), *Zur Terminologie der Literaturwissenschaft* (Stuttgart: 1988) 289–308. For Neo-Latin emblem books, Enenkel K.A.E., "The Neo-Latin Emblem: Humanist Learning, Classical Antiquity, and the Virtual 'Wunderkammer'", in Daly (ed.), *Companion to Emblem Studies* 129–154; Enenkel K.A.E. – Visser A.S.Q. (eds.), *Mundus emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, Imago Figurata 4 (Turnhout: 2003); Enenkel K.A.E., "Emblems", in Ford Ph. – Bloemendal J. – Fantazzi Ch. (eds.), Brill's *Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*. Micropaedia (Leiden – Boston: 2014) 968–970. For the following introductory passage cf. ibidem 968.

2 For Alciato, cf. Drysdall D., "Andrea Alciato, Pater et Princeps", in Daly (ed.), *Companion to Emblem Studies* 79–98; Daly P.M. (ed.), *Andrea Alciato and the Emblem Tradition: Essays in Honour of Virginia Woods Callahan* (New York: 1989).

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printer of Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, Heinrich Steiner (also Steyner and Stainer), who had the groundbreaking idea of combining the Latin epigrams with small woodcut illustrations. Alciato's emblem book appeared for the first time in 1531.

Steiner's idea was a bit unusual because in the world of the early printed book, illustrations were largely reserved for vernacular texts. Nevertheless, the Latin *Emblematum liber* turned out to be an enormous success on the book market: around 170 editions appeared in various countries in the 16th and 17th centuries, and, in addition to the 140 Latin editions, there were translations into French, Italian, German, Spanish, etc.[3] Thus, from its very foundations the emblem book became a European phenomenon. The great success of Alciato's emblems soon established the new genre and inspired a number of intellectuals, such as Barthélemy Aneau, Gilles Corrozet, Achille Bocchi, Hadrianus Junius, Joannes Sambucus, Théodore de Bèze, and Nikolaus Reusner, to compose their own emblem collections. From ca. 1550 on, one emblem book after another appeared, and with each new publication, the range, impact, and influence of the genre increased. Like Alciato, the pioneers of the new genre were humanists, philologists, and outstanding writers. By the 1620s, approximately 1.5 million copies of emblem books were already circulating in the Republic of Letters.

Thus, from the 1530s on, a new genre populated the European book market, a genre with an enormous potential and a wide range of applications in education, scholarship, science, politics and propaganda, religion, craftsmanship, and the visual arts. The power of the genre essentially lies in its bi-mediality, i.e. on the fact that it forcefully combines moral, religious, or political thoughts (*res significatae*) with visual images or *res significantes*. The reader's and viewer's mind gets constantly stimulated by the combination of attractive and/or easily recognizable images and thoughtful messages. The space occupied by a single emblem may be small (e.g. one or two pages), but its didactic power is immense. Emblems are probably so effective as instruments for the transmission of knowledge exactly because they offer small portions of knowledge,

3 Green H., *Andrea Alciati and His Book of Emblems: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study* (London: 1872), nos. 1–171; French translations appeared as early as 1536 (ibidem no. 10); Spanish, 1540 (ibidem no. 16); and German, 1542 (ibidem no. 20). There are no early modern printed translations in Dutch or in English, but there exists a manuscript English translation. See Saunders A., "A Largely Unknown Early-Modern English Translation of Alciato's Emblems", in Rolet A. – Rolet S. (eds.), *André Alciat (1492–1550): un humaniste au confluent des savoirs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance* (Turnhout: 2014) 435–455.

which is good for the process of absorbing, internalizing, and memorizing various topics.

This volume focuses on a special group of emblems and emblem books, in which the visual image or *res significans* belongs to the realm of nature: animals (cf. the majority of the contributions in this volume), plants (partly Biederbeck and Schirg), or other phenomena of nature, such as celestial objects (contributions by Kalff and Peters). In a series of case studies the contributors try to analyse what kind of nature is used in various emblem books (Saunders, Enenkel, Smith, Hendrikx, Biederbeck, Schirg, Kalff, Peters, Kusler), single emblems (Smeesters, Zenkert, Rolet), and applications of emblems in the visual arts and crafts, for example tapestry (Knegtel), architectural ornamentation (Rolet), garden and fountain architecture (Zenkert), coats of arms representations (Kusler), and *imprese* (Biederbeck);[4] how the makers of the emblems interpreted them; and how nature was depicted in word and image, and what role empirical observation played in these representations, or, as Alison Saunders puts it in in her case study of a number of early French emblem books in this volume, how 'natural' the behaviour of the emblematic animals really was.

If one looks at the didactic inclination of emblems, one may suppose that their authors deliberately limited their selection of visual images to the immediate environment of the intended audience: 'nature' would mean, in this sense, a restriction to, for example, familiar European and domesticated animals—animals that live in the house (dogs, cats, and other pets), in the garden, and on farms. A closer look, however, shows that it is not as simple as that: emblem authors are fond of exotic and rare animals, such as the elephant, hippopotamus, giraffe, rhino, chameleon, and even hitherto unknown species, such as the saiga antelope, as Enenkel demonstrates in his contribution on Joachim Camerarius the Younger. Moreover, animals of phantasy are important as well, such as the mysterious phoenix, the basilisk, and various dragons, or hybrids, such as mermaids, centaurs, Minotaurus, sirens, sphinxes, and so on. Parts of these strange creatures stem from Greco-Roman mythology, and part from Christian transmission (e.g. of the *Physiologus*). Even if some animals seem to be 'real', they may derive form Greco-Roman mythology—for example, the eagle who took away Ganymede, or the dolphin who saved the Greek poet Arion by offering him a ride on his back. Hardly any of the emblem writers and early modern graphic artists knew what a real dolphin looked like: usually they depicted the animal with a trifoliate tail which resembled a

4 For *imprese* cf. De Girolami Cheney L., "The *Impresa* in the Italian Renaissance", in Daly (ed.), *Companion to Emblem Studies* 251–266.

wine-leaf. And even if emblematic animals belong in their domestic surroundings, they are not necessarily depicted as performing 'natural' behaviours: For example, more than once dogs, cats, foxes, and frogs turn out to be talking and acting like humans, which means that they are acting in the literary discourse of the fable, a genre invented by the Greek Aesop and his Latin imitator Phaedrus. Talking animals, of course, normally do not occur in daily life (with the exception of trained birds, but this is limited to the reproduction of certain words), but they do in literature, as do the animals of phantasy, hybrids, and a number of the exotic species.

Already these few preliminary remarks indicate that the use of animals in emblems is neither simple nor self-evident, but is based on intertextuality, humanist learning, and philological skills, and on much creativity in the application and combination of sources. One must also add inter-imaginality: As it turns out, animals in emblem books are not simply depicted by the artists based on empirical observation, but via the cultural transmission of visual images. Of course, this is especially important in the case of animals of phantasy and mythology, hybrid animals, and several exotic animals. This aspect is relevant even if emblematists made an effort to present improved or more realistic images, as did Camerarius the Younger, who in this respect emulated Gesner's monumental zoology (see the contributions of Enenkel, Smith, and Hendrikx in this volume).[5]

Both the importance of the natural world as inventory for the *res significantes*, and the variety of types, species, and sources of the selected parts of nature are already apparent in the emblem book of the genre's founding father, Alciato's *Emblematum liber*. Alciato derived his *res significantes* massively from the natural world, a number of times from plants but especially from animals:[6] among them are exotic animals, such as the lion, elephant, chameleon, dolphin, remora, moray eel, and seabream;[7] domesticated animals, such as the donkey, horse, dog, ram, goat, rabbit, and bees;[8] familiar European species, such as the stork, heron, halcyon, doves (*palumba, columba*), wagtail

5 For Gesner's zoology and its relationship to emblematics, see below in this introduction.

6 In this overview, we made use of Christian Wechels's edition of the *Emblematum libellus*, Paris 1542, both in Latin and German, consisting of 115 emblems.

7 Emblem nos. 4, 7, 25, and 57 (male lion); 10 (moray eel); 11, 21, and 75 (dolphin); 28 (vulture); 29 (seabream); 36 and 80 (elephant); 41 (snake); 49 and 52 (remora); 57 (male lion with rabbits); 63 (female lion); 88 (chameleon).

8 Emblem nos. 17, 35, and 51 (donkey); 70 and 94 (dog); 86 (ram); 89 and 90 (bees with Amor); 91 (goat, with wolf); 106 (horse).

(*motacilla*), raven (*corvus*), crow (*cornix*), lark (*alauda*), thrush (*turdus*), swallow, sparrow (*passer*), eagle, bear, wolf, fox, rabbits, mouse, eel (*anguilla*), European crayfish (*cancer fluvialis*), scorpion, viper, snake, cicada, and the sacred scarab beetle or dung beetle (*scarabaeus*);[9] animals of phantasy, such as the dragon and the Triton;[10] and hybrid animals, such as the sphinx (young woman, bird, and lion), harpy (young woman and bird), chimera (lion, goat, and snake), Pegasus (winged horse), Triton (man with a fish tail), Faunus (goat and man), and Minotaur (bull and man).[11]

In the edition published by Wechel in 1542, which has been authorized by Alciato himself and which comprises 115 emblems, more than 45 animal species occur in the images and/or are mentioned in the epigrams: animals appear so often that one must get the impression that emblems and animals are intrinsically connected. In this light it is surprising that the presence of the natural world in emblematics has not been analysed in a comprehensive study.

Some woodcut images of Alciato's animals are spectacular—for example, the female lion (emblem no. 63) [Fig. 1.1], the chameleon (no. 88) [Fig. 1.2], the elephant (no. 80), the dragon (no. 23) [Fig. 1.3], the European crayfish (no. 26), and the Triton (no. 41)—or depict spectacular, curious, or even unnatural behaviour—for example, the stork that carries another stork on its back and feeds it while flying (no. 5) [Fig. 1.4], the male beaver that bites off its own testicles (no. 85), the lactating goat nursing a wolf whelp (no. 91), the chameleon that lives for nourishment solely on air and therefore always has its mouth open (no. 88) [Fig. 1.2], or the donkey that eats a rope (no. 17). If curious behaviour is depicted, this mostly goes back to Pliny's *Naturalis historia*[12] or to other learned sources from antiquity, such as Aelian's *Historia animalium*, or, as in the case of the donkey eating the rope, Pausanias's travel account of his journey through Greece, *Periegesis*, in which works of art are described:

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9 Emblem nos. 5 (stork); 6 (crows); 10 (viper); 19 (halcyon/kingfisher); 23 (sparrow and snake/draco); 25 (European crayfish); 28 (vulture); 32 (eagle); 33 (wagtail); 44 and 100 (doves); 45 (bees); 48 (fox); 54 (eagle and scarabaeus); 57 (rabbit); 60 (eel); 74 (raven and scorpion); 76 (fish); 82 (eagle and doves); 83 (heron, thrush, lark, and poisonous serpent); 85 (beaver); 86 (mouse and oyster); 91 (whelp of a wolf); 94 (stag and hunting dogs); 98 (swallow); 99 (swallow and cicada); 100 (turtle and doves); 107 (eagle, swan, snake, and lion).

10 Emblem nos. 1, 23, and 42 (dragon); 41 (Triton).

11 Emblem nos. 8 (Minotaurus), 41 (Triton), 46 (sphinx), 102 (chimera and winged horse).

12 For the story of the stork cf. *Naturalis historia* X, 63; for the chameleon, ibidem VIII, 122; for the beaver, VIII, 109. For the sources of Alciato's emblems cf. the manual by Henkel and Schöne, *passim*, and the remarks on the Glasgow emblem site: http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/books.php?id=A31a&o.

FIGURE 1.1 *Female lion. Emblem no. 63, from: Andrea Alciato,* Emblematum libellus [...] (*Paris, Christian Wechel: 1542*).

Pausanias saw the donkey eating a rope on a painting by the famous Greek artist Polygnotus.[13] For the last story, Alciato probably drew on Erasmus's *Adagia* (no. 383) as the intermediate source.[14]

13 *Periegesis* VI, 29, 2.

14 *Adagia, ASD* II, 1, ed. van Poll-van de Lisdonk M.L. – Mann Phillips M. – Robinson Chr. (Amsterdam et alii: 1993), no. 383 "Contorquet piger funiculum", pp. 464–466; *Collectanea*,

FIGURE 1.2 *Chameleon. Emblem no. 88, from: Andrea Alciato,* Emblematum libellus [...] (*Paris, Christian Wechel: 1542*).

As in the case of the donkey eating the rope, the animals on the images of the *Emblematum libellus* sometimes refer to *antique works of art*: for example, the turtle and the doves on emblem no. 100 refer to Phidias's famous statue of Aphrodite on the turtle, which was described, again, by Pausanias;[15] the lions drawing Cupid's carriage refer to a Greek jewel with a precious gemstone ('gemma') [Fig. 1.5], described in the *Greek Anthology* (IX, 221); the eagle

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ASD II, 9, van Poll-van de Lisdonk M.L. (ed.), no. 27. Cf. also Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXV, 137.

15 *Periegesis* X, 25, 1, mentioned by Plutarch, *Coniugalia praecepta*, chapter 32.

FIGURE 1.3 *The European crayfish. Emblem no. 26, from: Andrea Alciato*, Emblematum libellus [...] (*Paris, Christian Wechel: 1542*).

with Ganymede in emblem no. 32 refers to the work 'of an outstanding painter' ('pictor egregius'), and the eagle on the woodcut of emblem no. 82 to a Greek sarcophagus; and the lion and the ram on the *pictura* of emblem no. 25 refer to relief sculptures on a Greek grave tomb at Corinth, that of the famous courtesan Lais [Fig. 1.6]. The source of this work of art is again Pausanias's description in his travel account,[16] who had registered the remarkable fact that a prostitute such as Lais owned such an artistically outstanding tomb.

The early modern graphic artists, however, had considerable problems with rendering pieces of art from antiquity. The inventor of the woodcut of emblem

16 *Periegesis* II, 2, 4.

FIGURE 1.4 *Stork, carrying another stork on its back. Emblem no. 5, from: Andrea Alciato,* Emblematum libellus [...] (*Paris, Christian Wechel: 1542*).

no. 25 did not know what a Greek grave tomb looked like, how Greek stone reliefs were construed, or what size lions are [Fig. 1.6]. He thought that the animals mentioned in the ekphrastic poem were separate statues located in front of the tomb; the tomb as such he envisaged as a curious stone table that resembles a Christian altar more than a tomb, and on top of the table he put the bones of the dead person—all in all an utterly strange image. The image of Cupid with the lions does not look at all like an ancient gemstone, but more like a painting with a big tree in the foreground and a detailed landscape in the

FIGURE 1.5 *Eagle and Ganymede. Emblem no. 32, from: Andrea Alciato,* Emblematum libellus [...] (*Paris, Christian Wechel: 1542*).

background [Fig. 1.5]. The artist who made the drawing for Steiner's edition of the *Emblematum liber* (1531) had no idea of the iconography of Phidias's Aphrodite on the turtle: he misinterpreted Alciato's 'testudo' (=turtle) as 'snail' and depicted the goddess putting her foot on the poor animal [Fig. 1.7].[17] Also,

17 Ed. Steiner (Augsburg: 1531) fol. F <1>v. For Phidias's statue cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* I, cols. 2744–2745, s.v. "Aphrodite". The same misunderstanding occurs in Georg Pictorius's mythography *Theologia Mythologica* (Freiburg i.Br., Ioannes Emmeus: 1532) fol. 18v; cf. Enenkel K.A.E., "Humanist Mythography Between Cabinet of

FIGURE 1.6 *Grave tomb of the courtesan Lais. Emblem no. 25, from: Andrea Alciato,* Emblematum libellus [...] (*Paris, Christian Wechel: 1542*).

he did not understand that Ate was a goddess and a personification: instead, he depicted her as a sea monster [Fig. 1.8].[18]

But an even greater number of Alciato's animals are not derived directly from nature but from, among other things, coats of arms, such as the dragon in emblem no. 1 (the arms of the Visconti family), or the lion, eagle, and serpent

Rarities and Antiquarian Collection of Knowledge: Georgius Pictorius", in Häfner R. (ed.), *Mythographie in der Neuzeit. Modelle und Methoden in Literature, Kunst und Wissenschaft* (Heidelberg: 2016) 95–122, 104 with note 46.

18 Ibidem, fol. E5v.

FIGURE 1.7 *Venus 'on a snail'. Emblem from: Andrea Alciato,* Emblematum libellus (*Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531), fol. Frv.*

from no. 107;[19] from *imprese* (personal devices), such as the swan from no. 107 (the device of a poet), the eagle in no. 82 (the device of a certain Aristomenes), or doves, the last of these being an appropriate *imprese* for cowardly people (in

19 Lions, eagles, and serpents are introduced as animals that frequently occur on coats of arms, whereas the swan functions as the *impresa* of a poet.

FIGURE 1.8 *Ate as sea monster. Emblem from: Andrea Alciato,* Emblematum libellus (*Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531*), *fol. E5v.*

the same emblem 82); from printer's marks, such as those of Aldus Manutius (with the anchor and the dolphin in no. 21 [Fig. 1.9]); from Roman military signs, such as the Minotaurus in emblem no. 8 (the symbol of a certain Roman legion that was carried by the legion's eagle bearer); and, even further, from magical objects of antiquity, such as the amulet construed out of a wagtail in emblem no. 33.

Some animal depictions refer to curious anecdotes transmitted in the *Greek Anthology*, such as the rabbits that play with the beard of a dead lion in emblem no. 57,[20] the raven that took a scorpion in the air but was killed by its prey in no. 74,[21] the goat nursing the wolf whelp in no. 91,[22] or the bird (a swallow)

20 *Greek Anthology* XVI, 4.

21 Ibidem IX, 339. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia, ASD* II, 1, van Poll-van de Lisdonk – Phillips – Robinson (eds.), no. 58 "Cornix scorpium", pp. 170–171; *Collectanea*, *ASD* II, 9, van Poll-van de Lisdonk (ed.), no. 263.

22 *Greek Anthology* IX, 47. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia,* no. 1086 "Ale luporum catulos".

FIGURE 1.9 *Printer's mark of Aldus Manutius. Emblem no. 21, from: Andrea Alciato*, Emblematum libellus [...] (*Paris, Christian Wechel: 1542*).

that built its nest on the statue of Medea in no. 98.[23] Such anecdotes are also told in Aesop's collection of fables.[24] In a number of cases, Aesop's fables are

23 *Greek Anthology* IX, 346. The *Greek Anthology* indicates that the animal is a swallow; Alciato just talks about a 'bird' (avis).

24 For the last one cf. Aesop, *Fables* 313–315. See Tung M., "A Serial List of Aesopic Fables in Alciati's *Emblemata*, Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*, and Paecham's *Minerva Britanna*", *Emblematica* 4 (1989) 315–329.

Alciato's direct sources for similar anecdotes, such as in emblem no. 48, which shows a fox holding a mask with a human face in its paws [Fig. 1.10].[25] Aesop's fable tells the story that a fox found a mask in the store of a theatre producer; he was struck by the skilfully shaped mask, looked at it carefully, and said: 'What a beautiful head this is, but it has no brains'.

Some of Alciato's animals are taken from Greco-Roman mythology, including the dolphin that saved Arion (emblem no. 11); the eagle that took away beautiful Ganymede (no. 32) [Fig. 1.5]; the vulture eating poor Prometheus's liver in no. 28; and the hunting dogs that killed miserable Actaeon (who was transformed into a stag) in no. 94. And most of the hybrid animals belong to Greco-Roman mythology as well.

Thus, in Alciato's groundbreaking *Emblematum liber*, a large number of animal species occur which—through their different sources—are shaped by various literary discourses: travel accounts and ekphrasis (Pausanias), fables (Aesop, Phaedrus), Greek epigrammatic poetry, Greek and Roman natural history (Pliny, Aelian), encyclopaedias, Greco-Roman mythology (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*), ancient history, humanist antiquarianism, collections of proverbs (Erasmus's *Adagia*), and so on.

We find the same large presence of animals in the first emblem books that appeared in the wake of Alciato, both in Latin and in the vernacular. In the present volume Alison Saunders gives an insightful overview of the use of animals in the early French emblem books: the very first French emblem book, Guillaume de La Perrière's *Theatre des bons engins* (published 1540 but composed, in part at least, as early as 1535),[26] the same author's *Morosophie*, in Latin/French, published in 1553,[27] Gilles Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie* (1540),[28] and Guillaume Guéroult's *Le premier livre des emblemes*.[29] Major sources for these emblem books are Aesop's *Fables*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Pliny's

25 Cf. Phaedrus, *Fables* 1, 7; and Aesop, *Fables* 43.

26 La Perrière Guillaume de, *Le theatre des bons engins, auquel sont contenus cent emblemes* (Paris, Denis Janot: n.d. [1540]).

27 La Perrière Guillaume de, *La morosophie de Guillaume de la Perriere Tolosain, contenant cent emblemes moraux, illustrez de cent tetrastiques latins, reduitz en autant de quatrains francoys* (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1553).

28 Corrozet Gilles, *Hecatomgraphie. C'est à dire les descriptions de cent figures et hystoires, contenantes plusieurs appophtegmes, proverbes, sentences et dictz tant des anciens que des modernes* (Paris, Denis Janot: 1540).

29 Lyons, Balthasar Arnoullet: 1550.

FIGURE 1.10 *Fox looking at theatre mask. Emblem no. 48, from: Andrea Alciato,* Emblematum libellus [...] (*Paris, Christian Wechel: 1542*).

Naturalis historia, and of course Alciato's *Emblematum liber*. But animals also played an important role in Latin emblem books after Alciato: in Joannes Sambucus's *Emblemata* and Hadrianus Junius's *Emblemata*, which appeared in 1564 and 1565 in Antwerp at the Plantin press.[30] Junius's emblems, like

30 For Sambucus's *Emblemata* cf. Visser A.S.Q., *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image. The Use of the Emblem in Late-Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden – Boston: 2005, originally diss. Leiden: 2003); for Junius's emblem book cf. Heesakkers Ch., "Hadriani Iunii Medici

Alciato's, contain many animals. Junius used the same sources as Alciato, and he was certainly fond of Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, from which he derived new emblems, such as the elephant who is afraid of the grunting of pigs (emblem no. 2) [Fig. 1.11]; of Pausanias's travel account and of Plutarch's works, e.g. *De silentibus Pythiae oraculis* (*Why the Pythia does not now give oracles*), *De Iside et Osiride* (*On Isis and Osiris*), and *De sollertia animalium* (*On the Intelligence of Animals*); and Erasmus's *Adagia*,[31] and he also used Philostratus's *Imagines* and the *Physiologus*. He was less influenced, however, by Aesop and the fable tradition.

Junius also included in his collection Egyptian hieroglyphs that depict animals, which derive from such sources as Plutarch and Erasmus's *Adagia*—for example, the hippopotamus combined with sceptre and stork, in emblem no. 17 [Fig. 1.12]. In the epigram Junius describes and explains the hieroglyph in this way: 'The bird that is an enemy of the snakes sits on the sceptre,/ which rests on the back of the hippopotamus./ The sceptre of justice subdues the arrogant ones and destroys,/ The impious and noxious people' ('Hostis colubris ales insidet sceptro,/ Substrata quod Niloi equi premit terga./ Domat superbos impiosque proculcat/ Sceptrum aequitatis, noxiosque consumit'). The fact that the stork is not mentioned by its species name is characteristic of Junius, who prefers a learned and enigmatic presentation. The person who wants to understand the epigram should know Pliny, *Natural history* X, 62, where Pliny explains that storks gather in big numbers in a small village in Asia called 'Snakesville' (*Pythonos comon*), and that storks are highly esteemed in Thessalia because they kill snakes, to the extent that it was regarded as a capital crime there to kill a stork. It is a particularity of Junius that he added a self-commentary to his emblem book, in which he elucidates in prose what he

Emblemata (1565)", in Enenkel – Visser (eds.), *Mundus emblematicus* 33–69; and Enenkel K.A.E., "Emblematic Authorization—Lusus Emblematum: The Function of Junius' Emblem Commentary and Early Commentaries on Alciato's *Emblematum libellus*", in Miert D. van (ed.), *The Kaleidoskopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575): Northern Humanism at the Dawn of the Dutch Golden Age* (Leiden – Boston: 2011) 260–289.

31 Cf. Wesseling A., "Devices, Proverbs, Emblems: Hadrianus Junius' Emblemata in the Light of Erasmus' Adagia", in van Miert (ed.), *The Kaleidoskopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius* 214–259.

FIGURE 1.11 *Elephant and pig. Emblem no. 2, from: Hadrianus Junius*, Emblemata (*Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1565*).

EMBLEMA XVII. 23
Coërcenda & exſtirpanda impietas.
Ad D. Iacobum Suſium virum doctiſſ.
Hoſtis colubris ales inſidet ſceptro,
Subſtrata quod Niloi equi premit terga.
Domat ſuperbos, impios que proculcat
Sceptrum æquitatis, noxios que conſumit.
B 4 Audito

FIGURE 1.12 *Hippopotamus, stork, sceptre. Emblem no. 17 from: Hadrianus Junius,* Emblemata (*Anwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1565*).

had in mind.[32] In his commentary he paraphrases Pliny, *Natural history* x, 62, and also explains the other parts of the hieroglyph.[33]

Around 1550 two emblem books had already appeared that were dedicated solely to animals (as *res significantes*): Barthélemy Aneau's *Decades de la Description, Forme, et Vertu Naturelle des Animaulx, tant raisonnables, que Brutz* (Lyon, Balthasar Arnoullet: 1549) on terrestrial animals, and, a year later, with the same publisher, Guillaume Gueroult's *Livre de la description des animaux, contenant le Blason des oyseaux* (1550), specializing in birds. In their thematic and moral choices, these natural history emblem books go back to the tradition of the *Physiologus* and the medieval bestiaries. Nikolaus Reusner dedicated an entire book of his Latin emblem collection *Emblemata partim ethica et physica, partim vero historica et hieroglyphica* (Frankfurt, Sigmund Feyerabend: 1581), i.e. the second book (the *emblemata physica* consisting of 40 emblems), to animals. In the *emblemata physica* Reusner brought together the traditions of Aesop, *Physiologus* (and medieval bestiaries), Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, Pliny, Plutarch's *De solertia animalium*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as well as those of other emblematists, such as Hadrianus Iunius and Ioannes Sambucus.[34] In his small emblem book, Reusner presented even more species than Alciato had, although Reusner left out the hybrids. In Reusner's case, the underlying process of collecting and combining sources is even apparent through the pedigree of the woodcuts: they have different formats because they were taken over from other illustrated editions issued by Reusner's publisher Sigmund Feyerabend: of Aesop's *Fables*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Schaller's *Thierbuch*, and Alciato's *Emblematum liber*.[35]

Other emblem books which specialize in animals are Willem van der Borcht's *Sedighe Sinne-beelden* (1649),[36] inspired by the works of both Aneau

32 For this commentary, see Enenkel, "Emblematic Authorization".

33 Junius, *Emblemata* 94.

34 Cf. above.

35 Posthius Johannes, *Aesopi Phrygis fabulae, elegantissimis eiconibus vera animalium species ad vivum adumbrantes* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1566); Alciato Andrea, *Liber emblematum* […] (Frankfurt a.M.: 1567); Georg Schaller, *Ein new Thierbuch* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1569); and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1569). For the construction of Reusner's emblems cf. Enenkel K.A.E., "Ovid-Emblematik als Scherenschnitt und Montage: Aneaus *Picta Poesis* in Reusners *Picta Poesis Ovidiana*", in Vaeck M. Van – Brems H. – Claassens G.H.M. (eds.), *The Stone of Alciato: Literature and Visual Culture in the Low Countries. Essays in Honor of Karel Porteman* (Turnhout: 2003) 729–749.

36 Buyens V., "A Zoological Emblem Book: Willem van der Borcht's *Sedighe Sinne-beelden* (1642)", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Smith P.J. (eds.), *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts* (Leiden – Boston: 2007) 547–566.

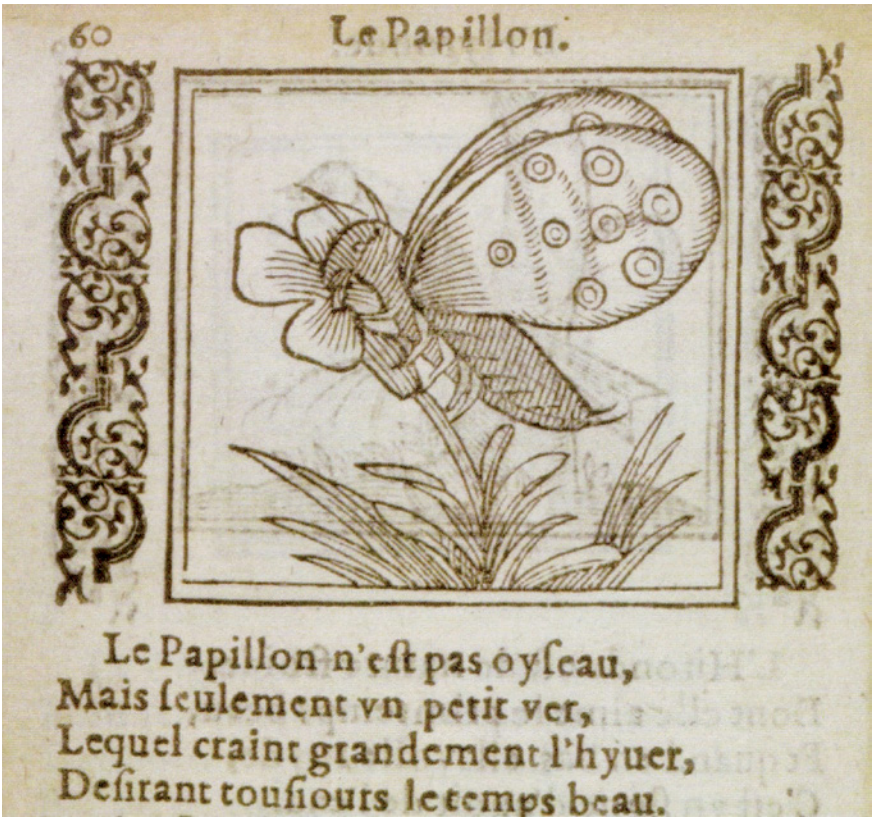

FIGURE 1.13 *Butterfly. Guéroult Guillaume*, La propriété et nature des oyseaux: avec leurs pourtraits & figures naifvement taillees: le tout remis en bon ordre avec le sens moral, par un sçavant philosophe, pour l'utilité d'un chascun (*Paris, Benoist Rigaud: 1584*) 61. *Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Arsenal, 8-BL-11101* (2)*: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1043497w/f60.image.r=%22oyseaux%22.*

and Guéroult [Fig. 1.13]; and Eduard de Dene's *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren* (*The Truthful fables of the animals*), with the engravings by Marcus Gheeraerts, an emblematic fable book published in Bruges in 1576. *De warachtighe fabulen* contains 107 fables in Dutch rhyming verses written by the Brugean poet De Dene. The main source for this collection is Gilles Corrozet's emblematic fable book *Fables d'Esope* (1542), which consists solely of traditional Aesopian material, but this material is put in the modern, threefold emblematic layout. This layout was imitated by De Dene and Gheeraerts, who not only took over the traditional Aesopian fables but also added emblems based on other sources—e.g. Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, and other encyclopaedic works, such as

Der Nature Bloeme by the Dutch medieval encyclopaedist Jacob van Maerlant.[37] In the case of the curious chameleon, De Dene took over the zoological information from Jacob van Maerlant, whereas the emblem as such stemmed from Alciato, *Emblematum libellus* no. 88 [Fig. 1.2]. It is important to register that for his engraving Gheeraerts did not rely upon the somewhat odd depictions of the early Alciato editions [Fig. 1.2] but presented a new animal illustration, one that seemed to him to be more accurate and more adequate [Fig. 1.14]. For this he made use of a recent zoological manual, Conrad Gesner's *Historia animalium* [Fig. 1.15].[38]

As one can see from this example, recent zoology also played a role in the construction of emblem books. Interestingly, one can even detect a kind of exchange of information, either on the textual or on the pictorial level. In this case the emblem illustrator Gheeraerts drew on Gesner's zoological image, but the former also corrected it through his portrayal of the animal's head and legs, which was more realistic in its details. In this way, a successful emblem book such as the *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren* (it was translated into French, Latin, English, and German, and it was rewritten several times in Dutch)[39] also could exert its influence on zoological illustrations, for example on the animal paintings by Jan van Kessel, who drew on Gesner's, Thevet's, and Clusius's zoological illustrations.[40] Also on the textual level is the question of whether the relationship between emblem books and scientific zoology was a mutual one: the authors of early modern zoologies included and quoted animal emblems, and commented on them. This starts with one of the pioneers of early modern zoology, Conrad Gesner: already in his first zoological volume, on the quadrupeds, he reserved a special category (in the description of each species) for emblematics, and he did so in the following volumes as well. Apparently this made sense for the users of early modern zoologies: the authoritative zoological

37 Geirnaert D. – Smith P.J., "The Sources of the Emblematic Fable Book *De warachtighe fabulen der dieren* (1567)", in Manning J. – Porteman K. – Vaeck M. Van (eds.), *The Emblem Tradition and the Low Countries* (Turnhout: 1999) 23–38.

38 See Smith P.J, "Inconstant et variable. Le caméléon entre histoire naturelle et emblématique", *Textimage Varia* 4 (Spring 2014), https://www.revue-textimage.com/09_varia_4/smith4.html.

39 Smith P.J., "L'histoire naturelle et la fable emblématique (1567–1608): Marcus Gheeraerts, Eduard de Dene, Gilles Sadeler", in Perifano A. (ed.), *La transmission des savoirs au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, vol. 2, *Au XVI^e siècle* (Besançon: 2005) 173–186; Smith P.J., *Het schouwtoneel der dieren. Embleemfabels in de Nederlanden* (*1567–ca. 1670*) (Hilversum: 2006).

40 Teixeira D.M., *Brasil holandês. A* Alegoria dos continentes *de Jan van Kessel "o Velho"* (*1626–1679*)*: uma visao seiscentista da fauna dos quatro cantos do mundo* ([Rio de Janeiro]: 2002).

FIGURE 1.14 *Chameleon. Marcus Gheeraerts, Etched illustration to Eduard de Dene's* De warachtighe fabulen (*Bruges, Pieter de Clerck for Marcus Gheeraerts: 1567*). *From: Facsimile ed. W. Le Loup – M. Goetink* (*Roeselare: 1978*).

works initiated by Ulisse Aldrovandi, collected, written, and edited from the last quarter of the 16th century until ca. 1620, incorporate a standard section, "Emblemata et Symbola", in their descriptions of the different animal species.[41]

41 For Gesner, see Geirnaert D. – Smith P.J., "The Sources of the Emblematic Fable Book *De warachtighe fabulen des dieren* (1567)", in Manning J. – Porteman K. – Vaeck M. Van (eds.), *The Emblem Tradition and the Low Countries* (Turnhout: 1999) 23–38. For Aldrovandi, see Charmantier I., "Emblematics in Ornithology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *Emblematica* 18 (2010) 79–109.

De Chamæl. A.B. Lib. II. 3

onocrotalum, Septuaginta pelecâna, & catarrhactẽ alibi, & Sophoniæ 2. chamæleontes, nimirum uocis affinitate decepti, nam coach quoq; Leuit. 11. chamæleontem interpretantur. Lilith Hebraicam uocem alij aliud significare docent, (ut pluribus dixi in Onocẽtauro post Asini historiam:) sunt qui auem magnam interpretẽtur uento uiciſſitantem, quam uocant גמליון, gamalion, quę quidẽ ridicula eſt interpretatio: chamæleon enim quem nonnulli aere uiciſſitare falſò putant, nõ auis, ſed quadru pes ouipara eſt. ¶ Χαμαιλέων, ζῶον ὀστρακῶδες καὶ ἀνίδιον, id eſt, Chamæleon animal ouiparum & greſſile. Prõ chamæleon recentiores quidam barbarè corrruptè ſcribunt gamaleon, zameleon, aamelon, hamaleon, meleon. Iſidorus, Albertus & huius farinæ authores, chamæleontem cum ſalamandra & ſtellione ineptiſsimè confundunt. Hamaleon eſt animal quod nos ſtellionẽ uocamus maiorem: hoc enim eſt ſimile corporis ſui figura lacertulo magno, cui etiam ſimilis eſt ille crocodilus qui hardon Græcè uocatur, Latinè autem hamaleon, Albertus de animal. 2. 1. 5. Et circa finem eius capitis, cum chamæleontẽ Ariſtotelis uerbis copioſè deſcripſiſſet, ſubijcit: Hoc autem animal certò eſt de genere ſtellionis, illud ſcilicet quòd uulgò draconem uocant, noſtrates lindwurm, hoc eſt uermem tiliæ aut uermẽ ſyluæ. Sed hæc omnia magnam Alberti inſcitiam arguunt. Peregrinum eſt animal, quamobrem nullum ex alijs linguis nomen ſuppetit, quod Latinis etiam deeſt. Germanicum fingo ein rattadey / ex ratto mure quem magnitudine & cauda refert, & crurium altitudine (altior tamen eo) & lacerto, quem reliqua ſpecie bona ex parte repræſentat, compoſito nomine, ac ſi murilacertum dicas.

B.

Chamæleontem & Africa gignit, quanquã frequentiorem India, Plinius. Per omnem Aſiam chamæleon plurimus, Solin. Indiæ animal eſſe Aelianus ſcribit. ¶ Similis & magnitudine eſt (lego figura & magnitudine) ſupradicto (terreſtri ſcilicet) crocodilo chamæleon, ſpinæ tantum acutiore curuatura, & caudæ amplitudine diſtans, Plinius. Figura totius corporis lacertam planè repræſentat: latera deorſum ducta uentri iunguntur, ut piſcibus: & ſpina (dorſi) modo piſcium emicat, Ariſtot. Figura & magnitudo erat lacerti ſtellionis, Arnoldus) niſi crura eſſent recta & excellentiora: latera uentri iunguntur ut piſcibus, & ſpina ſimili modo. Plinius. Animal eſt quadrupes, facie qua lacertæ, niſi crura recta & longiora uentri iungerentur, Solinus: apparet autem locũ mutilum eſſe, ex Plinio & Ariſtot. reſtituendum: non enim crura in eo uentri iunguntur, ſed latera. Elatior à terra eſt q̃ lacerta, Ariſtot. Ipſe celſius, hianti ſemper ore, Plinius. Corpus aſperum totum, ut crocodilo, Ariſtot. & Plin. Aſperũ cute, quam in crocodilis deprehendimus, Solinus. Squamoſum, Arnoldus de Villanoua. Longitudo à ſummo roſtro ad initium caudę, digiti ſeptem uel octo, Proceritas ſiue altitudo, digiti ferè quinq; crurum per ſe, tres cum dimidio. Caudæ longitudo, digiti octo uel nouem. Spina dorſi eminens & acuta, & quodammodo criſtata eſt, per dorſum & caudam toram: iuxta quam proximè, ſed humilius, utrinq; ad ſingula coſtarum initia tuberculis eminentibus oſſeis, linea deſcendit, & per caudam quoq; extenditur utrinq;. Quòd niſi tuberculis iſtis trium, quos dixi, uerſuum: & aliorũ trium in ima parte, quæ planior eſt, exaſperaretur, eſſet planè magnitudine & figura rattorũ, id eſt, maiorum murium caudæ ſimilis. Medius locus inter imum uentrem & ſummum dorſum, flexum ſiue angulum coſtarum circiter ſedecim continet, ad A. literæ Græcæ formam, ſed angulo patentiore, qui retrò ad caudam ſpectat: repletur autem his coſtis totus corporis alueus, ac uenter totus, integro ubiq; ambitu, ut ipſe obſeruaui. ¶ Mutat ſuum colorem inflatus. Verum & niger nõ longè

A 2

FIGURE 1.15 *Chameleon. Illustration from: Conrad Gesner*, Historia animalium, liber II. De quadrupedis oviparis (*Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1554*) *3. Zentralbibliothek Zurich: http://www.e-rara.ch/zuz/content/pageview/2119268.*

The fact that there was a close relationship between emblem books and scientific natural history is certainly true for the most important emblem collections on natural history, the ones by the German physician and humanist Joachim Camerarius the Younger (Kammermeister, 1534–1598). His monumental *Symbola et emblemata*[42] is a milestone in the application of natural history in emblematics because of the extent and systematic order of the collection,[43] the richness and complexity of the emblematic prose texts with respect to both the underlying emblematic conceptions and the facts of natural history, and also the high quality of the engravings [Fig. 1.16]. In 400 emblems Camerarius presents a systematic and nearly complete emblematic interpretation of biology as it was understood in the 16th century. Book I (1593) comprises the plants; book II (1595), the quadrupeds; book III (1596/7), the birds and other animals living in the air; and book IV (1605), the aquatic animals, reptiles, frogs, and snails. In the prose texts that accompany the single emblems Camerarius offers a complex amalgam of zoological information, moral wisdom, and different emblematic interpretations and applications. Because of the importance of Camerarius's *Symbola et emblemata*, four contributions in this volume are dedicated to this work—studies by Karl Enenkel (on the quadrupeds, book II), Paul Smith (on the birds, book III), Sophia Hendrikx (on the aquatic animals, book IV), and Bernhard Schirg, on the reception of Camerarius. Schirg

42 Camerarius published three printed emblem books during his lifetime: 1593–1596 saw the publication of the books on plants (b. I), quadrupeds (b. II), and birds (b. III); a fourth book, on the aquatic animals, was published only posthumously by his son Ludwig in 1605. In the first edition, book I has the title *Symbolorum et emblematum ex re herbaria desumtorum centuria una* [...] (Nuremberg, Johann Hofmann: 1590 [i.e. 1593, cf. below]; facsimile edition by W. Harms and U.-B. Kuechen, Graz: 1986); book II is titled *Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera* [...] (Nuremberg, Johann Hofmann: 1595; facsimile edition by W. Harms and U.-B. Kuechen, Graz: 1986). In 1605 Ludwig Camerarius printed the first three books again (in a second edition) together with the posthumous fourth book (ibidem). For an edition of all four books cf. also Frankfurt, Johannes Ammonius: 1661. On Camerarius's printed emblem books cf. the "Einführung" by W. Harms and U.-B. Kuechen to their facsimile edition, vol. 2 (Graz: 1986), and Papy J., "Joachim Camerarius's Symbolorum et emblematum Centuriae Quatuor: From Natural Sciences to Moral Contemplation", in Enenkel – Visser (eds.), *Mundus emblematicus* 201–234. For Camerarius the Younger cf. Wenning S., *Joachim II. Camerarius (1534–1598). Eine Studie über sein Leben, seine Werke und seine Briefwechsel* (Diss. Würzburg: 2013, Duisburg – Cologne: 2015). Wenning only briefly discusses Camerarius's emblem books in the catalogue of his printed works (147–151).

43 Cf. the introductory remarks by Karl Enenkel in his contribution in this volume.

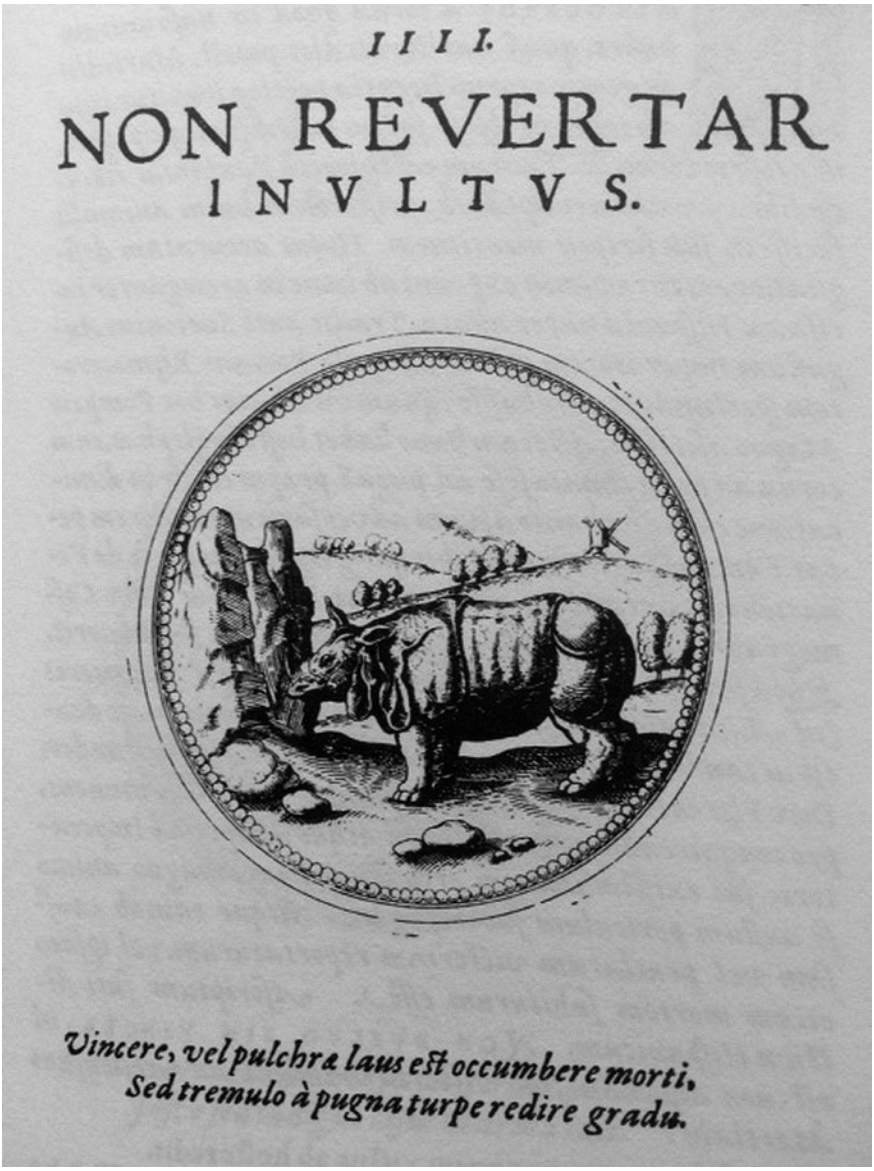

FIGURE 1.16 *Camerarius Joachim, the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...] *E. 4.*

comments on the use of Camerarius's emblematic work in 17th-century scientific discourse, in the botanical dissertation by Olof Rudbeck the Younger (1686).

Physical phenomena, such as celestial objects, have been less frequently applied by early modern emblematists than animals and plants have. In this respect the Linz Jesuit theologian Franz Reinzer is a rare exception, dedicating a whole emblem book to celestial objects, the *Meteorologia philosophico-politica* (1698): This intriguing application of natural history in emblematics is studied in this volume by two contributions (Sabine Kalff and Christian Peters).

Natural History in the 16th and 17th Centuries

The contributions on Camerarius the Younger show that the discourses of emblematics and natural history are not as separate from each other as one may think at first. In order to better understand this phenomenon it is necessary to have a closer look at the peculiarities of natural history of the 16th and 17th centuries, discursive and otherwise. In fact, the discursive organization of 16th- and 17th-century biology differs very much from that of the 20th and 21st centuries. We have already reflected on these features in earlier publications published in *Intersections*, to which the present volume is linked in a number of ways: in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts* (2007) and *Zoology in Early Modern Culture: Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education* (2014).[44] The approach and theoretical background of our volumes are connected to the so-called New History of Science:[45] a non-teleological, strongly contextual approach to the history of science, in which science itself is studied as a sociocultural phenomenon rather than as a succession of disembodied ideas propelled in a direction defined as scientifically 'correct' in modern, teleological hindsight.[46] We want to study natural history as part of wider 'cultures of knowledge'. In our vision, the development of science is not

44 *Intersections* 7 (2 vols.), and 32, respectively, both edited by us. For the discursive peculiarities, see especially the Introduction of vol. 7, pp. 1–7.

45 Jardine N. – Secord J.A. – Spary E.C. (eds.), *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: 1996); Secord J.A., "Knowledge in Transit", *Isis* 95 (2004) 654–672.

46 This approach differs very much from e.g. A. Bäumer's pioneering study *Die Biologie von der Antike bis zur Renaissance*, in eadem, *Geschichte der Biologie*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt a.M. – Bern – New York – Paris: 1991).

characterized by a series of epistemological ruptures, as advocated by Foucault.[47] In our view natural history is a continuum, without such clear epistemological breaks, in which the paths and byways of how knowledge developed can be contradictory, pluriform, and even backward-looking, but are always historically relevant and deeply influenced by society and culture. As we stated in the introduction to *Early Modern Zoology*, we 'do not think that in early modern zoology there is a clear chronological development from bookish to empirical knowledge, from "traditional" to "objective" description, from symbolical to "realistic" illustration', but that 'various methods of animal description may occur at the same time or in "reverse" order'; that 'most important are the specific historical contexts, interests, needs and the literary, theological, philosophical, and artistic contexts', in order to understand 'that early modern men did not so much objectively describe or depict animals', but 'construct animals according to the above mentioned parameters'.[48]

This continuum is characterized by a number of historical and discursive lines which are highly relevant for our volume. First of all, in the period 1500–1700 there was no real rupture with respect to the biological knowledge of antiquity and the Middle Ages, and no clear-cut or linear development in the authorization of the tradition of antiquity, e.g. from written texts to empirical observation. In the early modern period, the zoological (or natural historical) works of antiquity were still relevant, and still constituted the foundations of knowledge, especially the ones by Aristotle, Pliny, and Aelian.[49] One may say that in 1500–1700 they played an even greater role than they had in the preceding centuries, because of the philological work of humanists who corrected the partly very corrupt texts (of Pliny), commented on them, and translated the Greek texts anew (or for the first time), as was the case, for example, with Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, *De partibus animalium*, and *De generatione animalium*, which were translated by Theodorus Gaza. Furthermore, the newly invented printing press was highly effective in the dissemination of the newly corrected, commented, and translated texts, since by now it was possible to produce a large number of identical texts which excluded the many individual errors typical of the manuscript tradition. Pliny's *Naturalis historia* appeared in

47 Foucault M., *Les mots et les choses. Archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: 1966).

48 Enenkel K.A.E. – Smith P.J., "Introduction", in iidem (eds.), *Early Modern Zoology* 5–6.

49 For Pliny cf. Beagon M., *Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder* (Oxford: 1992); Enenkel K.A.E., "Die antike Vorgeschichte der Verankerung der Naturgeschichte in Politik und Religion: Plinius' Zoologie und der römische Imperialismus", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Smith P.J. (eds.), *Zoology in Early Modern Culture: Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education* (Boston – Leiden: 2014) 15–54.

print from 1469 on in many editions, and from 1492 to 1700 many of them were accompanied by learned humanist commentaries. Furthermore, a French translation (by Antoine du Pinet) appeared in 1562, and a German one (by Johann Heyden) in 1565. Aelian became available in print in the 16th century, both in the Greek text and in a Latin translation by Pierre Gilles (ed. pr. 1533). Gaza's translations of Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, *De partibus animalium*, and *De generatione animalium* also were available in print, for the first time in 1476 (Venice, Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen de Gheretzem) and—also together—in a number of later editions (e.g. 1492, 1497, 1498, 1522, 1524, and 1533). Aristotle's *Historia animalium* also appeared separately in 1493, 1503, and 1584, and *De partibus animalium* in 1559. For all of these editions it is relevant that there was intensive attention given to philological questions, and there were all kinds of textual problems. In general, in the period 1500–1700, more copies and more works were available of the zoologies from antiquity, texts were in better shape, and furthermore, recent commentaries were available as well. The discourse of these commentaries was largely characterized by humanist philology, and only to a small degree by newly collected empirical zoological knowledge.

Another line of transmission that shapes the above-mentioned continuum is also relevant for our volume—the medieval encyclopaedists, who continued to be read, used, quoted, and disseminated in the 16th and 17th centuries: Isidore of Sevilla's (ca. 560–636) *Etymologiae* (composed ca. 520–636), Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* (composed ca. 1230–1240), Thomas of Cantimpré's *De naturis rerum* (composed 1256), Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum naturale* (1258), Brunetto Latini's *Li Livres dou Tresor* (ca. 1265), Jacob van Maerlant's *Der Naturen Bloeme* (ca. 1350), Konrad von Megenberg's *Das Buch der Natur* (ca. 1350), and especially Albertus Magnus's (ca. 1200–1280) zoology *De animalibus*. In a sense, the impact of these works increased, since they were printed, newly edited, and translated in the period from ca. 1470 to 1650. In 1545 Walther Ryff published his important German translation of Albertus Magnus's *De animalibus*, lavishly illustrated with woodcuts, with the title *Thierbuch Alberti Magni, Von Art Natur und Eygenschafft der Thierer* […] *mit ihrer Contrafactur Figuren* (Frankfurt a.M., Cyriacus Jacobi zum Bart: 1545). Since the medieval encyclopaedias were predominately of a compiled nature, they also transmitted massive amounts of information from the biological works of antiquity, especially those of Aristotle and Pliny. They combined this information with a Christian type of biological knowledge constituted by the so-called *Physiologus* (composed in the 2nd century), in which the behaviour of animals was interpreted in an allegorical and Christological way.

The tradition of the *Physiologus* continues in the 13th- and 14th-century bestiaries, herbals, and lapidaries, written in Latin and in other languages: short descriptions of a relatively small number of animal and plant species (ca. 50), followed by a moralizing Christian explication. In the early modern period lapidaries continued to exist in prose and poetry, for instance, Jean de La Taille, *Le blason des pierres precieuses contenat leurs vertuz et proprietez* (Paris, L. Breyer: 1574) and Remy Belleau, *Les amours et nouveaux eschanges des pierres précieuses* (Paris, M. Patisson au logis de R. Estienne: 1576),[50] but the bestiaries disappeared as a literary genre *stricto sensu*. However, the traditional, religious, moralizing worldview of the *Physiologus* continues to survive in the early modern period, for example, in emblem books, painting, applied art, architecture, etc. Since William Ashworth's seminal article, this symbolic or allegorical worldview has been labelled 'emblematic'[51]—which is, in fact, a bit misleading, because this kind of allegorical interpretation is not exclusively relevant to emblems, but to most of the early modern readings of the Book of Nature.

Furthermore, the middle of the 16th century (ca. 1530–1570) was characterized by a rapid and feverish succession of new major works on natural history, first in botany (Otto Brunfels, 1530), then in zoology (William Turner, Pierre Belon, Guillaume Rondelet, Edward Wotton, and Conrad Gesner). As one may expect, these authors were very much acquainted with the abovementioned works, and their lines of tradition and discourses. Nevertheless, a number of changes took place: new species and new material were discovered. Mapping living nature resulted in a rapidly increasing number of described and depicted species. Descriptions became more detailed; *ad vivum* illustrations were used more frequently and systematically—in his anthology of zoological texts Laurent Pinon characterizes the natural history of this period as 'l'enregistrement de la Nature par l'image'.[52] Exchange networks of experts on living nature began to extend all over Europe. Naturalists experimented with classifications of living nature, adapting these to exponentially increasing knowledge. Botany, starting with Otto Brunfels's *Herbarum vivae eicones* (1530), was at the forefront of these developments; zoology followed quickly, with ichthyology as a forerunner. On the subject of ichthyology, competing

50 Chayes E., *L'éloquence des pierres précieuses: De Marbode de Rennes à Alard d'Amsterdam et Remy Belleau, Sur quelques lapidaires du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: 2010).

51 Ashworth, Jr. W.B., "Natural History and the Emblematic World View", in Lindberg D.C. – Westman R.S. (eds.), *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: 1990) 303–332.

52 Pinon L., *Livres de zoologie de la Renaissance: une anthologie* (Paris: 1995) 15.

works by Pierre Belon, and Guillaume Rondelet appeared, alternately in Latin and French, all richly illustrated.[53]

The zoological production of this period is dominated by the huge undertaking of Conrad Gesner, doctor and *homo universalis*. From 1551 he published four thick volumes with hundreds of densely printed pages in folio format about the animal kingdom, with a total of more than 1400 illustrations: the books were about viviparous quadrupeds (1551), oviparous quadrupeds or reptiles (1554), birds (1555), and fish and other aquatic animals (1558). Froschauer, Gesner's publisher, immediately ordered German translations of these works, and the *Vogelbuch*, *Fischbuch*, and *Thierbuch* appeared in 1557–1563. In Gesner's work everything comes together: information taken from works by Aristotle, Pliny, Aelian, and other writers from antiquity; from the above-mentioned medieval encyclopaedists, especially Isidore of Sevilla and Albertus Magnus; and from contemporary zoological texts, such as those by Belon and Rondelet; in addition, there is all of the information Gesner obtained through correspondence with his vast international scholarly network, information taken from his own empirical observations, and bits and pieces of information taken from the whole of antiquity's literature in Greek and Latin, even poetry. Gesner's method was characterized not only by information collection (systematic bibliography plus correspondence) and empirical knowledge, but equally by philological criticism. Philological criticism was the underlying principle with respect to all of the old texts he presented: he was always searching for possible corruptions in textual transmission; he corrected existing Latin translations of Greek texts, and often frequently commented on them; and he frequently offered his own new translations of Greek quotes.

Moreover, Gesner was the first natural historian who drew on Alciato's *Emblematum libellus* and who included emblematic poems in a zoological work. In Gesner's zoology, scientific and emblematic knowledge came together. It is obvious that the scholar from Zurich also envisaged writers of emblem books, emblematists, and artists as users of his work. With his huge amount of textual and pictorial information, Conrad Gesner is an extremely important source for emblematists from the 1550s until ca. 1670. One of the most striking examples is Joachim Camerarius the Younger. For his *Symbola et emblemata* he used Gesner as a major source. As the authors in our volume demonstrate (Enenkel, Smith, Hendrikx), Camerarius used Gesner in almost every emblem, whether as a source for zoological information, *auctoritates*

53 On the rivalry between Belon and Rondelet, see Glardon P., *L'histoire naturelle au XVI^e siècle. Introduction, étude et édition critique de* La nature et diversité des poissons *de Pierre Belon (1555)* (Geneva: 2011) 287–374.

from antiquity, or animal illustrations. It is a surprising observation, however, that he mentions Gesner's name only occasionally—mostly when he corrects him or when he does not agree with him (cf. the contributions by Enenkel and Smith). Camerarius's corrections apply to different fields: textual transmission, translations from the Greek, orthography, the interpretations of sources from antiquity, and animal illustrations.

If one looks at the way in which Camerarius deals with Gesner, one gets the impression that he was active in the same field or genre, or at least that he somehow regarded Gesner as a rival. Indeed, the intended readership of Gesner's zoology does not greatly differ from that of emblem books. For example, Sigmund Feyerabend's edition of Alciato's emblem book (in Latin and German) was—as indicated on the title page—meant for all 'liebhabern der freyen Kuenst, auch Malern, Goldschmiden, Seidenstickern und Bildhauwern jetzund zu sonderm nutz und gebrauch […], mit schoenen, lieblichen, neuwen, kunstreichen Figuren geziert' ('for all lovers of the liberal arts, also painters, goldsmiths, embroiderers, sculptors, especially to use and apply it, […] and it is illustrated with beautiful, attractive, new and artful figures') (1566).[54] Similarly, the German translation of Gesner's *Thierbuch* was intended to be 'useful' to 'allen Kuenstlern, als Arzten, Mahlern, Goldtschmiden, Reissern, Bildschnitzern, Bildhawern, Weydleuten und Köchen' ('to all artists and craftsmen, such as doctors, painters, goldsmiths, engravers, sculptors, hunters, and cooks') (1563).[55] The same goes for Ryff's German translation of Albertus Magnus's *Thierbuch*, which should also be useful for *allen anfahenden Malern vnd Goldtschmieden nuetzlich Sampt andern Kuenstnern* (1546). Emblematics and natural history are indeed similar in this respect, in that they offer model books for artists and craftsmen. For emblematics, their application in the visual arts and in craftsmanship is of great importance.[56] This is also the reason why this aspect gets ample attention in this collection of essays: emblems appear, among other places, on royal tapestry (contribution by Knegtel), on imperial

54 *Liber Emblematum* […] *Kunstbuch Andree Alciati* […] (Frankfurt a. M., Sigmund Feyerabend: 1566).

55 Cf. Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1563.

56 Cf. Strasser G.F. – Wade M.R. (eds.), *Die Domänen des Emblems: Außerliterarische Anwendungen der Emblematik*, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 39 (Wiesbaden: 2004); Daly P.M., "The Emblem in Material Culture", in idem, *Companion to Emblem Studies* 411–456; for tapestries, cf. ibidem 443–448; for architecture, cf. Daly P.M. – Böker H.J. (eds.), *The Emblem and Architecture: Studies in Applied Emblematics from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, Imago Figurata 2 (Turnhout: 1999).

coats of arms (Kusler), in gardens of princes (Zenkert), and on the facades of palaces (Rolet). Copying emblems from the visual arts can also lead to new book-sized emblem publications, as in the case of André Félibien's *Tapisseries du Roy* (Knegtel).

Some works of natural historical origin are related to emblem books through their formatting and layout. For example, the illustrations of a number of zoological publications were reprinted in albums, formatted in an emblem-like manner. This goes, for example, for Gesner's zoological works: they were reissued under the title *Icones*: a series of short chapters, each consisting of (1) a title, (2) an animal illustration, and (3) a short text (composed by Gesner himself). Guillaume Cavellat, the editor of Belon's *Histoire des Oyseaux*, also published a reedition of the bird illustrations, with the title *Portraits* (1557):[57] each 'portrait' of a bird consists of (1) the name of the bird (in several languages), (2) an illustration, and (3) a short epigram on the bird species, inspired by the bird emblems of Guéroult and composed by Cavellat [Fig. 1.17]. In this way, Cavellat's bird portraits resemble an emblem book. Rondelet followed the example of his rival Belon: his illustrations were reissued in an album entitled *De natura aquatilium carmen* (1558),[58] but unlike the *Portraits* of Belon, this collection is a scholarly work in Latin poetry, composed by a physician, François Boussuet [Fig. 1.18].

Another genre related to natural history and to emblem books as well is the *natural history album*, both in manuscript and printed form, an album of images of animals, plants, etc., sometimes accompanied by inscriptions.[59] This genre originated from medieval model books and sketchbooks, but it appears especially in the 16th century, long after the invention of the printed book. Such natural history *alba* go back to earlier collections (for instance, the *Libri picturati* of Charles de Saint Omer[60] or the 'Museo' of Aldrovandi[61]); sometimes the watercolour drawings were made anew, as is the case with the album

57 Belon Pierre, *Portraicts d'oyseaux, animaux, serpens, herbes, arbres, hommes et femmes d'Arabie et d'Egypte* [...] (Paris, Guillaume Cavellat: 1557; consulted edition: Hierosme de Marnee: 1618).

58 Boussuet François, *De natura aquatilium carmen* (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1558).

59 Rikken M., *Dieren verbeeld: diervoorstellingen in tekeningen, prenten en schilderijen door kunstenaars uit de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tussen 1550 en 1630* (Leiden: 2016).

60 Egmond F., "Clusius, Cluyt, Saint Omer: The Origins of the Sixteenth-Century Botanical and Zoological Watercolours in Libri Picturati A. 16–30", *Nuncius: annali di storia della scienza* 20 (2005) 11–67.

61 See http://www.filosofia.unibo.it/aldrovandi/pinakesweb/main.asp?language=it (last consultation 20 January 2017).

LE PREMIER ORDRE
GREC, Nυκτερὶς.
LATIN, Veſpertilio.
ITALIEN, Nittola, Sportegliono, Rattopentago, Babaſtello,
Pipiſtrello, Vilpiſtrello.
FRANCOIS, Chauue-ſouris.
La Souris chauue eſt vn oiſeau de nuict,
Qui point ne pond, ains ſes petits enfante,
Leſquels de laict de ſes tetins ſuſtante.
En petit corps grande vertu reluit.

FIGURE 1.17 *From: Bat. Pierre Belon*, Portraicts d'oyseaux, animaux, serpens, herbes, arbres, hommes et femmes d'Arabie et d'Egypte [...] (*Paris, Hierosme de Marnee: 1618*), *fol. 28r. Bibliothèque numérique Medic@: http://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/histoire/medica/resultats/index.php?p=76&cote=07744&do=page.*

made and owned by the physician Anselmus de Boodt, the *Bestiary* of Emperor Rudolph II, the Fish Books by Adriaen Coenen,[62] or Joris Hoefnagel's *Four*

62 Maselis M.C. – Balis A. – Marijnissen R.H., *De albums van Anselmus De Boodt* (*1550–1632*). *Geschilderde natuurobservatie aan het hof van Rudolf II te Praag* (Tielt: 1989); Haupt H. – Vignau-Wilberg T. – Irblich E. – Staudinger M., *Le Bestiaire de Rodolphe II: cod. min. 129 et 130 de la Bibliothèque nationale d'Autriche* (Paris: 1990); Egmond F., *Het Visboek. De wereld*

FIGURE 1.18 *Sturgeon. Boussuet François,* De natura aquatilium carmen (*Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1558*) *94. HathiTrust's digital library. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ucm.5320270428;view=1up;seq=101.*

Elements (see the contribution by Marisa Bass in this volume). Hoefnagel's *Four Elements* was inspired by printed zoological works (such as Gesner's) and by emblem books as well, such as De Dene's and Gheeraerts's *Warachtige fabulen der dieren*, and they resemble emblems because every illustration is accompanied by one or more *adagia* (Bass).

Another interesting overlap of genres can be discovered between emblem books and encyclopaedias, which represent an important group of emblem sources anyway, as indicated above. More specifically, scholarly comments transformed editions of Alciato's *Emblematum liber* into small encyclopaedias. This practice starts with the German Sebastian Stockhamer, who composed in Portuguese Coimbra a comprehensive commentary on Alciato.[63] As one may expect, Stockhamer's commentary focussed on encyclopaedic

volgens Adriaen Coenen (Zutphen: 2005); Egmond F. – Mason P. (eds.), *The Whale Book: Whales and Other Marine Animals as Described by Adriaen Coenen* (London: 2003).

63 Cf. Enenkel K.A.E., "Die humanistische Kultur Coimbras als Wiege des emblematischen Kommentars: Sebastian Stockhamers Alciato-Kommentar für João Meneses Sottomayor (1552)", in Berbara M. – Enenkel K.A.E. (eds.), *Portuguese Humanism and the Republic of Letters* (Leiden – Boston: 2011) 149–218.

elements of knowledge and topics, and he added the text of sources stemming from Pliny and other encyclopaedias. Most interestingly, Alciato's emblematic images (*picturae*) also were printed without Alciato's epigrams but with Stockhamer's encyclopaedic entries.[64] In the present volume, Sonja Schreiner studies Friedrich Justin Bertuch's *Bilderbuch für Kinder* as a late offspring of the *Orbis Pictus* tradition.[65]

Although the natural world and natural history are very important for emblematics, this has never been researched as topic of a comprehensive study or as a collective volume. With the present publication, we take a step in this direction. We brought together new studies on the influential natural emblematist Joachim Camerarius the Younger, the important *imprese* author Paolo Giovio (who, by the way, was also the author of the first known study on local fauna),[66] and the Jesuit scientist Franz Reinzer, with papers on applied forms of emblems in the various arts and crafts, and on forms related to natural histories and emblem books, such as the natural history album and the illustrated encyclopaedia. We are well aware of the fact that in a single collective volume it is impossible to cover the whole range of the natural world with all of its details and species, either with respect to emblem books or to applied emblematics. Therefore, we would greatly appreciate it if the present volume stimulates further research in this exciting field of bi-medial studies. Legite feliciter.

Leiden and Münster, Idibus Februarii MMXVII

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64 Ibidem.

65 In the contribution "Orbis Pictus for Boys—Emblematics for Men: Some Remarks on Learning by Studying Pictures and Interpreting Riddles"; cf. Bertuch Friedrich Justin, *Bilderbuch für Kinder enthaltend eine angenehme Sammlung von Thieren, Pflanzen, Blumen, Früchten, Mineralien, Trachten und allerhand andern unterrichtenden Gegenständen aus dem Reiche der Natur, der Künste und Wissenschaften; alle nach den besten Originalen gewählt, gestochen, und mit einer kurzen wissenschaftlichen, und den Verstandes-Kräften eines Kindes angemessenen Erklärung begleitet* (Weimar, Verlag des Industrie-Comptoirs: 1790–1830). Chakkalakal S., *Die Welt in Bildern. Erfahrung und Evidenz in Friedrich J. Bertuchs "Bilderbuch für Kinder" (1790–1830)*, Ph.D. dissertation (Humboldt University Berlin: 2012) = (Göttingen: 2014).

66 Giovio Paolo, *De Romanis piscibus libellus* (Rome, Franciscus Minitius Calvus: 1524). See Pinon, *Livres de zoologie* 66–67.

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PART 1

Emblematic Zoology—Zoological Emblem Books

∵

CHAPTER 2

"Natural" or "Unnatural"? Representation of the Animal World in Early French Emblem Books

Alison Saunders

The "natural world" (or "world of nature") features widely in emblem books from Alciato onwards, offering a rich—and often picturesque—source of imagery from which to derive reflections on human life and behaviour as it is, or moral lessons on how it ought to be. Yet how "natural" (in the other sense of the word) is this natural world? The purpose of this article is to focus on one particular aspect of the natural world—that of animals—to investigate the extent to which the behaviour of the animals that we find depicted so frequently in emblem books, and used as a basis for didactic messages for the edification of mankind is based on actual observed reality or on fiction or myth, and if so, then what are the implications of this?

Let us take one or two examples of picturesque behaviour by emblematic animals. Do bears really give birth to shapeless lumps which they then lick into shape? Conversely do monkeys really hug their young to death in an excess of affection? Certainly the contrasting treatment of their young by these two animals offers a vivid and thus memorable lesson on parenting for the edification of mankind, but is it "natural" behaviour?[1] Similarly, do young storks really show their gratitude to their parents by carrying them on their backs and feeding them in old age? Nightingales do indeed sing sweetly, but do they actually sing themselves to death?[2] Vipers are rather unpleasant creatures, but do their young actually forcibly break out through their mother's skin in their birth process, thereby causing her death?[3] Many such examples could be cited of

1 See, for example, La Perrière Guillaume de, *Le theatre des bons engins, auquel sont contenus cent emblemes* (Paris, Denis Janot: n.d. [1540]), emblem 98 and emblem 47.

2 See, for example, Alciato Andrea, *Livret des emblemes, de maistre André Alciat, mis en rime francoyse, et presenté à monseigneur l'Admiral de France* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1536), *Gratiam referendam/Recongnoistre biensfaict* [Show gratitude], fols. B2v–B3r; see also La Perrière, *Theatre*, emblem 34.

3 See, for example, La Perrière Guillaume de, *La morosophie de Guillaume de la Perriere Tolosain, contenant cent emblemes moraux, illustrez de cent tetrastiques latins, reduitz en autant de quatrains francoys* (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1553), emblem 61.

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animals figuring in emblems whose purported behaviour is not "natural" in the sense that it can actually be observed happening in the real world around us. But it nevertheless carries authority, albeit a different form of authority from that provided by the evidence of our own eyes. And that authority—which is the classical authority of the word of Pliny, or other ancient naturalists; or that of fabulists such as Phaedrus or Aesop; or that of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic tradition; or the mediaeval bestiary tradition—is clearly very strong.[4]

In contrast to the picturesque (and "unnatural"?) behaviour of these emblematic animals, do we also find emblems depicting animals behaving "naturally" in the sense of realistically—doing things that we could actually see them doing in real life by the evidence of our own eyes, without need of recourse to ancient authority? And if so, how do these compare with the other kind of emblematic animal? Certainly we do indeed find emblems deriving reflections on human society as it is, and moral lessons for human behaviour as it should be, from the more ordinary behaviour of animals such as can be seen in everyday life. In particular we find domestic and farm animals—dogs, horses, mules, sheep—or animals that constitute a threat to domestic animals—foxes, wolves—or other animals commonly seen in the countryside—hares, hedgehogs, owls.[5]

The title of this paper refers to 'early French emblem books', and the writers to be discussed are Guillaume de la Perrière, author of the very first French emblem book, the *Theatre des bons engins* published in 1540, but actually composed, in part at least, as early as 1535,[6] and also author of the bilingual Latin/

4 *Habentur hoc volumine haec, videlicet: vita et fabellae Aesopi* [...] *Ori Apollinis Niliaci hieroglyphica* (Venice, Aldus Manutius: 1505); *Orus Apollo de Aegypte de la signification des notes hieroglyphiques des Aegyptiens, c'est à dire des figures par les quelles ilz descripvoient leurs mysteres secretz & les choses sainctes & divines. Nouvellement traduict de grec en francoys & imprimé avec les figures à chascun chapitre* (Paris, Jacques Kerver: 1543). For examples of mediaeval bestiaries online see http://bestiary.ca.

5 See, for example, Corrozet Gilles, *Hecatomgraphie. C'est à dire les descriptions de cent figures et hystoires, contenantes plusieurs appophtegmes, proverbes, sentences et dictz tant des anciens que des modernes* (Paris, Denis Janot: 1540), emblems 3, 17, 51, 84, 95; see also Corrozet, Gilles, *Emblemes* appended to his *Tableau de Cebes de Thebes, ancien philosophe, et disciple de Socrates: Auquel est paincte de ses couleurs, la vraye image de la vie humaine, et quelle voye l'homme doit elire, pour pervenir à vertu et perfaicte science, premierement escript en grec, et maintenant exposé en ryme francoyse* (Paris, Denis Janot: 1543), emblems 4, 22, 34; see also La Perrière, *Theatre*, emblems 61, 95; see also La Perrière, *Morosophie*, emblem 55.

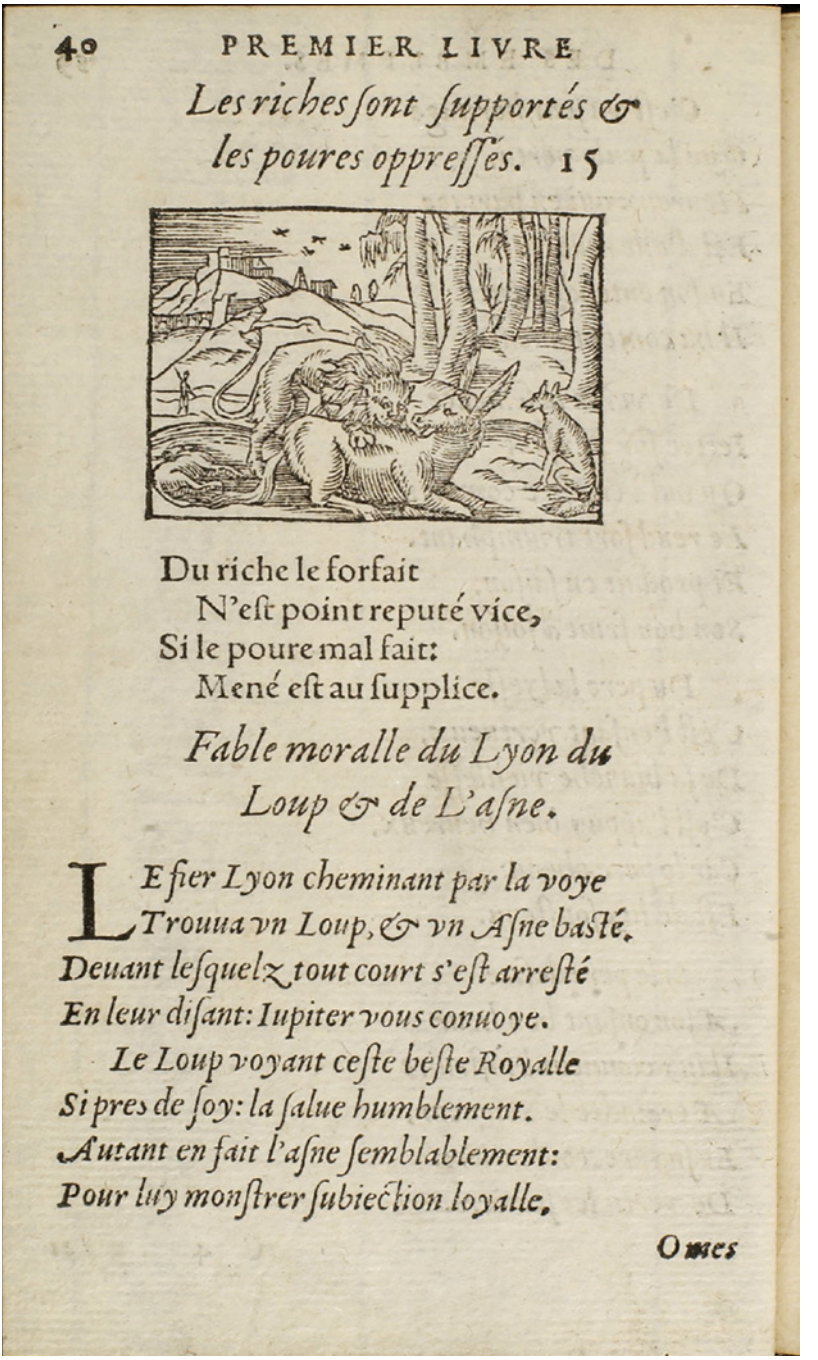
6 Originally composed to commemorate the visit in 1535 of Marguerite de Navarre to La Perrière's home town of Toulouse, La Perrière did not complete the work in time for it to be

French *Morosophie*, published in 1553; and Gilles Corrozet, author of the second French emblem book, the *Hecatomgraphie,* published in 1540, a few months after La Perrière's *Theatre,* and also of a second emblem book, the *Emblemes*, appended to his translation of the *Tableau de Cebes*, published in 1543. Two further works which also appeared in France among the first wave of early emblem books are Guillaume Guéroult's *Premier livre des emblemes* published in 1550,[7] and Barthélemy Aneau's bilingual *Picta poesis*/ *Imagination poetique* of 1552.[8] But although both these two works are interesting, including, as they do, a significant amount of material relating to the animal world, they will not be discussed in depth here, since—in their different ways—neither is a typical emblem book, and the representation that they each give of the animal world specifically is also atypical. Guéroult's very short emblem book, which includes only 29 emblems, offers what are effectively a series of illustrated narrative moralising tales reflecting the style of Aesop's *Fables,* to which work it owes much of its inspiration, both in terms of its material and its stylistic treatment of that material. Indeed the word "fable" is actually used by Guéroult in the subtitle given to one of his emblems, pointing to the evils and injustices of the world. In emblem 15 the moralising reflection on society expressed in the initial title *Les riches sont supportés & les povres oppressés* (The rich are supported and the poor oppressed) is followed by an expansion of this same point in a 4-line verse, and then by an additional subtitle *Fable moralle du Lyon, du Loup & de l'asne* (Moral fable of the Lion, the Wolf and the Ass) serving to introduce the narrative fable relating the sad fate of the ass [Fig. 2.1]. Somewhat paradoxically, another work by Guéroult published the same year as his *Premier livre des emblemes*, also in Lyons, and by the same publisher, Balthasar Arnoullet, and also dealing with the world of nature, his *Second livre de la description des animaux, contenant le blason des oyseaux*, which comprises a collection of sixty short verses, each accompanied by a woodcut illustration, on the nature and condition of individual birds, is actually much more "emblematic" in both content and stylistic approach than the heavily narrative verses in the work to

presented to the queen, only managing to do so the following year, 1536. This sad failure he explains in his dedicatory *épître* of the *Theatre* to Marguerite de Navarre (fols. A3v–A4r).

7 Guéroult Guillaume, *Le premier livre des emblemes* (Lyons, Balthasar Arnoullet: 1550).

8 Aneau Barthélemy, *Picta poesis. Ut picture poesis erit* (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1552); *Imagination poetique, traduicte en vers francois, des latins, et grecz, par l'auteur mesme d'iceux. Horace en l'art. La poesie est comme la pincture* (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1552).


40 PREMIER LIVRE

Les riches ſont ſupportés & les poures oppreſſés. 15

Du riche le forfait
N'eſt point reputé vice,
Si le poure mal fait:
Mené eſt au ſupplice.

Fable moralle du Lyon du Loup & de L'aſne.

LE fier Lyon cheminant par la voye
Trouua vn Loup, & vn Aſne baſté.
Deuant leſquelz tout court s'eſt arreſté
En leur diſant: Iupiter vous conuoye.
Le Loup voyant ceſte beſte Royalle
Si pres de ſoy: la ſalue humblement.
Autant en fait l'aſne ſemblablement:
Pour luy monſtrer ſubiection loyalle.

Omes

FIGURE 2.1 *Guillaume Guéroult, "Les riches sont supportés & les povres oppressés", in* Le premier livre des emblèmes (*Lyons, Balthasar Arnoullet: 1550*), *fol. C4v* (*Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, SM535*).

which he gave the title *Premier livre des emblemes*, but in this work Guéroult does not use the word "embleme".[9]

Barthélemy Aneau's *Picta poesis/ Imagination poetique* is likewise significantly influenced by an earlier classical work, though in a different way from that seen in Guéroult's *Premier livre des emblemes*. In this case it is the woodcut figures rather than the text which relate the work to a classical ancestor. Almost half of the emblems in this work are composed around an already existent set of woodcut figures designed specifically to illustrate an edition of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, thus skewing the representation of the animal world in this emblem book. Aneau explains in his preface to the work that he came across a series of interesting looking woodblocks in the workshop of the Lyons printer Macé Bonhomme, who informed him that they were unfortunately useless since they had no accompanying text. Thus, Aneau explains, he undertook to help his friend in this matter by using his poetic imagination to supply a text in order to give life to these otherwise dead and useless figures, reflecting that this would have been a much easier task if he had known what text they were originally designed to illustrate (*Imagination poetique* 6–7). In making this statement, however, Aneau is being less than truthful since he could hardly not have known that this set of figures had been designed to illustrate the first three books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the first two books of which had already just been published in Lyons in 1550 and again in 1551 by Bonhomme's close publishing associate, Guillaume Rouille, in a French translation by Clément Marot,[10] while the additional translation of Book 3, which joined Books 1 and 2 in 1556, in an edition published jointly by Bonhomme and Rouille, was provided by none other than Aneau himself![11]

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9 Guéroult Guillaume, *Second livre de la description des animaux, contenant le blason des oyseaux* (Lyons, Balthasar Arnoullet: 1550). This work can be seen as a sequel to a similarly emblematic equivalent volume on the nature of animals published by Arnoullet a year earlier, which once again, however, does not use the word "embleme": Aneau, Barthélemy, *Decades de la description, forme, et vertu naturelle des animaulx, tant raisonnables que brutz* (Lyons, Balthasar Arnoullet: 1549).

10 Marot Clément, *Traductions de Clement Marot, vallet de chambre du Roy* (Lyons, Guillaume Rouille: 1550); the copy in Bodley [Douce M 140] contains only Book 2. Marot Clément, *Les oeuvres de Clement Marot, de Cahors, vallet de chambre du Roy. Reveues et augmentees de nouveau* (Lyons, Guillaume Rouille: 1551); the copy in Bodley [Douce M 139] contains only Book 1.

11 Ovid, *Trois premiers livres de la Metamorphose d'Ovide. Traduictz en vers francois, le premier & second par Cl. Marot, le tiers par B. Aneau. Mythologizez par allegories historiales, naturelles & moralles, recueillies des bons autheurs Grecz & Latins, sur toutes fables, & sentences. Illustrez de figures & images convenantes. Avec une preparation de voie à la lecture & intelligence des poetes fabuleux* (Lyons, Balthasar Arnoullet and Guillaume Rouille: 1556).

In all, 41 of the 102 emblems of the *Picta poesis/ Imagination poetique* are based on woodcut figures designed to illustrate episodes from the *Metamorphoses* and not surprisingly many of these represent episodes in which unfortunate individuals are either metamorphosed into animals, or—worse—metamorphosed into animals and then attacked or killed in consequence of their new guise. In the first category we find, for example, the sailors transformed into dolphins by Bacchus in "La republicque" (The republic)[12] or Lycaon transformed by Jupiter into a wolf in "Les loups garoux" (Werewolves);[13] and—in the second category—Calisto about to be shot by her own son, having been transformed into a bear by vengeful Juno in "Abetissement d'enfans, par tyrannie des magisters" (Children reduced to animal state by tyranny of teachers)[14] or Acteon savaged to death by his own hounds, having been transformed into a stag by vengeful Diana in "De maistre, serviteur" (From master, to servant)[15] [Fig. 2.2]. In some cases, like Guéroult with his Aesop-inspired emblems, Aneau also bases the text of his emblem on the original *Metamorphoses* tale, though usually giving it his own moralising gloss, as, for example, in his emblem on Acteon, in which the opening couplet ('Acteon fut en Cerf cornu changé/ Et par ses chiens piece à piece mangé' (Acteon was transformed into a horned stag, and eaten bit by bit by his hounds) leads on to an ingenious moralising reflection (derived from the play on the words *cerf* = stag, and *serf* = servant) on the sad fate of the master who gives house-room to flatterers and finds himself dominated and destroyed by them. But in other cases Aneau does indeed use considerable poetic ingenuity to fantasise anew around the woodcut figure without making any reference to the original *Metamorphoses* tale for which it was designed, as, for example in the Calisto emblem in which the depiction of Juno standing threateningly over the cowering nymph, already partially transformed into a bear, is interpreted as representing a bullying schoolteacher reducing a young pupil to wretched, terrified animal status, as reflected in the title, "Abetissement d'enfans, par tyrannie des magisters" (Children reduced to animal state by tyranny of teachers):

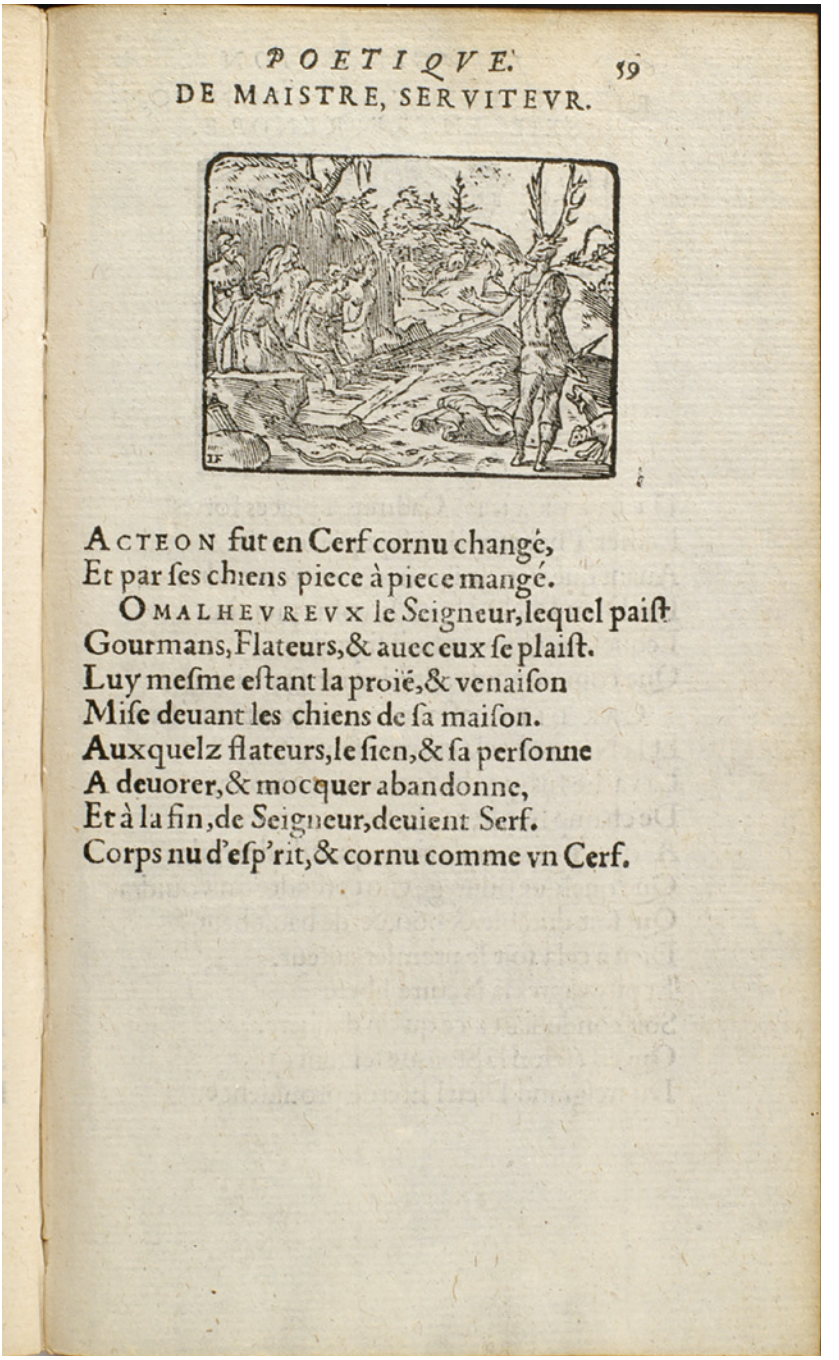
> VOYEZ icy celle Dame superbe
> En longue Robe, en mine, geste, & verbe.
> Qui par orgueil trop fier, & inhumain
> Bat sans mercy sa serve avec la main.
> Laquelle povre à ses piedz prosternée,

12 Aneau, *Imagination poetique*, emblem 128.

13 Ibidem, emblem 95.

14 Ibidem, emblem 43.

15 Ibidem, emblem 59.



POETIQVE. 59

DE MAISTRE, SERVITEVR.

ACTEON fut en Cerf cornu changé,
Et par ſes chiens piece à piece mangé.
O MALHEVREVX le Seigneur, lequel paiſt
Gourmans, Flateurs, & auec eux ſe plaiſt.
Luy meſme eſtant la proïe, & venaiſon
Miſe deuant les chiens de ſa maiſon.
Auxquelz flateurs, le ſien, & ſa perſonne
A deuorer, & mocquer abandonne,
Et à la fin, de Seigneur, deuient Serf.
Corps nu d'eſp'rit, & cornu comme vn Cerf.

FIGURE 2.2 *Barthélemy Aneau, "De maistre, serviteur", in* Imagination poetique (*Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1552*), *emblem 59* (*Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, SM97*).

Par estre ainsi batue, & mastinée:
Prend un desdain fort despiteux: & pource
Se mue en beste, & devient sauvage Ourse.
Qui par avant estoit de liberalle
Forme de corps, & face virginalle.
EN CEST image est pincte la manie
Des Magisters, & fiere tyrannie,
Qui les enfans de libere Nature
Sauvage rend, par coups, & par bature.
Et les Esp'ritz, qui estoient liberaux:
Prosterne en craincte, & les mue en ruraux.[16]

See here this lady in her long dress, lofty in appearance, gesture and words, who through excessively haughty and inhumane pride, beats her servant mercilessly with her hand. Who wretchedly prostrate at her feet, from being thus beaten and cruelly treated, becomes most moody and alienated, and thus is transformed into a beast and becomes a wild bear, having formerly been elegant of body and beautiful and pure of face. In this image is depicted the madness and overbearing tyranny of teachers, who by blows and beatings transform children of free nature into savages, and prostrate them in fear, and turn them into rustics.

Aneau's ingenious reworking of the *Metamorphoses* tales in his *Picta poesis/ Imagination poetique* is a very interesting subject in itself, but since I have already discussed this aspect of the work in considerable detail in an earlier article,[17] and since—as also with Guéroult's Aesop—inspired *Premier livre des emblemes* it gives an atypical picture of the animal world as represented in early French emblem books—I do not intend to discuss it further here, but rather to focus on the emblem books of the first two French writers to practise the genre, Guillaume de la Perrière and Gilles Corrozet. However, it would not be sensible to discuss the early French emblem books of La Perrière and Corrozet totally in the void, without setting their treatment of the animal world against that of Alciato, the inventor of the genre. Again, since I have already discussed Alciato's treatment of the animal world in an earlier article,[18] I will not go into great detail here, but I will nevertheless discuss Alciato's

16 Aneau, *Imagination poetique*, emblem 43.

17 Saunders A., "The Influence of Ovid on a Sixteenth-Century Emblem Book: Barthélemy Aneau's *Imagination Poetique*", *Nottingham French Studies* 16 (1977) 437–457.

18 Saunders A., "Classical or Home Produced? The Emblematic Menagerie in Sixteenth-Century France", *Emblematica* 18 (2010) 11–32.

approach briefly, because the approach adopted by his French successors is so significantly different from that of Alciato.

A large number of Alciato's emblems are based on the animal world, but what is interesting is that it is to a large extent *not* the everyday real world of animals that we see in Alciato. It must be remembered that not only are a significant number of Alciato's emblems, many of which relate to animals, direct translations into Latin by himself of epigrams taken from the *Greek Anthology* which were first published in 1529—two years before they then reappeared in the earliest edition of his collection of emblems published in 1531—in an anthology of Latin translations of *Greek Anthology* epigrams by himself and other scholars under the title *Selecta epigrammata*, but also the rest of his collection of emblems, as they came to be called from 1531 onwards, was also made up of a series of "original" Latin epigrams composed by himself in very much the same style as his earlier translated *Greek Anthology* epigrams.[19] And the strong classical ancestry of his work is reflected very evidently both in his selection of animals and in his treatment of them.

Eagles are real animals that can be relatively often seen in everyday life—and one characteristic feature of eagles as commonly seen is their ability to fly high (glossed in some bestiary treatises as reflecting their ability to see God).[20] But this is not an aspect of eagles that Alciato is interested in representing. Instead the eagles which we see in Alciato's emblem book are not by and large represented behaving 'naturally', but are more commonly used rather as symbols with a clearly stated classical origin, as for example as represented on the tomb of Aristomenes with the motto "Signa fortium"/ "Signes des fors" [The mark of the brave).[21] And where we do find a representation of an eagle flying high it is not doing so in any natural way, but is rather a representation of the classical myth of Ganymede being carried off on the back of Jupiter's eagle with the motto

19 Alciato's translated *Greek Anthology* epigrams were published, together with those by other Greek scholars in an anthology entitled *Selecta epigrammata Graeca Latine versa, ex septem Epigrammatum Graecorum libris. Accesserunt omnibus omnium prioribus editionibus ac versionibus plus quàm quingenta Epigrammata, recens versa, ab Andrea Alciato, Ottomaro Luscinio, ac Iano Cornario Zuiccaviensi* (Basle, Johannes Bebel: 1529). 30 of these were incorporated into his collection of emblems which was first published in 1531 (*Viri clarissimi D. Andree Alciati Iurisconsultiss. Mediol. Ad D. Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum, Iurisconsultum Emblematum liber* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531). For details of Alciato's use of *Greek Anthology* epigrams in his collection of emblems see Saunders A., "Alciati and the Greek Anthology", *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 12 (1982) 1–18.

20 For details of bestiary interpretations of the eagle, see, for example, http://bestiary.ca.

21 Alciato, *Livret des emblemes* (1536), fols. M1v–M2r.

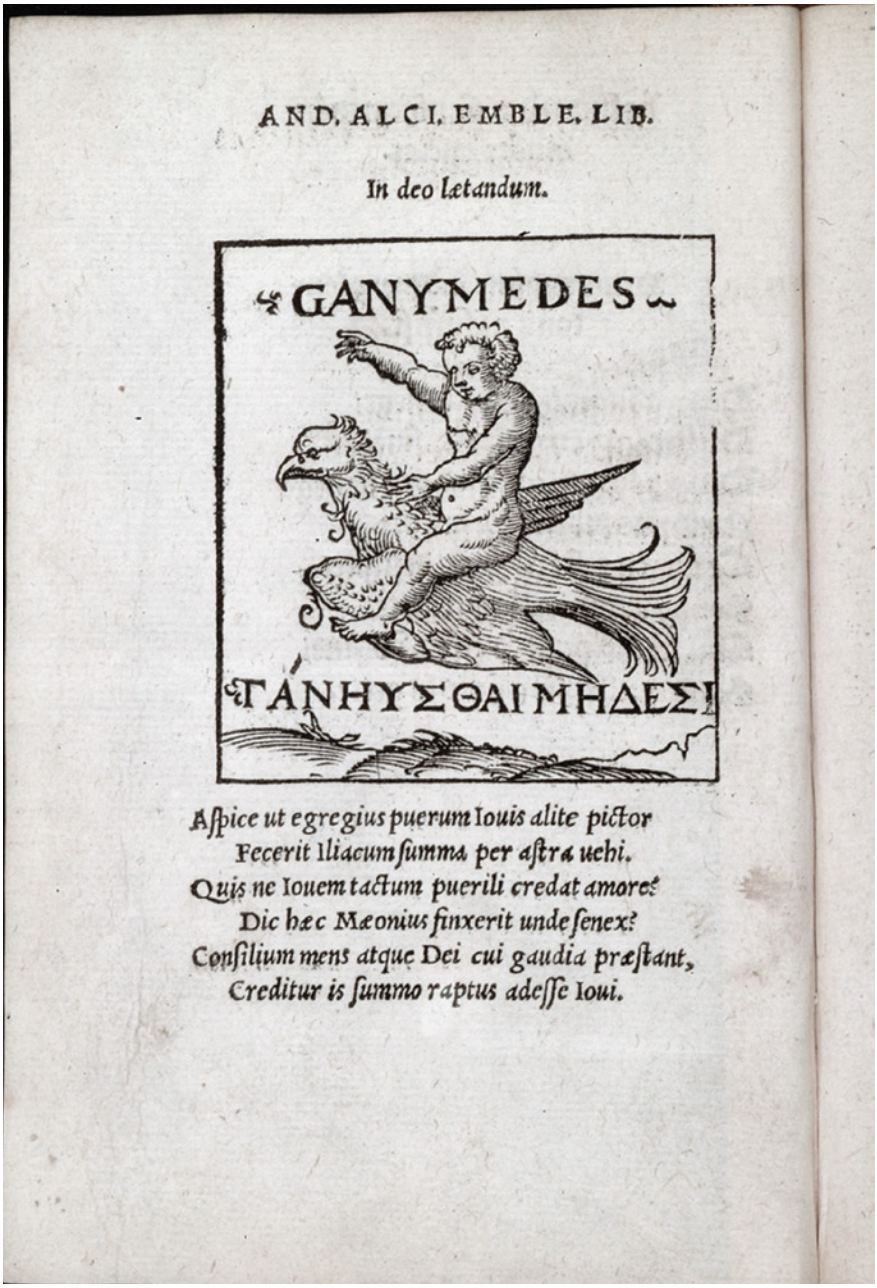
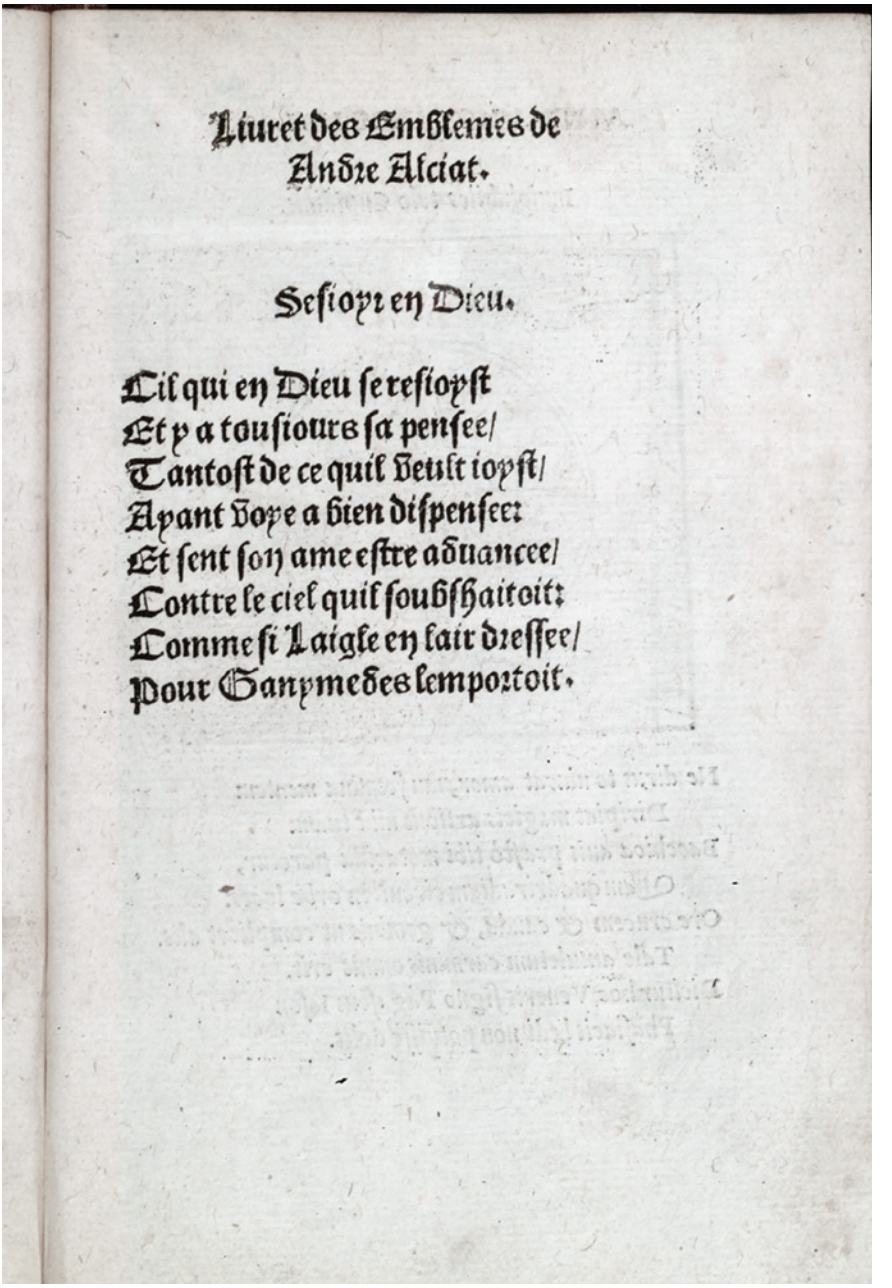

AND. ALCI. EMBLE. LIB.
In deo Lætandum.
GANYMEDES
ΤΑΝΗΥΣΘΑΙ ΜΗΔΕΣΙ
Aſpice ut egregius puerum Iouis alite pictor
Fecerit Iliacum ſumma per aſtra uehi.
Quis ne Iouem tactum puerili credat amore?
Dic hæc Mæonius finxerit unde ſenex?
Conſilium mens atque Dei cui gaudia præſtant,
Creditur is ſummo raptus adeſſe Ioui.

FIGURE 2.3 *Alciato's emblem "In deo laetandum/ Sesjoyr en Dieu", from Andrea Alciato*, Livret des emblemes de maistre André Alciat (*Paris, Chrestien Wechel: 1536*), *fols. E5v–E6r* (*Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, SM23B*).



Liuret des Emblemes de
Andre Alciat.

Se ſioyr en Dieu.

Cil qui en Dieu ſe reſioyſt
Et y a touſiours ſa penſee/
Tantoſt de ce quil veult ioyſt/
Ayant voye a bien diſpenſer:
Et ſent ſon ame eſtre aduancee/
Contre le ciel quil ſoubſhaitoit:
Comme ſi laigle en lair dreſſee/
Pour Ganymedes lemportoit.

"In deo laetandum"/ "Sesjoyr en Dieu" (Joy is to be found in God) [Fig. 2.3].[22] Dolphins are similarly relatively commonly seen animals, leaping and cavorting joyously, but this again is not the picture of dolphins which we find in Alciato. As with the eagle bearing Ganymede on its back, the dolphin that we find in Alciato is again not behaving naturally, but is rather shown coming to the aid of Arion, tossed overboard by pirates, with the motto "In avaros, vel quibus melior conditio ab extraneis offertur"/ "De ceulx qui ont bon heur par estrangiers" (On the avaricious, or on those who get better conditions offered by strangers).[23] Lions, again are well known for the fierceness of their nature, but as used by Alciato, this characteristic feature of the lion is not exploited in a normal everyday context, but rather in a highly stylised setting, where two of them are seen docilely drawing Cupid's chariot, with the motto "Potentissimus affectus amor"/ "Amour affection tres puissante" (Love the all-powerful emotion),[24] reflecting the fact that the power of love is stronger than the strength of a lion.

Certainly we do find *some* more domestic animals in Alciato behaving in what is on the surface, at least, a more natural manner—as for example an ass heavily laden with riches belonging to his wealthy but miserly master, nevertheless hungrily eating thistles, with the motto "In avaros"/ "Contre avaricieux" (On the avaricious) [Fig. 2.4],[25] or another ass greedily eating the rope that his master is weaving, unbeknownst to his master, with the rather curious moral lesson, "Ocni effigies, de his qui meretricibus donant, quod in bonos usus verti debeat"/ "L'effigie de Ocnus contre ceulx qui donnent aux garses ce quon doibt convertir a bon usaige" (A representation of Ocnus, on those who give to whores what should be turned to good).[26] But these are very much a minority, and even emblems such as these can usually also be traced back to a classical ancestry, and are thus not simple reflections of natural behaviour to be seen in ordinary everyday life. Thus, for example, the ass with its avaricious owner in "In avaros"/ "Contre avaricieux" is actually taken from the *Greek Anthology* (XI, 397), although it is not one of the 30 *Greek Anthology* epigrams translated by Alciato which were included in the 1529 *Selecta epigrammata* two years before they then appeared again in their new guise as emblems in the first edition of his *Emblemata*, published in 1531.[27] Likewise Ocnus, compelled to spend eternity in Hades weaving rope which is eaten by an ass is described by Pausanias

22 Ibidem, 1536, fols. E5v–E6r.

23 Ibidem, fols. B8v–C1r.

24 Ibidem, fols. B4v–B5r.

25 Ibidem, fols. G8v–H1r.

26 Ibidem, fols. C6v–C7r.

27 'Artemidorus, reckoning his fortune at many times ten thousand, and spending nothing, leads the life of mules, who often carrying on their backs a heavy and precious load of

in his *Periegesis* (X, 29, 2) as featuring in a painting by Polygnotus which he saw at Delphi.[28] In parenthesis it is interesting to see how, in the first of the three French translations of Alciato which appeared in the sixteenth century, that by Jean Le Fevre, published in 1536, the classical ancestry of these two emblems (as likewise that of all the other emblems) is edited out, reflecting Le Fevre's clear intention, throughout his translation, of simplifying Alciato's text for a French reading public. Whereas, for example, Alciato's original Latin version of "In avaros" [Fig. 2.4] identifies the name of the miser, Septitius,[29] Le Fevre simply refers, in his French translation, to an unspecified mean man:

> Un riche homme avaricieux
> A qui la terre ne suffist,
> Perd somme & pastz delicieux,
> Pour faire temporel proffict:
> Dont semble a lasne, auquel lon feist
> Porter de pain, vin, & chair dons:
> Et il en malheur tout confict,
> Ne menge que herbes & chardons.[30]
>
> An avaricious rich man for whom land is not sufficient, loses sleep and delicious food, to make temporal profit. In this way he resembles an ass which is made to carry gifts of bread, wine and meat, and consumed in misery eats nothing but grass and thistles.

So in Alciato we find plenty of animals, but in almost all cases their behaviour or the situation in which they are found is stylised and far from "natural". And even in the relatively few cases where normal, everyday animals (like the two asses above) are represented behaving in a realistic manner, we frequently find that a reference is carefully worked into the emblem, making clear its classical ancestry. How then does this compare with what we find in native French

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gold, only eat hay' (*The Greek Anthology*, Loeb Classical Library, 5 vols., 1989, vol. IV, 261). In Alciato's emblem version Artemidorus is renamed Septitius.

28 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Loeb Classical Library, 5 vols., 1918, vol. IV. See also Theoi Classical E-Texts Library (www.theoi.com/Text/Pausanias10B.html).

29 'Septitius is the richest man on earth, no old man has wider estates than he. Mean to himself and his dinner table, he chews nothing but beets and stringy turnips. To what shall I liken a man whose very wealth makes him a beggar? Shall it be an ass? That's it—he is just like an ass. An ass carries a load of rich delicacies on his back, but, poor creature, feeds itself on brambles and tough grass' Translation taken from *French Emblems at Glasgow* website (www. emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk).

30 Alciato, *Livret des emblemes*, fol. H1r.

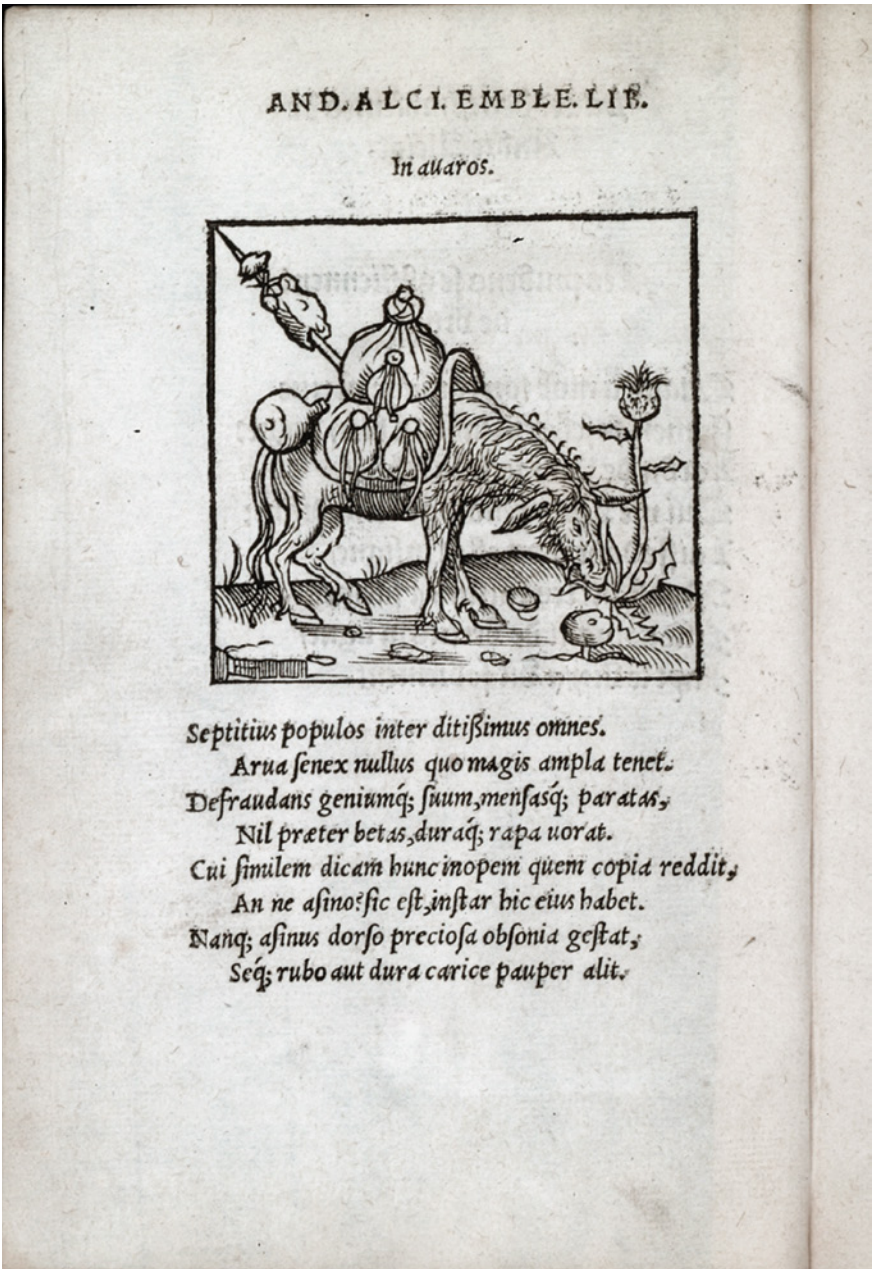
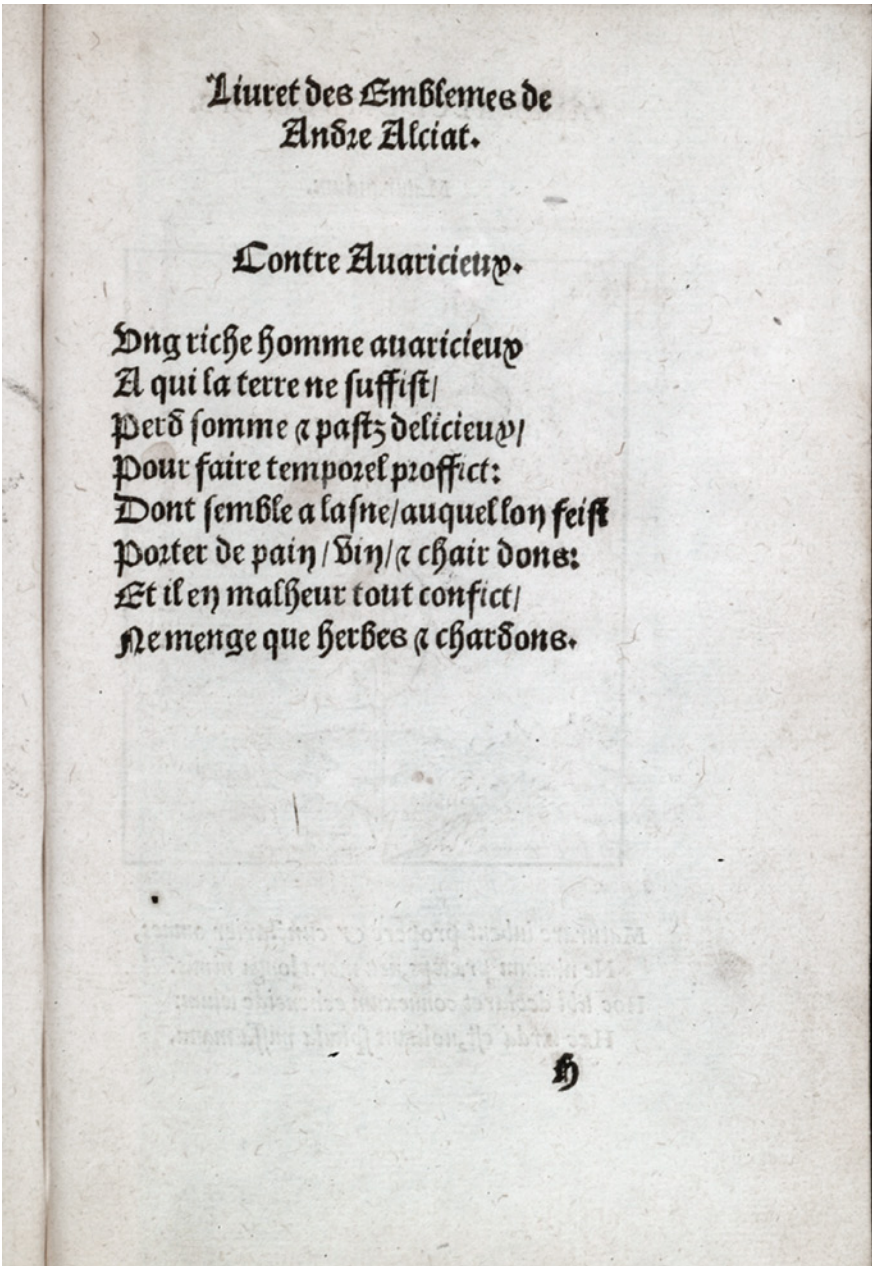

AND. ALCI. EMBLE. LIB.
In auaros.
Septitius populos inter ditißimus omnes.
Arua ſenex nullus quo magis ampla tenet.
Defraudans geniumq; ſuum, menſasq; paratas,
Nil præter betas, duraq; rapa uorat.
Cui ſimilem dicam hunc inopem quem copia reddit,
An ne aſino? ſic eſt, inſtar hic eius habet.
Nanq; aſinus dorſo precioſa obſonia geſtat,
Seq; rubo aut dura carice pauper alit.

FIGURE 2.4 *Alciato's emblem "In avaros/ Contre avaricieux", from Andrea Alciato*, Livret des emblemes de maistre André Alciat (*Paris, Chrestien Wechel: 1536*), *fols. G8v–H1r* (*Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, SM23B*).



Liuret des Emblemes de
Andre Alciat.

Contre Auaricieux.

Vng riche homme auaricieux
A qui la terre ne ſuffiſt/
Perd ſomme & paſtz delicieux/
Pour faire temporel proffict:
Dont ſemble a laſne/auquel lon feiſt
Porter de pain/vin/& chair dons:
Et il en malheur tout confict/
Ne menge que herbes & chardons.

h

emblem books, which—ostensibly, at least—claim Alciato as an important model?

Here the picture is undoubtedly very different from that which we see in Alciato. But even within the limited field of "early French emblem books" what is interesting is that we do not find one single approach emerging, even when we have restricted our field to two writers only. And indeed when we look at two works by the same emblem writer—whether it be La Perrière or Corrozet—we find again differences in the extent to which their animal-based emblems relate to the "natural world". Let us begin, therefore, by looking at the first two French emblem books to be published, La Perrière's *Theatre* and then Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie*, both published within a few months of each other, in 1540 by the same Paris printer, Denis Janot, and both—at that early date—having no emblematic model to follow other than that of Alciato. On the face of it, given this background, we might expect their two emblem books to be very similar to each other, but in fact this is not the case. Structurally they both follow a quite different pattern (which is not really relevant to us here),[31] but more significantly for the purpose of this article, although both depend heavily on the natural world for material for their emblems, and in particular on the world of animals, the extent to which each does so is different, and different also is the extent to which they focus to a greater or lesser extent on the behaviour of domestic animals, rather than more exotic animals.

Both the *Theatre* and the *Hecatomgraphie* include a strikingly high proportion of animal emblems, but La Perrière's collection of 36 (out of a total of ca. 100) is significantly higher than Corrozet's collection of only 27 (again out of a total of ca. 100) How, then, do their animal-based emblems compare with those of their model, Alciato? Let us begin with La Perrière, since his *Theatre* predates Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie.* Although the *Theatre* has a large number of emblems in which the woodcut figure depicts an animal, a significant number of these also depict a human, and in fact the main focus of the emblem is not so much on what the animal is doing, but rather on what the human is doing to the animal, and thus the moral lesson or reflection on social patterns is based on the behaviour of the human rather than on the behaviour of the animal. So in such cases as these, the question of "natural" or "unnatural" animal behaviour does not really arise, and while we can see that in some cases the situation that is depicted may be "realistic" or "unrealistic" this relates to human behaviour rather than to animal behaviour. Of such a kind would be the foolish man trying to shave a lion[32] or—dangerous, certainly, but perhaps

31 See, for example, the very different structure as demonstrated in Figs. 2.5 and 2.6 (*Theatre*) and 2.7 and 2.8 (*Hecatomgraphie*).

32 La Perrière, *Theatre*, emblem 3.

not quite so lethal—another foolish man standing behind a horse and attempting to pull its tail out at one go (*Theatre*, emblem 55). Further essentially futile human behaviour towards animals is demonstrated by a man attempting to catch a dolphin by the tail, reflecting specifically in this case on man's inability to control a determinedly fickle woman (*Theatre*, emblem 96) [Fig. 2.5], while another human is shown trying vainly to chase and catch a bird once it has escaped from its cage into freedom in the great outside world (*Theatre*, emblem 90). In all the 8 *Theatre* emblems that fall into this category the response made by the animal or bird to such foolish or bizarre human activity is wholly natural, but that is not the point of the emblem.

Unlike the earlier model that La Perrière would have found in Alciato, his own emblem book includes far fewer emblematic animals whose classical origin is noted, or whose role is purely symbolic. In such cases as there are, they are not represented as actually behaving in any particular way, natural or not, but are simply depicted statically, their body alone sufficing to represent a human characteristic or attribute. Among these purely symbolic ones would be the Machiavelli-inspired emblem of a king accompanied by a lion on one side and a fox on the other, denoting that kingship requires not just strength (as represented by the lion) but also cunning (as represented by the fox)[33] or the similar depiction of a sceptre and crown supported by a dog and a hare,[34] denoting that to be an effective leader a ruler must be both loved and feared (again a point made by Machiavelli in *The Prince*).[35] Again, in marked contrast to Alciato, La Perrière's *Theatre* includes only one classical emblematic animal—a clearly unrealistic, monstrous one in the shape of the Hydra being vanquished by Hercules[36] and one inspired from ancient history—depicting Alexander the Great's horse, Bucephalus,[37] shown armoured and accoutred, and full of equine pride at having rid himself of a presumptuous would-be rider who is not his own master. Rather surprisingly, the theme of Bucephalus is used by La Perrière here in an ingenious, but somewhat negative way, not to represent—as might be expected—fierceness and strength as laudable qualities in a brave warhorse, but rather to reflect adversely on the way in which

33 Ibidem, emblem 22.

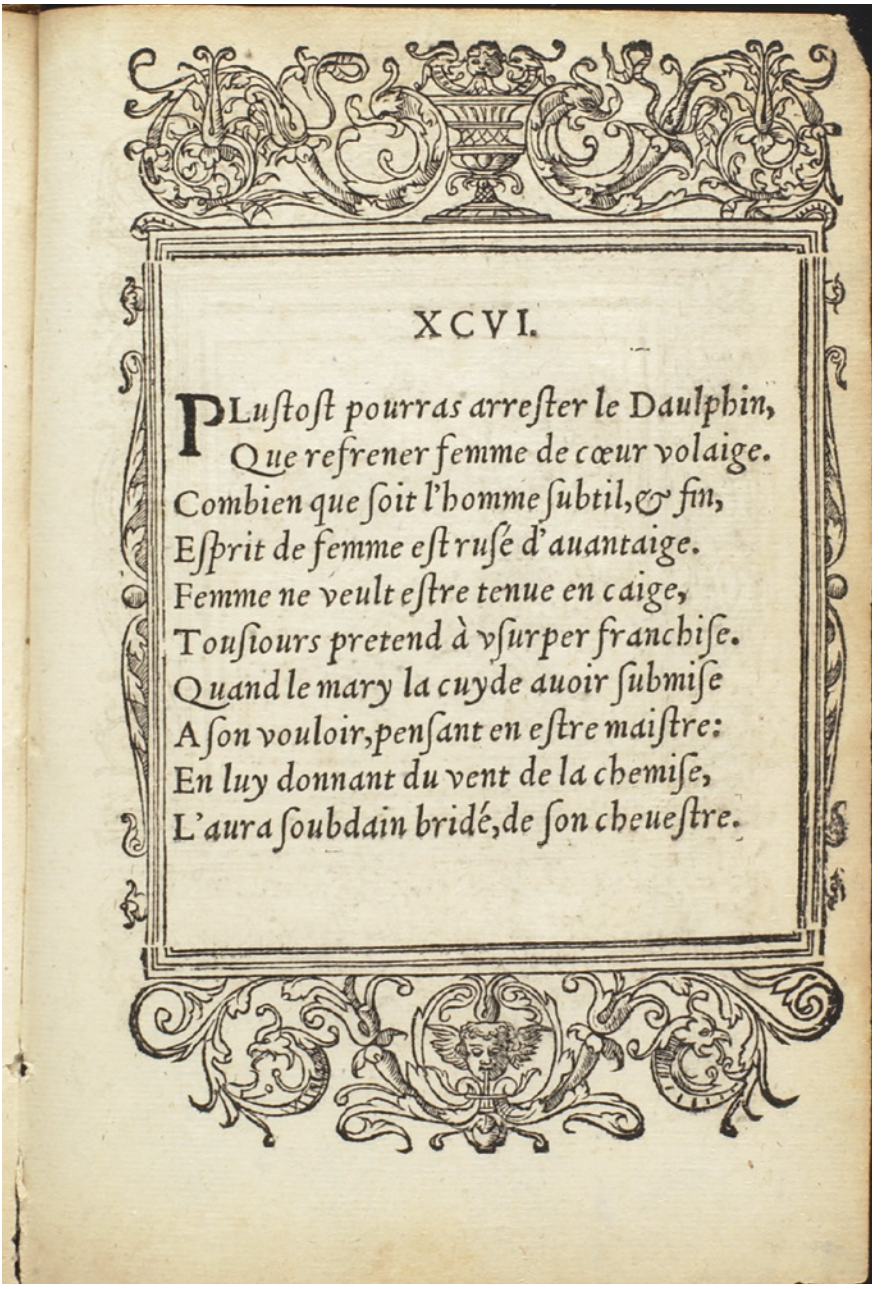
34 Ibidem, emblem 92.

35 For the lion/fox image denoting strength/cunning see Machiavelli Niccolò, *The Prince*, trans. G. Bull (Harmondsworth: 1961), chapter 18. Machiavelli also treats the relative importance of love and fear in chapter 17, but without using the dog/hare analogy used by La Perrière.

36 Ibidem, emblem 99.

37 Ibidem, emblem 91.

FIGURE 2.5 *Guillaume de la Perrière*, Le theatre des bons engins (*Paris, Denis Janot: n.d.* [*1544*]), *emblem 96, fols. N5v–N6r* (*Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, SM686*).



XCVI.

PLuſtoſt pourras arreſter le Daulphin,
Que refrener femme de cœur volaige.
Combien que ſoit l'homme ſubtil, & fin,
Eſprit de femme eſt ruſé d'auantaige.
Femme ne veult eſtre tenue en caige,
Touſiours pretend à vſurper franchiſe.
Quand le mary la cuyde auoir ſubmiſe
A ſon vouloir, penſant en eſtre maiſtre:
En luy donnant du vent de la chemiſe,
L'aura ſoubdain bridé, de ſon cheueſtre.

those who rise to positions of honour from humble origins, can develop excessive pride, to the extent that they become uncontrollable:

> Quand Bucephal se cognoissoit bardé,
> Si fier estoit, que plus ne povoit estre:
> Pour lors aulcun ne se fust hazardé
> Le chevaulcher, reservé son seul maistre.
> Par ce pourtraict est donné à cognoistre,
> Que gentz extraictz de quelque race infime,
> Si parvenir peuvent à grosse estime,
> Si fiers se font, qu'on ne les peult tenir.
> Quand pauvreté monte en honneur sublime,
> L'on ne la peult, à peine, retenir.[38]
>
> When Bucephalus saw himself accoutred, he was as proud as it was possible to be. Thereafter nobody would risk mounting him other than his master alone. By this picture is given to understand that if people born of humble origin come to great esteem, they become so proud that they cannot be restrained. When poverty rises to great honour, it can hardly be contained.

However, in the remainder of cases, the animals represented in the *Theatre* are "real" animals such as can be seen in real life. In a number of these, however, although the animals themselves are real, their behaviour is not, and among these we find several of the traditional ones mentioned at the beginning of this article, whose behaviour is clearly neither realistic nor natural—the mother bear, for example, licking her newly born offspring into shape,[39] whereas the foolish monkey in contrast hugs its young to death in an excess of affection[40] [Fig. 2.6], and the over-enthusiastic nightingale sings itself to death:

> Le Rossignol, de nature, ha la grace,
> Que tous oyseaulx surmonte en harmonie:
> Tant se parforce à chanter, qu'il trespasse,
> Pour ne vouloir que sa voix soit honnie.
> Maintz bons espritz ont telle felonnie,
> Par le desir d'estre souverains maistres,
> Tant sont apres les proses, & les metres,

38 Ibidem, emblem 91.
39 Ibidem, emblem 98.
40 Ibidem, emblem 47.

> Et de scavoir ont si fervente envie:
> Que par vouloir trop se fonder aux letres,
> Finablement ilz y perdent la vie.[41]
>
> The nightingale has by its nature such grace that it surpasses all birds in harmony. Not wishing its voice to be shamed, it strives so hard to sing that it dies. Many good minds have such a fault. Through wishing to be sovereign master, they pursue so avidly prose and metre, and have such a burning desire for knowledge, that by striving excessively to devote themselves to scholarship, they in the end lose their life.

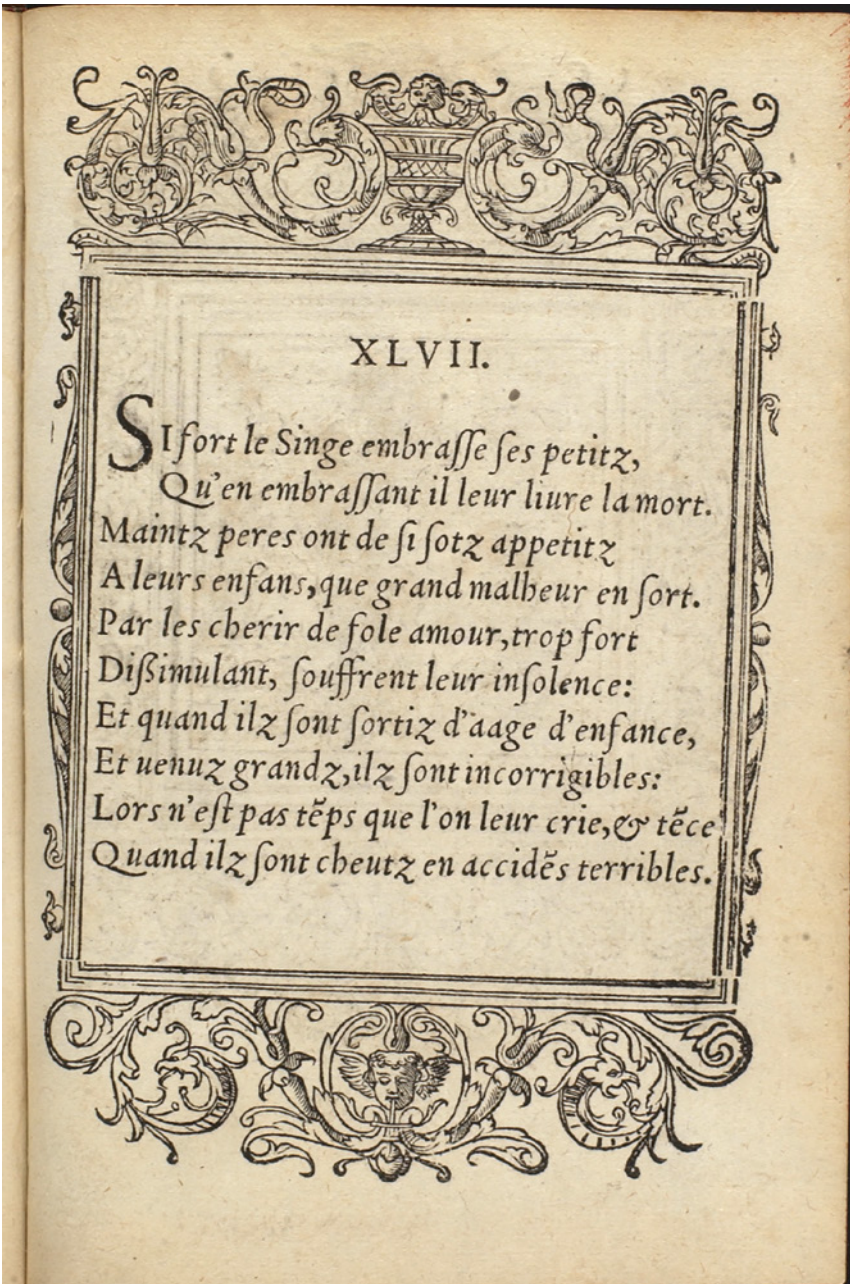
Behaving equally unnaturally, or presented in an unnatural context, but not following an identifiable and well known classical or bestiary tradition, are other "real" animals such as an ass being taught to dance by Cupid[42] or another ass being clambered over by monkeys[43] representing in the first case (inspired from Boccaccio, as we are told) the civilising impact of love, and in the second case representing the vulnerability of the simple-minded to the evil influence of flatterers.

Not all are like this, however, and we do find several emblems in the *Theatre* which depict more truly "natural" behaviour being exhibited by animals, such as crows scavenging dead bodies[44] or conversely fleas and lice abandoning dead bodies[45] or pigs having a morbid taste for rubbish,[46] or—rather differently—an overloaded mule collapsed to the ground under the weight of its burden.[47] This is an interesting and unusual emblem deriving its moral lesson not from the distressed situation of the mule, but rather from the feeble reaction of the muleteer who simply stands and looks on helplessly, whereas he should be doing something to remedy the situation, since 'God helps those who help themselves':

> Par un chemin trop fascheux, & estrange,
> Si d'avanture advient que lourdement,
> Ton mulet tombe au millieu de la fange,
> Dont il ne peult sortir facilement:

41 Ibidem, emblem 34.
42 Ibidem, emblem 62.
43 Ibidem, emblem 42.
44 Ibidem, emblem 45.
45 Ibidem, emblem 94.
46 Ibidem, emblem 17.
47 Ibidem, emblem 95.

FIGURE 2.6 *Guillaume de la Perrière*, Le theatre des bons engins (*Paris, Denis Janot: n.d.* [*1544*]), *emblem 47, fols. G4v–G5r* (*Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, SM686*).



XLVII.

SI fort le Singe embraſſe ſes petitz,
Qu'en embraſſant il leur liure la mort.
Maintz peres ont de ſi ſotz appetitz
A leurs enfans, que grand malheur en ſort.
Par les cherir de fole amour, trop fort
Diſſimulant, ſouffrent leur inſolence:
Et quand ilz ſont ſortiz d'aage d'enfance,
Et uenuz grandz, ilz ſont incorrigibles:
Lors n'eſt pas tẽps que l'on leur crie, & tẽce
Quand ilz ſont cheutz en accidẽs terribles.

> Que feras tu? Vers Dieu premierement
> T'adresseras, implorant son secours:
> Mais ce pendant qu'à luy as ton recours,
> Metz y la main, avant qu'arrester plus:
> Car si premier toymesmes te secours,
> Par luy seras secouru du surplus.[48]
>
> If it happens that on a rough and unfamiliar track your ass falls down heavily in the middle of the mud, from which it can not easily get up, what will you do? You will first address yourself to God, beseeching his aid. But while you are having recourse to Him, set to, yourself, with your own hands, without waiting. For if you first help yourself, you will be further helped by Him.

In summary, then, we find in the first French emblem book, composed (albeit not published) in 1536, the same year as the first edition of Jean Le Fevre's French translation of Alciato, and within two years of the first publication in France of the original Latin version of Alciato in 1534 (both published by Christian Wechel in Paris) a range of different ways in which the animal world is exploited.[49] What is most apparent, however, is the far less great emphasis than was the case with Alciato, on the classical ancestry of the animals represented. By and large, as depicted in the *Theatre*, the animals are neither mythical nor fantastic, but are indeed "natural"—in appearance at least. And while the collection does indeed contain *some* animals, such as the bear or the monkey, whose appearance is realistic and "natural", but whose reported behaviour is not, many other animals are both depicted naturally and behave naturally, in a way that was not nearly so much the case in Alciato.

How, then, does this compare with Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie*, published also by Denis Janot in Paris, only a few months after La Perrière's *Theatre*? Before discussing this question, there is, however, one significant feature of Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie* to be noted, which makes it visually different from La Perrière's *Theatre*, and which needs therefore to be addressed first. Unlike La Perrière's *Theatre*, for which the woodcut figures were created specifically for that text, and—unusually for Janot, who habitually re-used his stock of woodblocks in different works whenever possible—were not used by him elsewhere, either before or after, a significant number of the woodcut figures used to illustrate the emblems in the *Hecatomgraphie* were taken

48 Ibidem, emblem 97.

49 Alciato Andrea, *Emblematum libellus* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1534).

from Janot's large already existing stock. It might therefore be thought that this would perhaps have constrained Corrozet's freedom in his choice of, and representation of animals in his emblems. But in fact, of the 19 woodcut figures used in the *Hecatomgraphie* that had already been used earlier by Janot (in editions of Petrarch, Marot, Ovid, Helisenne de Crenne, Gratien du Pont, and Antoine du Saix),[50] only 5 depict animals: dogs worrying a hedgehog in the emblem "Contre les divers assaultz d'envie" (Against the various assaults of envy),[51] remora in "Doulce parolle rompt ire" (Gentle words calm anger),[52] wolf and lamb in "Amour faincte" (Feigned love),[53] eagle and ant in "Les petits peuvent souventesfoys nuyre" (The small can often harm),[54] and lion and fox in "Deffiance non moins utile, que prudence" (Suspicion no less useful than prudence).[55] So since it is only 5 out of Corrozet's total of 27 animal-based emblems in the *Hecatomgraphie* which use pre-existing woodcut figures, it can therefore be reasonably assumed that he was not in fact significantly more constrained in his choice of subject matter and of illustrations, as far as his animal-based emblems are concerned, at least, than was La Perrière, who had apparently totally free rein in this matter.[56]

Having established that fact, it is the case, nevertheless, that Corrozet's animal-based emblems in the *Hecatomgraphie* are indeed significantly different from those of La Perrière's *Theatre*. Although fewer in overall number, they contain a greater number of animals than those of La Perrière, since in many cases not just one animal is represented in each emblem, but rather two animals, interacting with each other—often derived from actual fables,

50 For full discussion of Janot's re-use of woodcut figures in his editions of both the *Hecatomgraphie* and the little collection of *Emblemes* appended to the *Tableau de Cebes de Thebes* see Saunders A., "Emblem Books for a Popular Audience? Gilles Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie* and *Emblemes*", *Australian Journal of French Studies* 17, Special 16th-Century Issue (1980) 5–29. See also Rawles S., "Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie*: Where Did the Woodcuts Come From and Where Did they Go?", *Emblematica* 3 (1988) 31–64.

51 Corrozet, *Hecatomgraphie* fols. C8v–D1r.

52 Ibidem, fols. D8v–E1r.

53 Ibidem, fols. H2v–H3r.

54 Ibidem, fols. H3v–H4r.

55 Ibidem, fols. H5v–H6r.

56 We do not know why Janot treated his editions of the *Theatre* differently from other works he published. Certainly it is the case that the set of woodcut figures used in the *Theatre* are very different from those habitually used by Janot, both in size and style, and it may possibly be the case that it was La Perrière himself, author of the text, who procured them and supplied them to Janot for use with this particular work, but none other, but there is no hard evidence to prove this.

or alternatively written in the manner of a fable. See, for example a lion and lamb in emblem "Triumphe de humilité" (Triumph of humility),[57] a wolf and lamb in "Amour faincte" (Feigned love) [Fig. 2.7],[58] an eagle and ant in "Les petits peuvent souventesfoys nuyre" (The small can often harm),[59] a lion and fox in "Deffiance non moins utile, que prudence" (Suspicion no less useful than prudence),[60] or a serpent and elephant in "Subtilité vault mieulx que force" (Subtlety is worth more than strength),[61] These are all real animals, and although their behaviour is presented in a stylised narrative manner, it is nevertheless realistic and "natural", reflecting observable character traits of these animals in real life. Other animals in the *Hecatomgraphie* which are depicted singly are also for the most part real, and represented likewise as behaving in a realistic or "natural" way. See, for example, a snail tucked safely into its shell in "Secret est à louer" (Secrecy is to be praised):

> Ainsi que le Lymas se tient
> En sa coquille en grand secret,
> Tout ainsi l'homme se maintient,
> Clos & couvert comme discret.[62]
>
> Just as the snail keeps itself secret and hidden within its shell, so also the discreet man should keep himself enclosed and covered.

See also a magpie building her nest high or low depending on the weather in "Se gouverner selon le temps" (Conducting oneself according to the weather),[63] or moths fluttering round a candle in "La guerre doulce, aux inexperimentez" (War is pleasing to the inexperienced).[64]

Already in La Perrière we saw significantly fewer animals derived from classical or identified ancient sources, or traditional bestiary sources, as compared with Alciato, and this development is even more apparent in Corrozet's much more realistic "everyday" animal emblems. Unlike La Perrière, Corrozet does

57 Corrozet, *Hecatomgraphie* fols. F2v–F3r.
58 Ibidem, fols. H2v–H3r.
59 Ibidem, fols. H3v–H4r.
60 Ibidem, fols. H5v–H6r.
61 Ibidem, fols. H6r–H7v.
62 Ibidem, fol. D3v.
63 Ibidem, fols. L1v–L2r.
64 Ibidem, fols. L2v–L3r.

not include in the *Hecatographie* a traditional bear or monkey. The only "exotic" or non-everyday animals which he includes is the little remora, capable of holding back a great ship, in the emblem "Doulce parolle rompt ire" (Gentle words calm anger):

> Ainsi que ce petit poisson,
> Peult arrester ung grand Navire,
> La langue en pareille facon,
> Rompt toute fureur & grand ire.[65]
>
> Just as this little fish can halt a great ship, in similar way the tongue can vanquish all fury and great anger.

or the rather obscure *lièvre marin*, which—remarkably—appears in three separate emblems in the *Hecatomgraphie*, in "Fault eviter maulvaise fortune" (Evil fortune should be avoided);[66] "Qui nuyst à aultruy il nuyst à soymesmes" (He who harms others harms himself)[67] "Peril & danger de tous costez" (Peril and danger on all sides).[68] Whereas La Perrière's *Theatre* already included far fewer classically inspired animals, or animals used as symbols, than Alciato, Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie* includes none at all. Certainly there are one or two real animals engaged in activities that are not realistic or "natural", such as the squirrel perched on a plank of wood and ingeniously using its tail as a sail, in order to cross a stretch of water ("Sayder de tous ses membres", Helping oneself with all one's limbs),[69] or—rather differently—the goose lamenting the fact that she has been shot by an arrow tipped with her own feather ("Contre celluy qui est cause de son mal", Against him who is cause of one's suffering);[70] or the similar, petrarchan inspired, image of the stag suffering from the pain of the arrow shot into its body even when the bow which shot the arrow has been loosed ("Le courroux rappaisé, ne restablist l'offense", Calming the anger does not make good the offence):[71]

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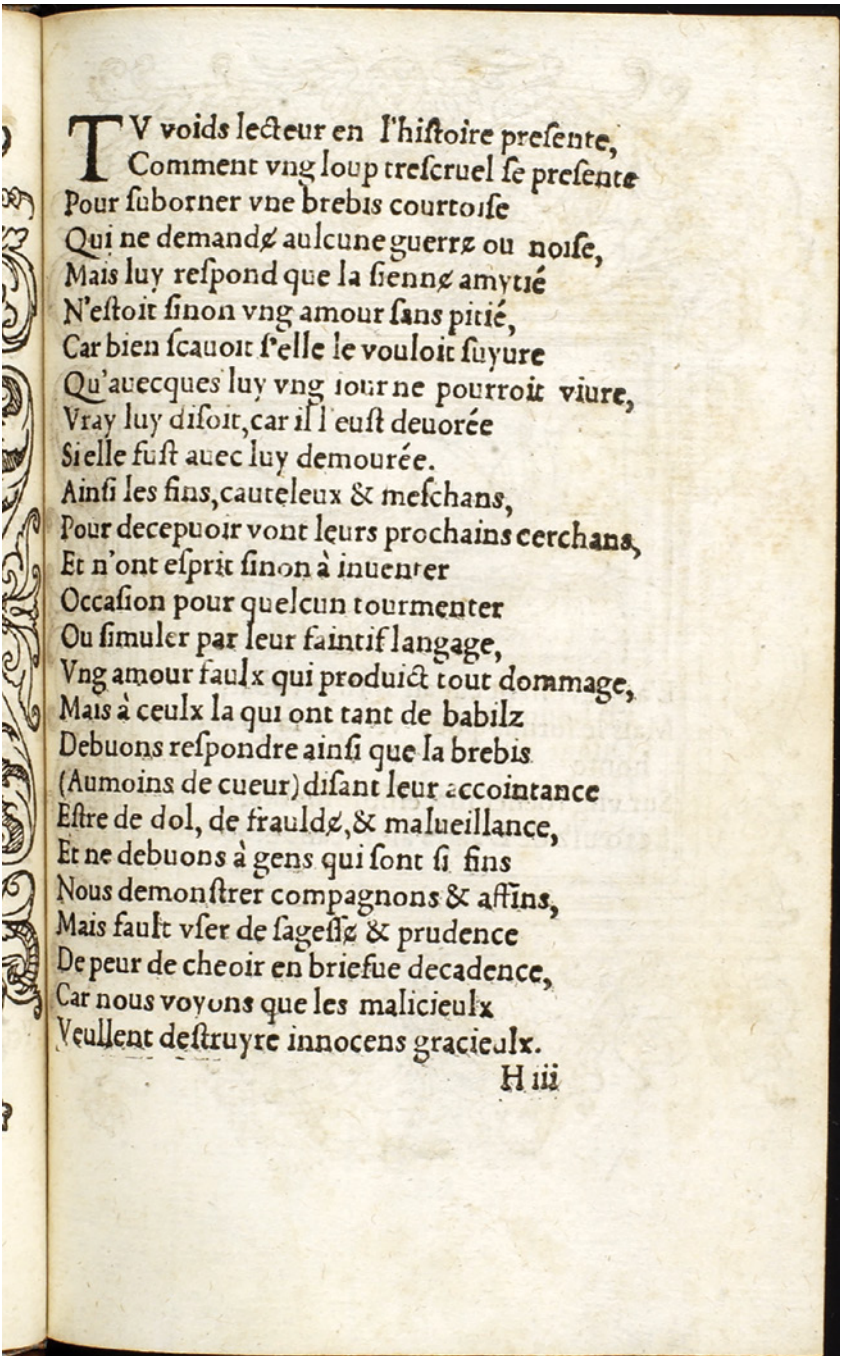
65 Ibidem, fol. D8v.
66 Ibidem, fols. F5v–F6r.
67 Ibidem, fols. F6v–r.
68 Ibidem, fols. G6v–G7r.
69 Ibidem, fols. K2v–K3r.
70 Ibidem, fols. F1v–F2r.
71 Ibidem, fols. E7v–E8r.

Amour fainɛte.
Le Loup ſemond la brebis fainɛtemẽt
Diſant, ayons bonne amytié enſemble
Dit la brebis cela bon ne me ſemble,
Tu veulx aymer, mais c'eſt cruellemẽt.

FIGURE 2.7 *Corrozet's emblem "Amour faincte", from Gilles Corrozet,* Hecatomgraphie (*Paris, Denis Janot: 1540), fols. H2v–H3r* (*Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, SMAdd385*).



TV voids lecteur en l'hiſtoire preſente,
Comment vng loup treſcruel ſe preſente
Pour ſuborner vne brebis courtoiſe
Qui ne demande aulcune guerre ou noiſe,
Mais luy reſpond que la ſienne amytié
N'eſtoit ſinon vng amour ſans pitié,
Car bien ſcauoit ſ'elle le vouloit ſuyure
Qu'auecques luy vng iour ne pourroit viure,
Vray luy diſoit, car il l'euſt deuorée
Si elle fuſt auec luy demourée.
Ainſi les fins, cauteleux & meſchans,
Pour decepuoir vont leurs prochains cerchans,
Et n'ont eſprit ſinon à inuenter
Occaſion pour quelcun tourmenter
Ou ſimuler par leur faintif langage,
Vng amour faulx qui produict tout dommage,
Mais à ceulx la qui ont tant de babilz
Debuons reſpondre ainſi que la brebis
(Aumoins de cueur) diſant leur accointance
Eſtre de dol, de fraulde, & malueillance,
Et ne debuons à gens qui ſont ſi fins
Nous demonſtrer compagnons & affins,
Mais fault vſer de ſageſſe & prudence
De peur de cheoir en briefue decadence,
Car nous voyons que les malicieulx
Veullent deſtruyre innocens gracieulx.

> Quand le cerf est blessé jusqu'au mourir
> De riens ne sert que l'arc soit desbendé,
> Car pour cela n'en peult estre amendé,
> L'arc desbendé ne le scauroit guerir.[72]
>
> When the stag is wounded to the verge of death, it is of no use that the bow be loosed, for by that means it cannot be remedied. The loosed bow cannot heal it.

But these are exceptions, and for the most part the animals in the *Hecatomgraphie* are real animals engaged in normal recognisable animal behaviour. Sometimes, but less frequently than in the *Theatre*, they are accompanied by humans, but unlike the *Theatre* emblems the emphasis in the *Hecatomgraphie* emblems is focused nevertheless on the feelings of the animal, rather than of the human, as for example, the ravenous dog receiving bread tossed to him by a man, and devouring it so quickly that he does not have time to taste it ("Insuffisance", Insufficiency)[73] [Fig. 2.8], or the unfortunate lamb shorn twice a year ("Estre tondu deux foys lan", Being shorn twice a year):[74]

> Moy pauvre simple brebriette,
> Helas combien m'a il cousté
> On me tond hyver & esté,
> Dont je plaings, souspire & regrette.
>
> Myself a poor, simple little lamb, alas how much it has cost me. I am shorn winter and summer, for which I lament, sigh and regret.

Significantly more, therefore, than in La Perrière's *Theatre*, we see that Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie* has moved further away from the classically oriented model of Alciato, in which animals are much more likely to be found

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72 Ibidem, fol. E7v. This commonplace theme (based on a translation of the last line ['Piagha per allentar d'arco non sana'] of Petrarch's sonnet 90 of the *Canzoniere, 'Erano I capei d'oro a l'aura sparsi* […]' was used as refrain ('Desbender l'arc ne guerist point la playe') to an early *chant royal* by Clément Marot, first published in his *Opuscules et petitz traictez* (Lyons, Olivier Arnoullet: 1531), whose title *Chant royal dont le Roy bailla le refrain* suggests that the king (Francis I) invited court poets to compose poems using the phrase 'Desbender l'arc ne guerist point la playe' as refrain.

73 *Hecatomgraphie*, fols. B2v–B3r.

74 Ibidem, fols. M3v–M4r.

behaving in an "unnatural" way. With only one or two exceptions his animals are ordinary animals—often domestic ones—such as can be seen in everyday life, behaving by and large in a normal way. But what happens when both these two writers of emblem books return to the genre for a second attempt—in the case of Corrozet only three years later, in 1543, but in the case of La Perrière significantly later, since his bilingual Latin/French *Morosophie* was not published until 1553—thirteen years after his *Theatre* was first published, and seventeen years after the work was first begun (but not completed) in 1535.[75]

Let us look at Corrozet first, since the time gap between his *Hecatomgraphie* and his little collection of *Emblemes*, also published by Janot, is smaller than that between La Perrière's two emblem books. The collection is much shorter—comprising only 46 emblems, of which only 16 are illustrated, and the proportion of animal—based emblems is significantly smaller than in the *Hecatomgraphie.* Only 8 of the 46 emblems (5 illustrated and 3 non-illustrated) relate to animals, making a total of just over 17%, as opposed to 28% in the *Hecatomgraphie* (and 36% in the *Theatre*). But what is striking about the animal emblems in the *Emblemes* is that almost all the animals are now domestic, focusing almost exclusively on farmyard animals or on hunting/hunted animals, so we find that here he has taken even further than he did in the *Hecatomgraphie* the trend away from the Alciato model, rejecting the classical and stylised emblematic animals, and their often "unnatural" behaviour, in favour of something much more familiar and "natural", as for example, among the non-illustrated emblems, the dog returning to eat its own vomit, used as an analogy for the man returning to repeat a misdemeanour in "Ne retourner à peché" (One should not return to one's wrongdoing),[76] or among the illustrated emblems the sleek well-cared for horse representing the well-being of a family where the father is present to make sure that all goes well in "Du gouvernement de maison" (On the running of the house)[77] [Fig. 2.9]. As is often the case in the illustrated emblems in the *Emblemes,* the match between text and figure is here not very good, and while we do indeed see depicted in the figure the complacent well fed horse, we also see a rather humble little ass beside

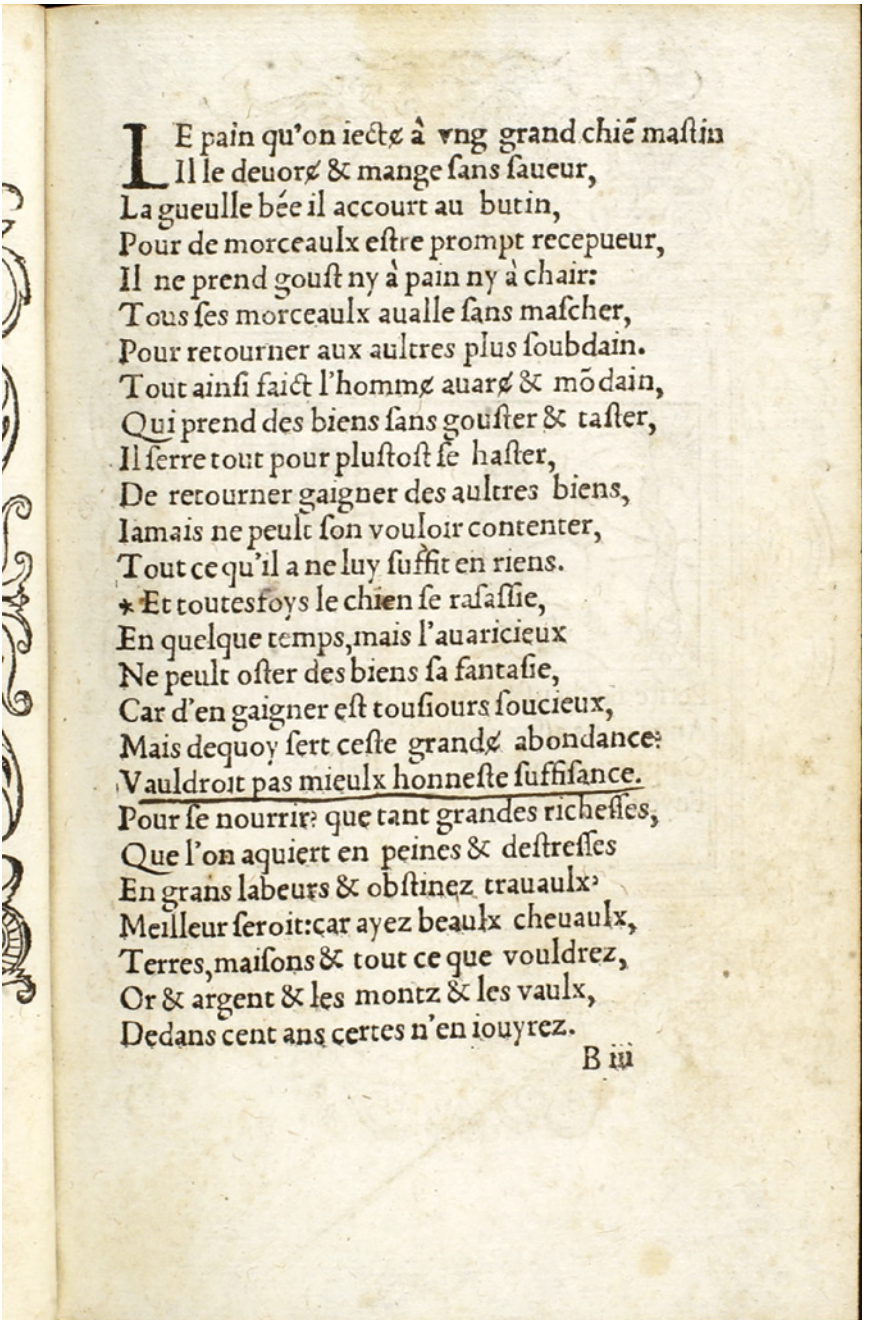
75 Although the *Morosophie* was not printed by Macé Bonhomme in Lyons until 1553, La Perrière must have finished writing it two years before then, since the 10-year royal privilege accorded to the two Toulouse booksellers, Jean Mounier and Jean Perrin to publish this and another work by La Perrière, his *Considerations des quatre mondes* (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1552) is dated 11 August 1551.

76 Ibidem, fol. G4v.

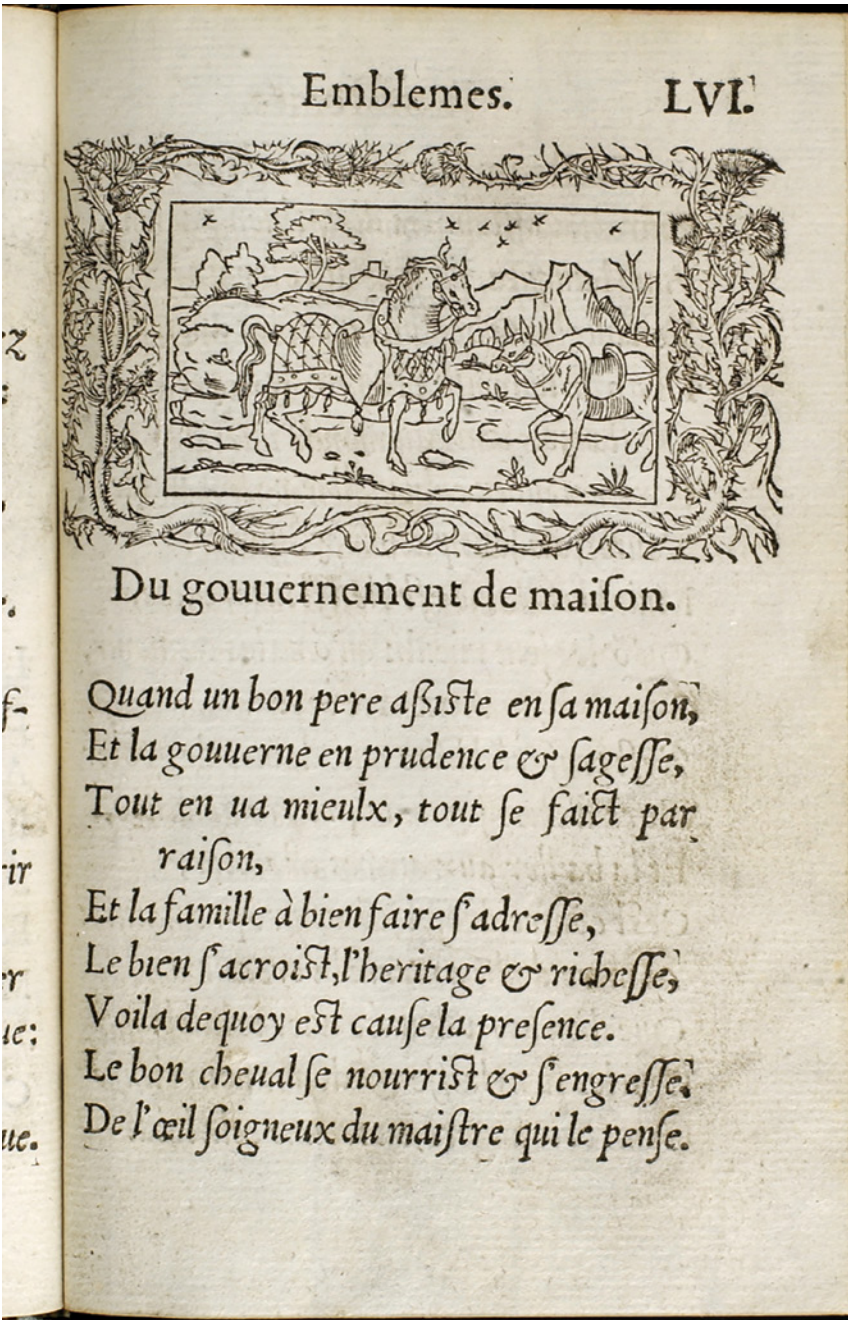
77 Ibidem, fol. G8r.

Inſuffiſance.
Moy pauure chien de ma nature,
Sy haſtif ſuys à deuorer,
Qu'en receptant ma nourriture
Ie ne l'oſe pas ſauourer.

FIGURE 2.8 *Corrozet's emblem "Insuffisance", from Gilles Corrozet,* Hecatomgraphie (*Paris, Denis Janot: 1540*), *fols. B2v–B3r* (*Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, SMAdd385*).



LE pain qu'on iecte à vng grand chiẽ maſtin
Il le deuore & mange ſans ſaueur,
La gueulle bée il accourt au butin,
Pour de morceaulx eſtre prompt recepueur,
Il ne prend gouſt ny à pain ny à chair:
Tous ſes morceaulx aualle ſans maſcher,
Pour retourner aux aultres plus ſoubdain.
Tout ainſi faict l'homme auare & mõdain,
Qui prend des biens ſans gouſter & taſter,
Il ſerre tout pour pluſtoſt ſe haſter,
De retourner gaigner des aultres biens,
Iamais ne peult ſon vouloir contenter,
Tout ce qu'il a ne luy ſuffit en riens.
* Et toutesfoys le chien ſe raſaſſie,
En quelque temps, mais l'auaricieux
Ne peult oſter des biens ſa fantaſie,
Car d'en gaigner eſt touſiours ſoucieux,
Mais dequoy ſert ceſte grande abondance?
Vauldroit pas mieulx honneſte ſuffiſance.
Pour ſe nourrir? que tant grandes richeſſes,
Que l'on aquiert en peines & deſtreſſes
En grans labeurs & obſtinez trauaulx?
Meilleur ſeroit: car ayez beaulx cheuaulx,
Terres, maiſons & tout ce que vouldrez,
Or & argent & les montz & les vaulx,
Dedans cent ans certes n'en iouyrez.



Emblemes. LVI.

Du gouuernement de maiſon.

Quand un bon pere aſsiſte en ſa maiſon,
Et la gouuerne en prudence & ſageſſe,
Tout en ua mieulx, tout ſe faict par raiſon,
Et la famille à bien faire ſ'adreſſe,
Le bien ſ'acroiſt, l'heritage & richeſſe,
Voila dequoy eſt cauſe la preſence.
Le bon cheual ſe nourriſt & ſ'engreſſe,
De l'œil ſoigneux du maiſtre qui le penſe.

FIGURE 2.9 *Corrozet's emblem "Du gouvernement de maison", from Gilles Corrozet, Emblemes appended to* Tableau de Cebes (*Paris, Denis Janot: 1543*), *fol. G8r* (*Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, SMAdd384*).

it, who does not feature in Corrozet's text.[78] Similarly domestic and everyday is the ass pulling a haywain with a squeaky wheel in "Contre les babillards" (Against chatterers):

> L'homme prudent parle peu & se taist
> S'il parle, c'est par pensee discrette:
> Mais l'ignorant à parler se complaist,
> Et n'a jamais la langue assez secrette,
> Tousjours babille & sans cesse caquette
> Rompt le silence, & ne faict point de fruict:
> La pire roue estant à la charrette
> Cest celle la qui faict le plus grand bruict.[79]
>
> The prudent man says little, and keeps silent. If he speaks it is with discreet reflection. But the ignorant man delights in talking, and never keeps his tongue sufficiently guarded. He continually chatters, and prattles incessantly, breaks silence and never gives anything fruitful: the weakest wheel on a cart is the one which makes most noise.

while in "N'entreprendre trop d'affaires à une fois" (One should not undertake too many tasks at the same time)[80] the text describes the foolishness of attempting to hunt two hares at the same time, illustrated rather inaccurately—but more realistically and "naturally"—by a woodcut figure representing a man hunting one fox with two hounds:

78 This is in fact a woodcut figure which had originally been used—much more appropriately—by Janot the preceding year, 1542, in his edition of Aesop's *Fables*, in which the text was actually provided by none other than Corrozet himself (*Les Fables du tresancien Esope phrigien premierement escriptes en Graec, et depuis mises en rithme Françoise*, Lyons, Denis Janot: 1542). In this edition of Aesop the woodcut figure illustrates two separate fables, each of which relates, unlike Corrozet's emblem, both to the pride and complacency of the horse and to the contrasting unassuming nature of the ass ("N'estre orgueilleux pour prosperité. Du Cheval et de l'Asne", One should not be proud because of prosperity. On the Horse and the Ass, fols. E8v–F1r, and "Ne s'estimer heureux selon le monde. De l'Asne & du Cheval", One should not deem oneself happy according to the world. On the Ass and the Horse, fols. K2v–K3r).

79 *Emblemes*, fol. H4r.

80 Ibidem, fol. G2r.

> L'homme tresaspre en son affection
> Qui à la fois trop d'affaires assemble,
> Sans jugement & sans discretion
> Entreprenant tout ce que bon luy semble:
> Scavez vous bien à qui cest qu'il ressemble
> A un chasseur mal ruzé, non scavant,
> Qui en chassant à deux lievres ensemble
> N'en prend que l'un, & point le plussouvent.[81]
>
> The man who is very eager in his passions, who brings together too many things at the same time, without judgement or discretion, undertaking everything that he feels like: Do you know what he can be likened to? To an ignorant, and unskilled huntsman who, by pursuing two hares at the same time catches only one, or most commonly neither.

We see, therefore, in Corrozet's two emblem books a very clear evolution away from the classical, the stylised, and the often "unnatural" behaviour of emblematic animals such as characterised Alciato's early model in which ancient authority was sufficient to validate such unrealistic behaviour. But what about La Perrière? Here we see a quite different progression from that of Corrozet. The time gap between his first and his second emblem book is much greater, of course, in comparison with the mere three years which separate Corrozet's first and second emblem book. And during that time, following the death of Denis Janot in Paris in 1544, the production of emblem books and allied illustrated works moved, to a large extent, from Paris to Lyons. Whereas Janot published exclusively in the vernacular, by the time that La Perrière came to compose his *Morosophie*, published in Lyons, the fashion for Latin or bilingual works was developing (as seen in Aneau's 1552 *Picta poesis/ Imagination poetique* or Pierre Coustau's 1555 *Pegma/ Pegme*) bringing with it almost inevitably a renewed focus on classical material such as could be appreciated by the more educated readership of a Latin work,[82] as opposed to the readership of a vernacular French work. Thus in general terms we do indeed find in La Perrière's *Morosophie* (published, like those of Aneau and Coustau, in Lyons)

81 Ibidem, fol. G2r. Both these two woodcut figures are also re-utilisations by Janot of woodcuts first used by him the previous year in his 1542 edition of Aesop's *Fables* (fols. M5v–M6r and K8v–L1r).

82 Coustau Pierre, *Petri Costalii pegma, cum narrationibus philosophicis* (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1555); and *Le pegme de Pierre Coustau, mis en Francoys par Lanteaume de Romieu gentilhomme d'Arles* (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1555).

a much greater emphasis on classical figures than was the case in his earlier, Paris-published, *Theatre*—and, furthermore, often remarkably obscure ones. However the picture that we see as far as his animal-based emblems are concerned is an interesting one, since, by and large, these do *not* follow the overall pattern of a return to classical material. Indeed only one of the animal-based emblems in the *Morosophie* is based on a classical figure—that of Tityus having his liver pecked out by a vulture:

> Jamais méchant ne veit sa peur extainte:
> Quand l'une fuyt, l'autre vient de retour.
> Comme l'on void qu'en la figure peinte
> Tityus est rongé par le Vautour.[83]
>
> Never did an evildoer see his fear extinguished: when one disappears, another returns. As can be seen in the painted figure, Tityus is pecked by the vulture.

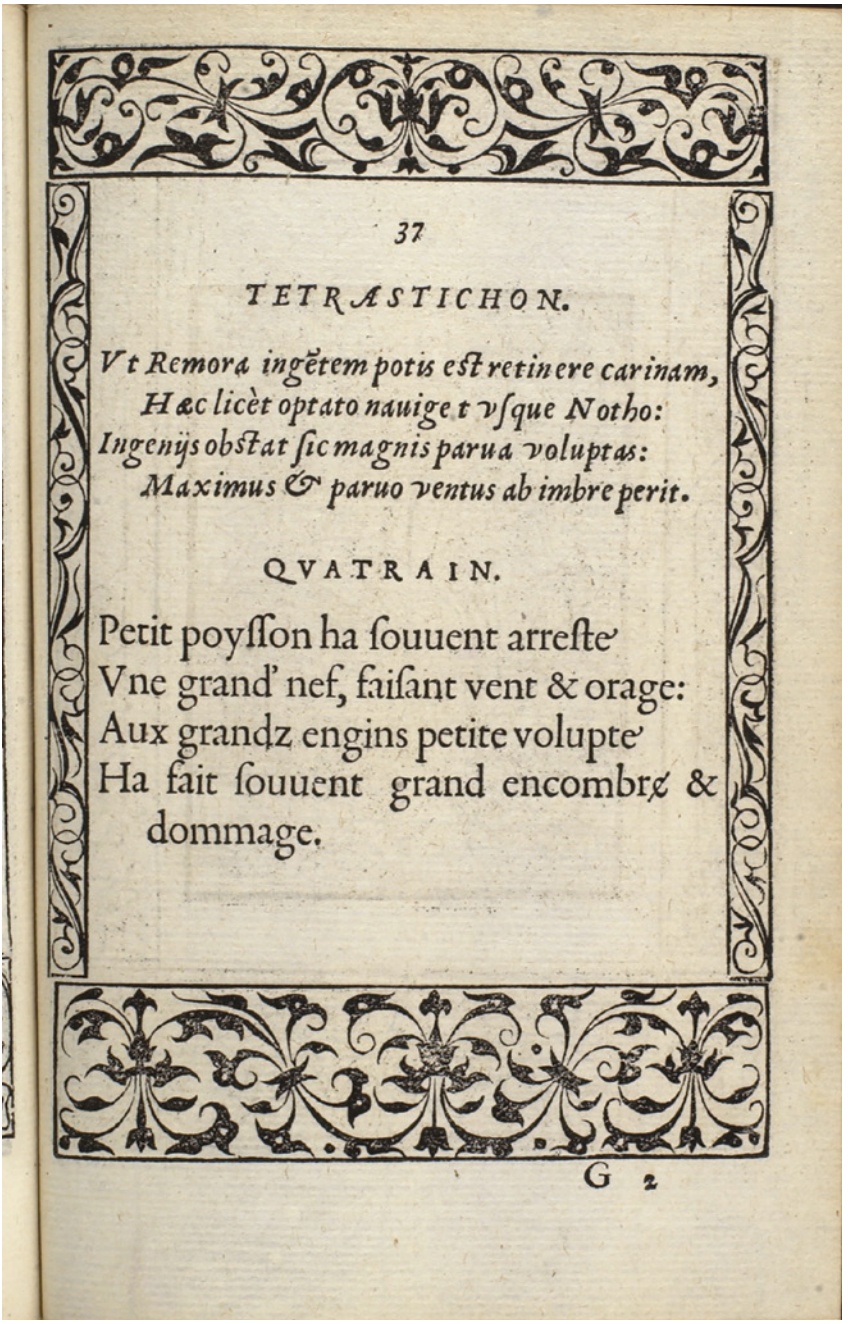
It contains overall significantly fewer animal-based emblems than did the *Theatre*—a mere 17 as opposed to 37. However, this significant drop in number could perhaps in part be accounted for by the fact that the characteristic pattern that we saw in the *Theatre*, whereby a number of emblems focused on what a human being was doing to an animal rather than on what the actual animal itself was doing, is almost totally discontinued in the later *Morosophie*, where almost all the animal-based emblems do focus on the behaviour of the animal itself rather than on that of any accompanying human.

The range of animals included in the *Morosophie* is, however, very interesting. Certainly there are one or two traditional emblematic animals such as a remora holding back a ship [Fig. 2.10];[84] a viper being torn open by her young,[85] and a lion disdaining to enter into conflict with a mere dog:

> Le fort Lyon ne veult montrer sa force,
> Ne sa rigueur, contre le petit chien:
> Semblablement noble coeur ne s'efforce
> Contre un méchant, lasche qui ne vaut rien.[86]

83 *Morosophie*, emblem 46.
84 Ibidem, emblem 37.
85 Ibidem, emblem 65.
86 Ibidem, emblem 27.

FIGURE 2.10 *Guillaume de la Perrière*, La morosophie (*Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1553*), *emblem 37, fols. G1v–G2r* (*Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, SM689*).



37

TETRASTICHON.

Vt Remora ingẽtem potis est retinere carinam,
Hæc licèt optato nauiget vsque Notho:
Ingenijs obstat sic magnis parua voluptas:
Maximus & paruo ventus ab imbre perit.

QVATRAIN.

Petit poyſſon ha ſouuent arreſté
Vne grand' nef, faiſant vent & orage:
Aux grandz engins petite volupté
Ha fait ſouuent grand encombré & dommage.

G 2

> The powerful Lion has no desire to demonstrate its strength and ruthlessness against a little dog. In the same way a noble heart does not strive against a cowardly and worthless evildoer.

But like Corrozet, La Perrière also introduces more everyday animals into his *Morosophie* than appeared in his earlier work. However, although they are familiar, "everyday" animals, they are not by any means to the same extent the essentially domestic animals that we saw earlier in Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie,* and even more markedly in his *Emblemes.* Certainly we find a dog barking at strangers (emblem 25) and a pair of oxen being used to plough a field (emblem 85) [Fig. 2.11] or a boar being hunted by a man with a pair of hounds (emblem 34), but more commonly the animals seen in the *Morosophie* are familiar real animals, but not familiar *emblematic* animals, and similarly the behaviour that they are engaged in is real and familiar (and "natural"), but again not the sort of behaviour that we find depicted in other emblem books, as likewise is the often highly ingenious interpretation given to it. Thus rats (which were mice in La Perrière's Latin version of this emblem) abandoning a deserted house (emblem 95) are used to denote flatterers abandoning a king when they know he is on the way out [Fig. 2.12]; a persistently hooting owl is depicted preventing a couple from sleeping (emblem 55) and interpreted as denoting an evildoer determinedly trying to harm worthy virtuous citizens; a crayfish which can easily change direction is used to denote the desirability of humans being able to do likewise when necessary:

> L'escrevice est de cheminer habile,
> Tant en avant qu'en arrier' s'il fuyt:
> Changer noz meurs est chose tresutile,
> Quand nous voyons que ce faire nous duit.[87]
>
> The crayfish is so skilled in movement that if it flees it can go equally backwards or forwards. Changing our habits is a very useful thing, when we see that it is appropriate for us to do so.

More ingeniously a scorpion is described as terrifying to see in real life, but pleasing to see in a painting, with the reflection that similarly an old woman is ugly in reality, but can be rendered pleasing to the eye when painted! (emblem 84); and the uselessness to a stag of a pair of mighty horns if that stag is cowardly by nature is equated with the uselessness of great wealth to a man

87 Ibidem, emblem 61.

who is by nature timorous (emblem 69). Even the more familiar domestic emblematic animals depicted here are often given unusual interpretations—as for example the emblem mentioned earlier of the man ploughing his field with a pair of oxen. Here the text emphasises the importance of the peasant knowing his land well in order to get a good crop from it, as being analogous with the importance of a good schoolteacher knowing his pupils' intellectual capacities in order to teach them effectively:

> Le laboureur perdra temps & semence,
> S'il ne cognoist le port de son terroir:
> Le precepteur aux enfans rien n'avance
> De leur engin, s'il ne sait le pouvoir.[88]
>
> The labourer will waste his time and his seed, if he does not know the capacity of his land: The teacher will in no way advance his pupils' intellect, if he does not know its capacity.

What conclusions, then, can be drawn about the "natural" or "unnatural" representation of the animal world in early French emblem books? Firstly it is evident that the writers of the earliest French vernacular emblem books—based, though they must be, and indeed as they acknowledge—on the model of Alciato's pioneering emblem book—nevertheless do not blindly follow that model, and this is abundantly clear in the way in which they exploit the animal world in their emblem books. While Alciato is content to go by the authority of the ancient world in describing the supposed behaviour of animals, and is not worried about whether or not this supposed behaviour reflects the actual behaviour of that animal in real life, this is not nearly so much the case in the earliest French emblem books. Secondly it is equally clear that we do not see a total rejection of Alciato's model in the first two of the early French emblem books, but rather a modified rejection, stronger in Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie* with its greater preponderance of familiar "domestic" animals, than in La Perrière's *Theatre* which includes a mixture of domestic and non-domestic, and a greater tolerance of "unnatural" animal behaviour since this is sanctioned by classical authority. Thirdly that the pattern of divergence increases in the follow-up emblem books of the two writers in consideration, with Corrozet moving further towards a pattern of totally familiar domestic animals (or non-domestic animals which threaten domestic animals; animals that are there to be hunted, etcetera), while La Perrière similarly moves further

88 Ibidem, emblem 85.

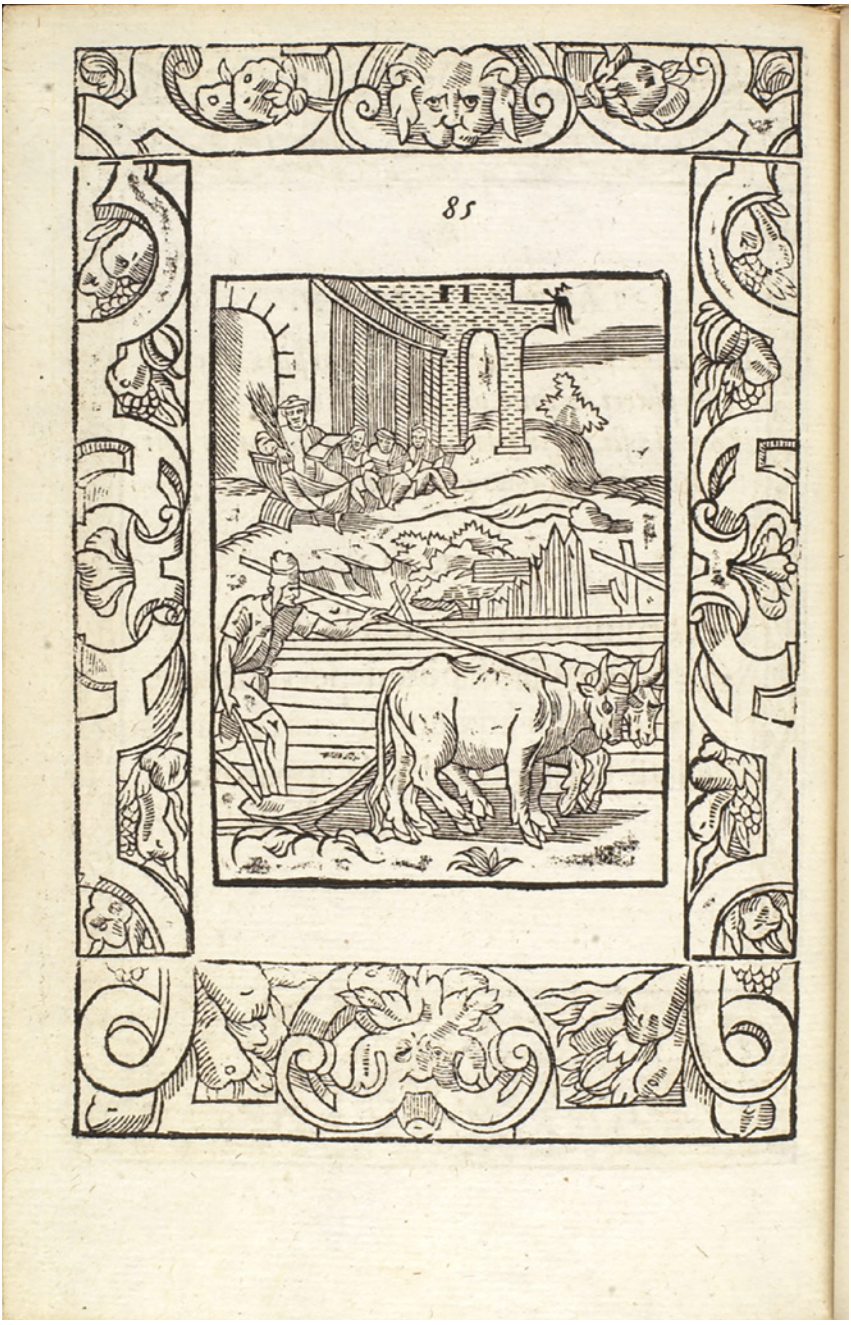
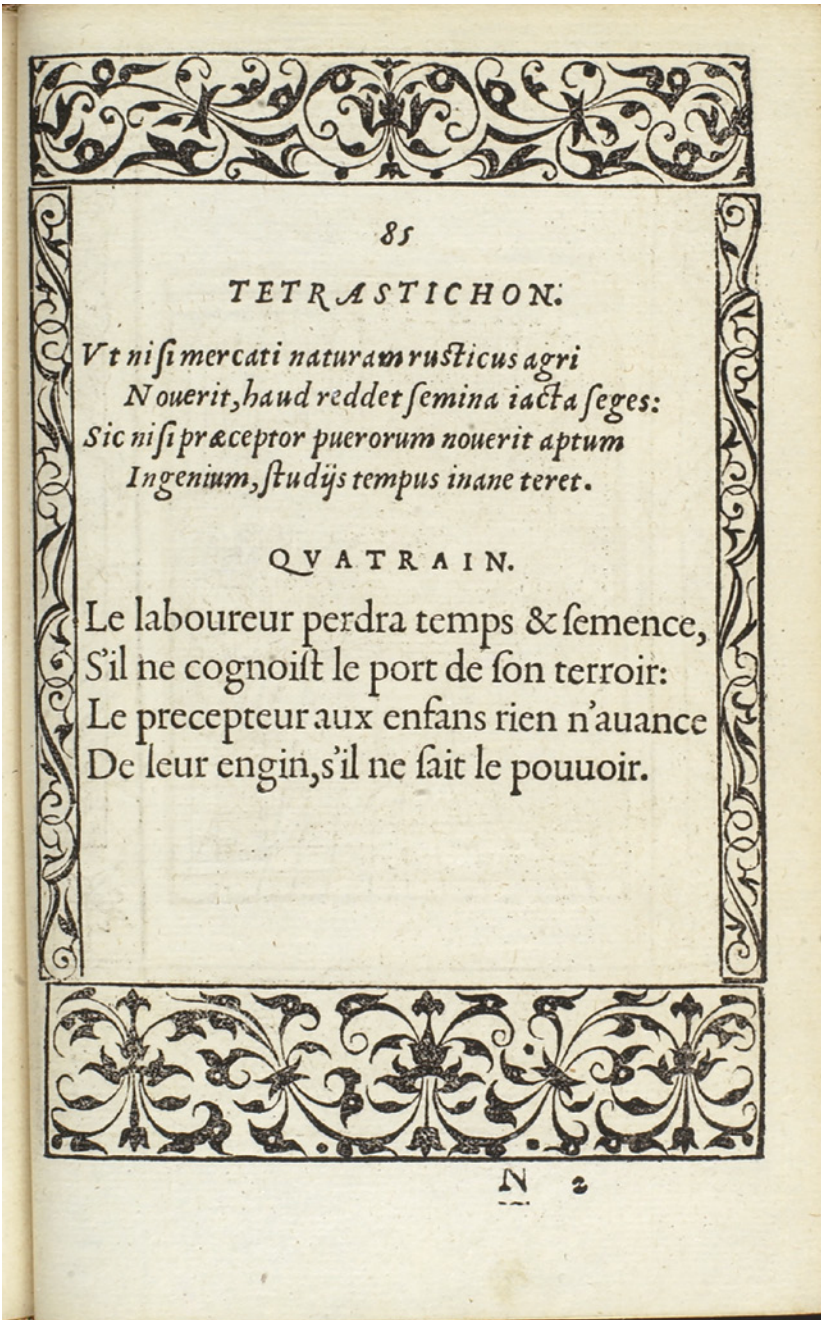


FIGURE 2.11 *Guillaume de la Perrière*, La morosophie (*Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1553*), *emblem 85, fols. Nıv–N2r* (*Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, SM689*).



85

TETRASTICHON.

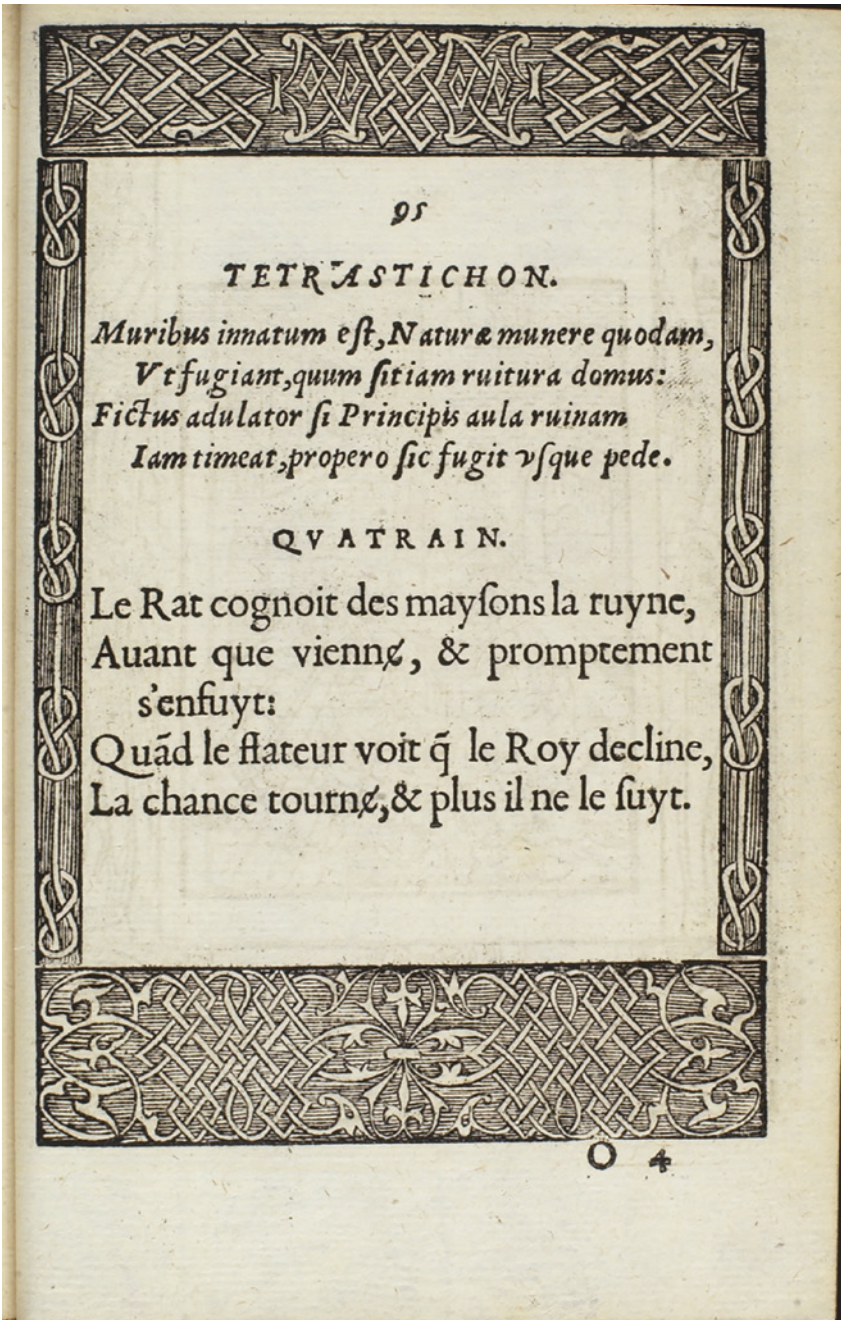
Vt niſi mercati naturam ruſticus agri
Nouerit, haud reddet ſemina iacta ſeges:
Sic niſi præceptor puerorum nouerit aptum
Ingenium, ſtudÿs tempus inane teret.

QVATRAIN.

Le laboureur perdra temps & ſemence,
S'il ne cognoiſt le port de ſon terroir:
Le precepteur aux enfans rien n'auance
De leur engin, s'il ne ſait le pouuoir.

N 2

FIGURE 2.12 *Guillaume de la Perrière*, La morosophie (*Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1553*), *emblem 95, fols. O3v–O4r* (*Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, SM689*).



95

TETRASTICHON.

Muribus innatum eſt, Naturæ munere quodam,
Vt fugiant, quum ſit iam ruitura domus:
Fictus adulator ſi Principis aula ruinam
Iam timeat, propero ſic fugit vſque pede.

QVATRAIN.

Le Rat cognoit des mayſons la ruyne,
Auant que viennẽ, & promptement
s'enfuyt:
Quãd le flateur voit q̃ le Roy decline,
La chance tournẽ, & plus il ne le ſuyt.

O 4

away from non- realistic animals used as symbols, or behaving in fantastic non-realistic manner, towards a corpus of realistic and familiar animals, but rather less common ones, and certainly less exclusively domesticated ones than those found in Corrozet's second emblem book.

In conclusion, therefore, to return to the question posed in the title of this article—'"natural" or "unnatural"?' I would argue that the representation of the animal world, as seen in Alciato's pioneering emblem book, is certainly not "natural", whereas, in contrast, the animal world which we find being represented in the early French emblem books we have been considering becomes progressively much more "natural" as their writers grow in confidence and follow their own inclinations, rather than following the authority of an earlier master.

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CHAPTER 3

Camerarius's Quadrupeds (1595): A Plinius Emblematicus as a Mirror of Princes

Karl Enenkel

Introduction

The monumental *Symbola et emblemata* of the Nuremberg physician Joachim Camerarius the Younger (Kammermeister, 1534–1598)[1] is a milestone in the application of natural history in emblematics because of the extent and systematic order of the collection; the richness and complexity of the emblematic prose texts with respect to both the underlying emblematic conceptions and the facts of natural history; and, last but not least, the high quality of the engravings. In 400 emblems Camerarius presents a systematic and near-complete emblematic interpretation of biology as it was understood in the 16th century.

1 Camerarius published three printed emblem books during his lifetime: 1593–1596 saw the publication of the books on plants (b. I), quadrupeds (b. II), and birds (b. III); a fourth book, on the aquatic animals, was published only posthumously by his son Ludwig in 1605. In the first edition, book I has the title *Symbolorum et emblematum ex re herbaria desumtorum centuria una* […] (Nuremberg, Johann Hofmann: 1590 [i.e. 1593, cf. below]; facsimile edition by W. Harms and U.-B. Kuechen, Graz: 1986); book II is titled *Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera* […] (Nuremberg, Johann Hofmann: 1595; facsimile edition by W. Harms and U.-B. Kuechen, Graz: 1986). In 1605 Ludwig Camerarius printed the first three books again (in a second edition) together with the posthumous fourth book (ibidem). For an edition of all four books cf. also Frankfurt, Johannes Ammonius: 1661. On Camerarius's printed emblem books cf. the "Einführung" by W. Harms and U.-B. Kuechen to their facsimile edition, vol. 2 (Graz: 1986), and Papy J., "Joachim Camerarius's Symbolorum et emblematum Centuriae Quatuor: From Natural Sciences to Moral Contemplation", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Visser A.S.Q. (eds.), *Mundus emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books, Imago figurata 4* (Turnhout: 2003) 201–234; in this volume, see also the contributions by Paul Smith (on the birds, book III), and Sophia Hendrikx (on the aquatic animals, book IV). For Camerarius the Younger cf. Wenning S., *Joachim II. Camerarius (1534–1598). Eine Studie über sein Leben, seine Werke und seine Briefwechsel* (Diss. Würzburg: 2013, Duisburg – Cologne: 2015). Wenning only briefly discusses Camerarius's emblem books in the catalogue of his printed works (147–151).

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Book I (1593)[2] comprises the plants; book II (1595), the quadrupeds; book III (1596/7),[3] the birds and other animals living in the air; and book IV (1605), the aquatic animals, reptiles, frogs, and snails. In the prose texts that accompany the single emblems Camerarius offers a complex amalgam of zoological information, moral wisdom (enriched by *apophthegmata*, *sententiae*, proverbs, and *auctoritates*), and different emblematic interpretations and applications, and he points to or creates related *imprese*.

The attractiveness of the images is enhanced by the fact that they were newly made especially for this emblem book, and that the emblem author Camerarius was in close contact with the graphic artist, the talented Johann Siebmacher (Sibmacher, Siber; 1561–1611), who also worked in Nuremberg.[4] In all probability, Camerarius gave detailed instructions to Siebmacher and provided graphical examples. Camerarius worked on the printed emblems in the last decade of his life (until 1598), in which the first three books appeared (1593–1597). He could not finish, however, the fourth book, which was completed and edited by his son Ludwig (1605).

The Structure of Camerarius's Emblem Books and the Status of the Accompanying Prose Texts

Camerarius's emblem books excel through a harmonious, well-balanced, and disciplined composition. Each of the four books consists of exactly 100 emblems, which is also stressed in the title (a book is called a 'centuria'). Each emblem comprises exactly two quarto pages; one page always has (1) the emblem number (in roman type); (2) a motto/ *impresa*, usually consisting of two or three words; (3) a *pictura* in the form of a circular engraving [Fig. 3.1]; and (4) an epigram, always a single elegiac distich. The other page [Fig. 3.2] is always dedicated to a prose text that usually fills the whole page. In emblem research this prose text is usually called "commentary"; this is, however, a bit

2 1593 is the probable date for when the first book appeared. The title page gives 1590, but this date must be wrong, since work on this emblem book was still proceeding in spring 1593; accordingly, Camerarius's letter of dedication is dated May 1, 1593. On this question see below.

3 As with book I, the date of the title page of book III is probably wrong (1596). Cf. the letter of dedication to this book dated February 1, 1597. The title page was probably already designed and engraved (at the end of 1596), whereas the book was printed in 1597.

4 For Siebmacher cf. Tacke A., "Sibmacher, Hans", in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 24 (Berlin: 2010) 305; and Rée P.J., "Sibmacher, Hans oder Johann", in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 34 (1892) 136–138. Siebmacher became famous for his *Wappenbuch*, cf. Appuhn H. (ed.), *Johann Siebmachers Wappenbuch von 1605* (Munich: 1999).

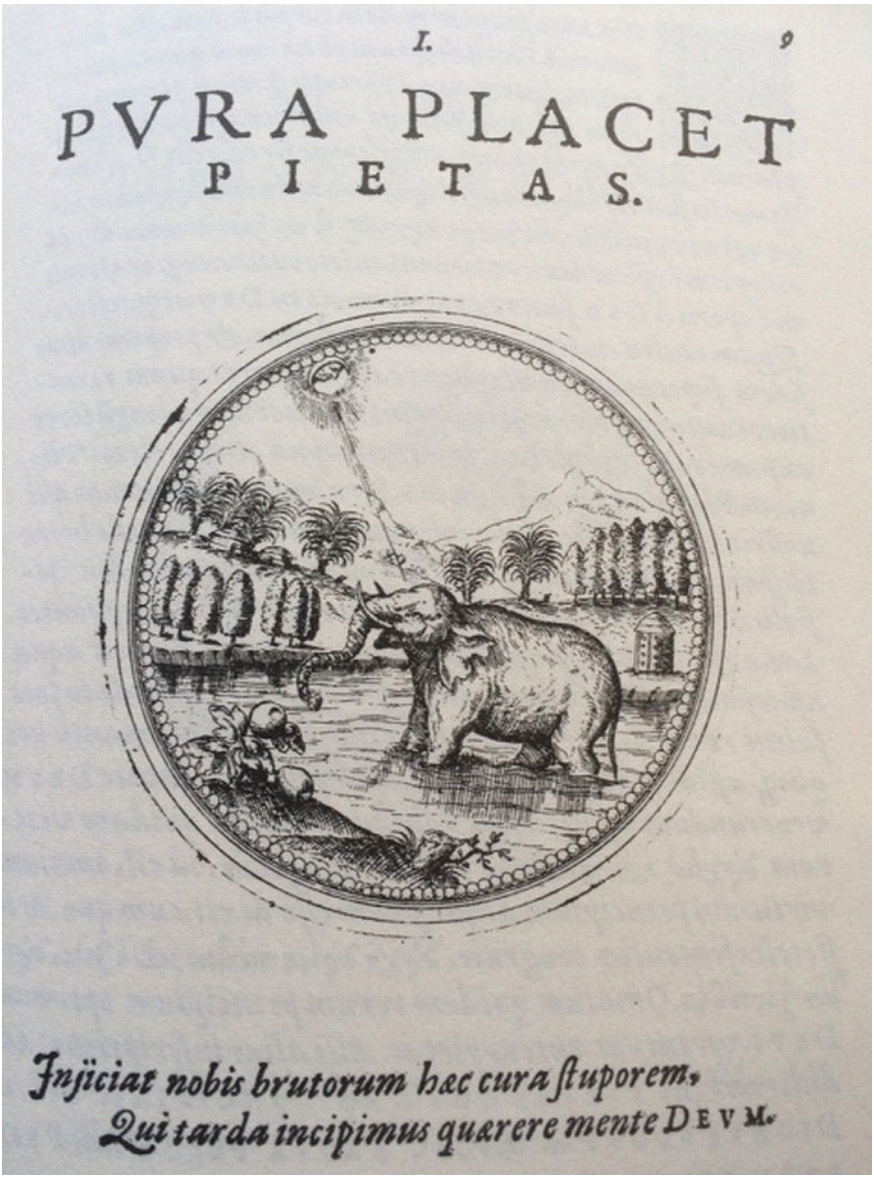

FIGURE 3.1 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 1, first page with motto and pictura. Private collection.*

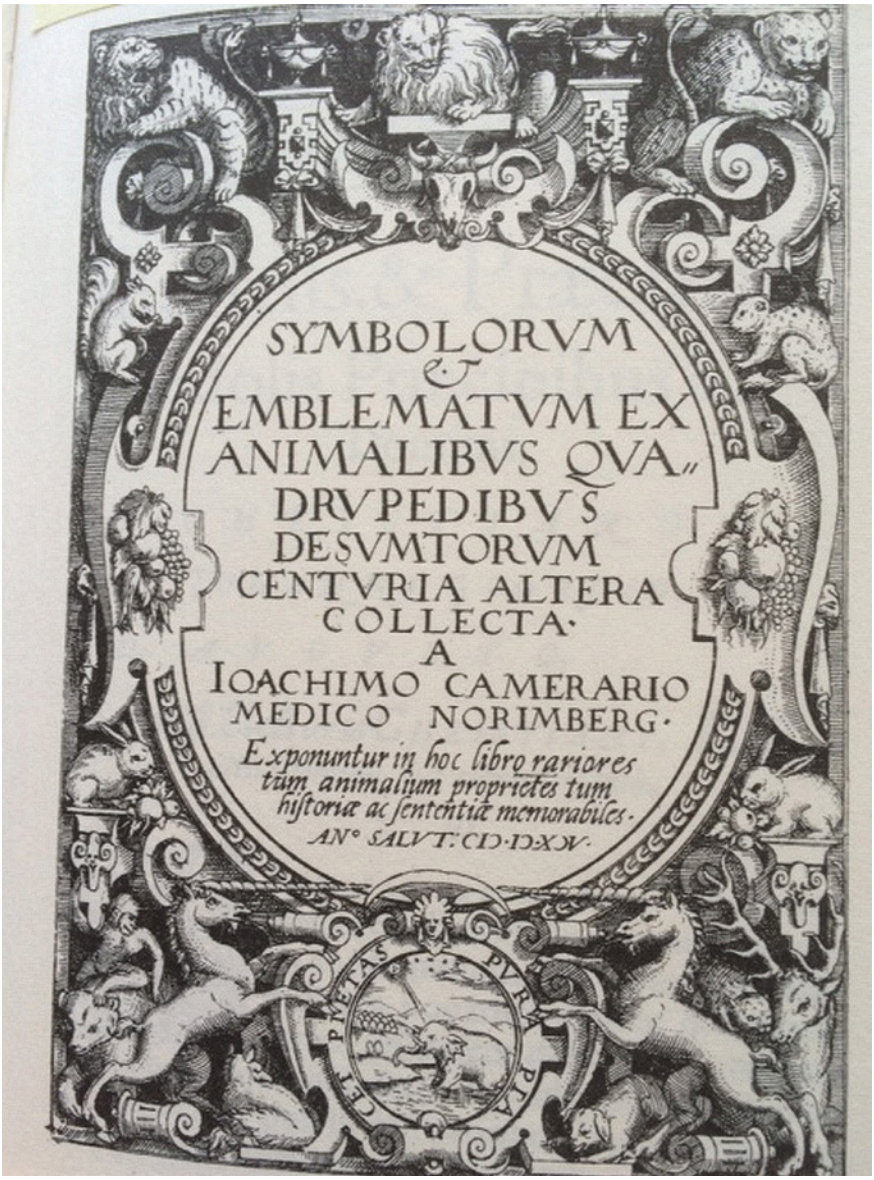

FIGURE 3.2 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *title page* (*1595*). *Private collection.*

misleading, especially if one takes into account the usual, modern definitions of commentary. According to these definitions, commentary is a kind of optional paratext which is clearly divided from the "text", i.e. the main text. However, it is important to note that in Camerarius's emblems *the prose text is the main text*. It is indispensable and contains the conception of the emblem and all necessary information. In fact, the prose text also could function without the epigram, and even without the image. In comparison, the epigrams are much less important. They never give information one could not also find in the prose text. In fact, Camerarius cared much less for the epigrams, and he did not author them: They were written initially by his nephew Joachim Jungermann, a talented student of medicine who unfortunately died at a young age (in 1591), and afterwards by Conrad Rittershausen (1560–1613),[5] who in the same year (1591) became professor of law at the university of Altdorf, and by Camerarius's son Ludwig (1573–1651). Ludwig was still very young when the first volume was composed, and although he added an introductory elegy to this volume (fol. <A5>r–v), it was Conrad Rittershausen who authored the poems. From volume two on, however, Ludwig shared the task of writing the poems with Rittershausen.[6] Father Joachim Camerarius was not fond of

5 For the authorship of Jungermann and Rittershausen in the first book of emblems cf. Camerarius's „Letter to the Reader" (Nuremberg: 1593), fol. 3r–v: 'Disticha vero coepit magna ex parte adiicere Ioachimus Jungermannus, sororis meae filius, iuvenis erudite doctus et ad Artem medicam, quae praesertim tractat cognitionem medicamentorum simplicium, excolendam et amplificandam plane natus […] Quod itaque adhuc restabat in illis complendis, absolvit studiose eruditissimus vir et iuresconsultus doctissimus D. Cunradus Ritershusius (sic), Academiae Altorfensis professor diligentissimus, singularis amicus meus'. Joachim Camerarius must have worked on the printed emblems from ca. 1589. The poems were added after the prose texts were finished. The first poet who worked on the poems of book I initially, i.e. before 1591, must have been Jungermann, who died in 1591. Then the task was taken over by Rittershausen, who came to Altdorf/Nürnberg in the same year. Although the title page of book I gives the year 1590, the work on the emblems cannot have been finished at that early date: first, Camerarius's (printed) letter of dedication has the date May 1, 1593 (fol. A 4v); second, Rittershausen was still working on the poems to vol. I between January 3 and April 9, 1593. Cf. Harms-Heß, "Einleitung" XV; for the question of Camerarius and his "coauthors" cf. also Papy, "Joachim Camerarius's Symbolorum et emblematum Centuriae Quatuor" 212–213; Harms – Kuechen, in facsimile edition, "Einleitung" to vol. II, fols. 5*–12*.

6 In the "Letter to the Reader" that accompanies the second volume on the quadrupeds (Nuremberg: 1595) fol. Cc3r, he says: 'In distichis conscribendis rursum sum usus opera filii mei et nonnullorum amicorum. Nam in hoc genere minus me esse exercitatum ingenue fateor'; to the conspectus of authors of the third volume Camerarius added the remark: 'Sciendum autem (quod et in prioribus centuriis indicavimus) in distichis componendis nunc etiam me usum esse opera Clarissimi viri D. Cunradi Rittershusii, et filii mei Ludovici'.

writing Latin poems, and he did not want to present himself as a poet. For him it was the prose text which was the most important *subscriptio* of the emblems.

Unfortunately, in Henkel and Schöne's manual, in which all 400 Camerarius emblems are incorporated, the prose texts are simply left out.[7] Apparently, the editors considered the prose texts only as optional paratexts. By consequence, in this important manual Camerarius's emblems appear only in a mutilated form, and without the sources which are quoted only in the prose texts. In this article, the prose texts are considered as the main *subscriptiones*. The status Camerarius gave to the prose texts appears also from the manuscript forerunner of the printed emblem collection, the 200 *Symbola et emblemata tam moralia quam sacra*, preserved in the Stadtbibliothek Mainz (MS II, 366), which has been published in a commented facsimile edition by W. Harms and G. Heß.[8] The first book of the manuscript collection Camerarius dedicated to Ernst von Mengersdorf, bishop of Bamberg,[9] on October 2, 1586,[10] and the second book is introduced by a separate title page with the date 1587. About half of the emblems of the manuscript forerunner also appear in the printed edition. Although the two *centuriae* of the manuscript emblem book are presented in a totally different order, the structure of the single emblems is very similar to that of the printed edition. In the manuscript, too, each emblem is limited to two pages: The first page consists of the *pictura*, with motto and emblem number, the second page contains the accompanying *subscriptio* in the form of a prose text, and there are no epigrams. This means that Camerarius in the manuscript—and thus in his original conception of the emblems—regarded the prose text not as an additional commentary, but as the very *subscriptio*, the proper text intended to accompany the emblems.

The Book on the Quadrupeds

The present contribution focuses on the second book of Camerarius's printed emblems, on the quadrupeds, published in 1595. We will try to shed light on the zoological concepts applied by Camerarius, and the underlying principles of composition, as well as on the specifics of the zoological knowledge presented

7 Henkel A. – Schöne A. (eds.), *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: 1967/ 1996).

8 See Joachim Camerarius d. J., *Symbola et emblemata tam moralia quam sacra. Die handschriftlichen Embleme von 1587*, ed. W. Harms – G. Heß (Tübingen: 2009).

9 Cf. Harms – Heß, „Einleitung" XIII–XIV, and facsimile edition 407–412.

10 Cf. Harms – Heß, facsimile edition 407–408.

by him, and of his emblematic interpretations. Furthermore: what kind of ethical, practical, theoretical, or religious wisdom did he try to impart to his readers? What is the sense of all of the other elements of the prose text, such as historical *exempla*, *sententiae*, *auctoritates*, alternative mottos, and related *imprese*?

The first emblem, with the elephant and the motto PVRA PLACET PIETAS [Fig. 3.1], is most revealing, and it has a programmatic character; it is no coincidence that it also appears on the title page [Fig. 3.2]. We see an elephant standing in the water and looking up at the moon. The zoological information or "story" is taken from Pliny's *Natural History*, book VIII, chapter 1. This book is the first of Pliny's zoology books (*Naturalis historia* VIII–XI), and it is devoted to the land animals. Pliny started his book with the elephant, not only because it is the biggest land animal, but because he believed that the elephant possessed a human-like intelligence, including the understanding of language, memory, individual affection, prudence, sense of justice, and above all, religion.[11] Pliny maintains that elephants worship the sun and the moon, and that on moonlit nights they walk in procession to a certain river in Mauretania in order to ritually purify themselves and to venerate the moon. Therefore, the elephant was for Pliny the ideal connection between the preceding book VII—on man—and his zoology.

The fact that Camerarius starts with Pliny, *Naturalis historia* VIII, 1, is both a statement and a claim: He takes over Pliny's zoological composition, and in doing so, he presents his work as a "Plinius emblematicus", a Pliny *in emblematics*, which means an indispensable manual, a work of the highest authority, containing the most relevant zoological information. The imitation of Pliny is crucial in order to understand other important features of his emblem book.

11 For the composition of Pliny's book on the land animals and its underlying principles cf. Enenkel K.A.E. "Die antike Vorgeschichte der Verankerung der Naturgeschichte in Politik und Religion: Plinius' Zoologie und der römische Imperialismus", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Smith P.J. (eds.), *Zoology in Early Modern Culture. Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education* (Boston – Leiden: 2014) 15–54; for Pliny's biological concepts in general cf. Beagon M., *Roman Nature: the Thought of Pliny the Elder* (Oxford: 1992); Conte G.B., "The Inventory of the World: Form of Nature and Encyclopedic Project in the Work of Pliny the Elder", in idem?, *Genres and Readers: Lucretius, Love Elegy, Pliny's Encyclopedia* (Baltimore: 1994); Doody A., *Pliny's Encyclopedia: The Reception of the Natural History* (Cambridge: 2010); Murphy T., *Pliny the Elder's* Natural History. *The Empire in Encyclopedia* (Oxford: 2004); Naas V., "Extraordinaire et merveilleux dans l'*Historia Naturalis*: Réflexions sur la définition de 'l'encyclopédie' plinienne", in *Colloque International, Paris-X-Nanterre, 11–13 janvier 1996* (Paris: 1997) 139–168.

In the composition of his book on land animals, Pliny deals in the first part with the exotic and wild species, from the elephant to the hystrix (VIII, 1–125), and in the second with the domestic and domesticated species (VIII, 126–224), from the bear (126–131) to the mouse (224). In general, he places the species in order from big, strong, and dangerous, to small, domesticated, and innocent.[12] An important line of thought is connected with the official presentation of the exotic and wild animals in the city of Rome, that is, in animal shows in the amphitheatre. Pliny always records when exactly an exotic animal was first presented in an animal show. As I have shown elsewhere, the presentation of animals in such shows had the purpose of demonstrating the power of the Roman Empire over nature, i.e. the world.[13] Most importantly, Pliny's account is always focused on rarities; he offers surprisingly little "normal" zoological information. His zoology is a kind of written "cabinet of rarities", and it should be appreciated as such by the reader, who is supposed to admire the miraculous power of nature and its surprising, sometimes hidden, intelligence.

In all of this, Pliny's zoological concepts are of pivotal importance for Camerarius's zoological emblems, certainly in book II. Camerarius starts with the biggest land animal, the elephant, and in the final twenty emblems he treats the small creatures, such as the weasel (79–80), ermine (81), rabbit (82), hystrix (84), hedgehog (85–86), squirrel (87–88), ferret (89), chameleon (90), turtle (91–92), castor (93 and 96), and mole (94). The first part of the book is dedicated to the exotic, large, spectacular, and dangerous species, such as the elephant (1–3), rhino (4–5) [Fig. 3.4], lion (6–11) [Fig. 3.5], unicorn (12–14), camel (15–17) [Fig. 3.6], giraffe (18), aurochs (19), and bear (20–23). About half of the emblems are dedicated to exotic animals. Animal fights also appear in Camerarius's account, e.g. those of an elephant and a giant snake (3), a rhino and an elephant (4), a rhino and a bear (5) [Fig. 3.7], a lion and a tiger-dog (7), and so on; and of course, these are mostly regarding animals that had been presented in shows in Roman times. However, Camerarius sometimes treated this aspect on a more theoretical level, through addressing the *antipatheia* of various animals towards each other. With respect to the composition, Camerarius applied the principle of order from large to small size more systematically than Pliny.[14]

12 Cf. my "Plinius' Zoologie und der römische Imperialismus ".

13 Ibidem. For this aspect cf. also Murphy T., *Pliny the Elder's* Natural History. *The Empire in Encyclopedia* (Oxford: 2004).

14 This has led to the fact that, among other animals, the bear, the horse, and cattle come much earlier than they do in Pliny's account (II, 20–32).

Most importantly, Camerarius not only took over Pliny's principle of collecting rarities, but pushed it to the extreme: In a sense, he made a selection of the "rarest rarities" from Pliny's zoology. Characteristically, Camerarius had this aspect expressed on the title page [Fig. 3.3]: 'Exponuntur in hoc libro *rariores* [...] *animalium proprietates*'—'This book presents the very rare [...] features of animals'. This aspect is illustrated by the central emblem, about the religious behaviour of elephants. Camerarius enhances this tendency by outdoing Pliny, i.e. presenting rarities Pliny did not include, such as the musk deer (II, 45) [Fig. 3.8] from central Asia; the saiga from the Eurasian steppe (II, 44); and the armadillo (II, 83) and the opossum (II, 58) from the Americas. In the description of the armadillo, Camerarius stresses that it was 'perhaps unknown to the ancients' ('animal quoddam veteribus forsitan incognitum'); about the saiga antelope he says that it was 'known up till now only by a few people, I think' ('paucis—ut opinor—adhuc cognitum'). We will look at this aspect in more detail below.

FIGURE 3.3 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *title page (1595), detail. Private collection.*

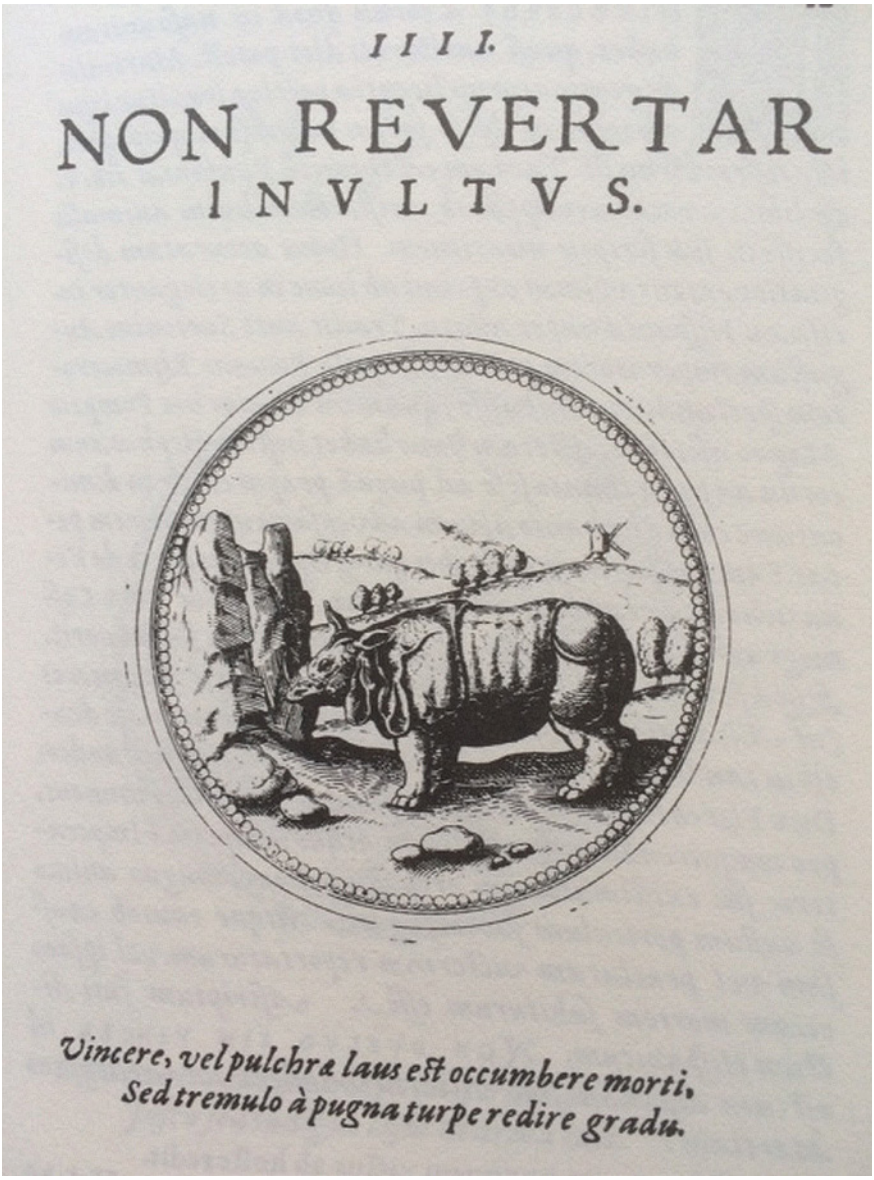

FIGURE 3.4 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 4. Private collection.*

FIGURE 3.5 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 8. Private collection.*

FIGURE 3.6 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 18. Private collection.*

FIGURE 3.7 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 5. Private collection.*

FIGURE 3.8 *Joachim Camerarius the younger,* Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 45. Private collection.*

The principle of presenting remarkable rarities of nature is connected with the didactic purpose of the work. This is certainly true for book II: It was written for young people, students—who were, of course, always members of the elite—and was especially meant to function as a "mirror of princes". Camerarius dedicated it to the three young princes of Saxony, the sons of the late Christian I, Elector of Saxony (1560–1591): Christian II (1583–1611),[15] by then successor of his father as Elector of Saxony (1591–1611); Johann Georg (1585–1656), who would become Elector from 1611 on (–1656); and August (1589–1615). When the three princes received the book they were 12, 10, and 6 years old, respectively. As Camerarius explains in the *Letter of Dedication* (from April 1, 1595), he consideres the 'very rare facts of nature' ('physica […] minus vulgaria') as an important and indispensable didactic tool, since they are both enjoyable and easy to memorize.[16] Both aspects are especially valuable for the education of young people: What enters the mind joyfully and elegantly, Camerarius says, can be retained more easily and will stay in the mind with more stability ('quod […] cum delectatione et gratia in animum subit, stabilius illi inhaeret').[17] These pedagogical thoughts very much resemble those of Erasmus, which come to the fore in, for example, his treatise *De educatione puerorum*, and his mirror of princes, *Institutio principis Christiani*.[18]

The connection between Camerarius's printed emblem books and education is also suggested by various aspects concerning the form and the content of the emblems. The *picturae* have a circular form with an ornamental dotted line [Fig. 3.1]. This form of the engravings suggests that the *picturae* were meant to represent (or resemble) medals. This is probably to be understood with respect to a more specific use of the emblems in schools and universities. The University of Nuremberg was founded in Altdorf in 1575. From the very beginning, the university developed an intriguing tradition. In each class, at the end of the school year, the best pupils received a prize—a silver medal with an emblem on the recto side (*pictura* and motto) [Fig. 3.9A and B].[19] Interestingly, the Altdorf medal issued in 1582 shows the same image

15 For Christian II cf. Kroll F.-L., *Die Herrscher Sachsens: Markgrafen, Kurfürsten, Könige 1089–1918* (Munich: 2004) 133–136, and Schille Ch., "Christian II.", in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 3 (1957) 231–232.

16 *Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumtorum centuria altera* […] (Nuremberg, Johann Hofmann: 1590) fol. a2v.

17 Ibidem.

18 Erasmus, *Opera omnia, ASD* IV, 1, ed. O. Herding (Amsterdam: 1974).

19 For this aspect cf. Stopp F.J., *The Emblems of the Altdorf Academy. Medals and Medal Orations 1577–1626* (London: 1974). The importance of this aspect also has been rightly emphasized by Harms and Heß in their "Einleitung" to the facsimile edition of Camerarius's manuscript emblem book.

FIGURE 3.9A *Altdorf price medal of 1582* (*Stopp no. 20*).

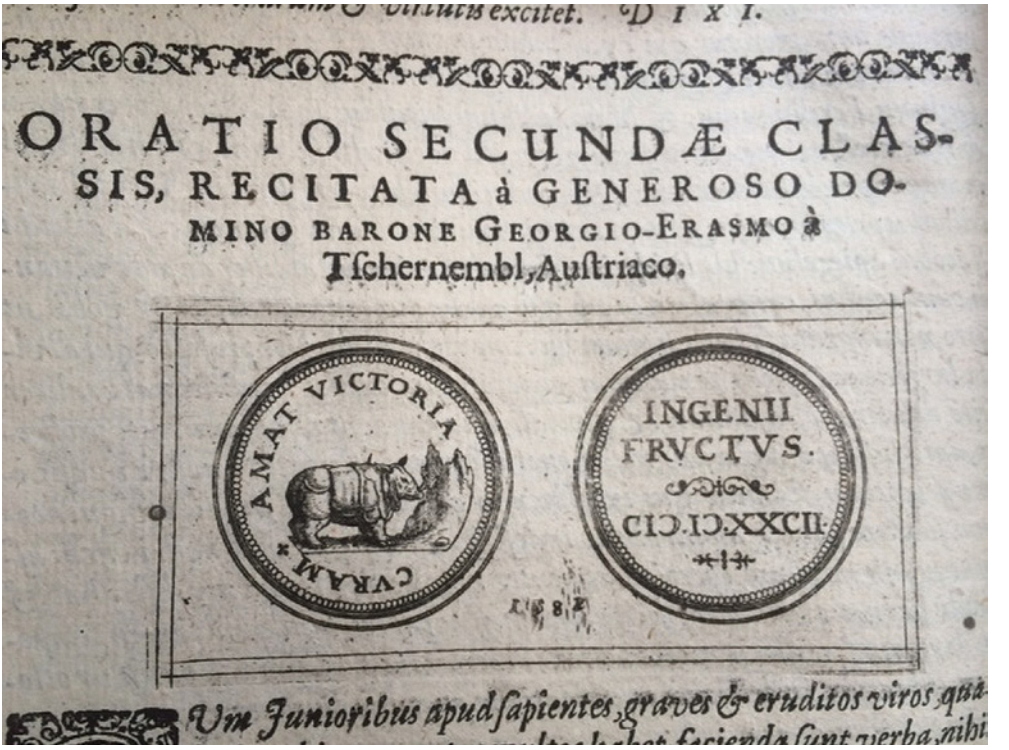

FIGURE 3.9B *Altdorf price medal of 1582, depicted in Hulsius Levinus* (*ed.*), Emblemata anniversaria Academiae Noribergensis [...] *ab anno Christi n. 1577 usque ad annum 1616* [...] (*Nuremberg, A. Wagemann: 1617*) *76. Private collection.*

as Camerarius's emblem II, 4 [Fig. 3.10].[20] The winner of the prize—in this case the Austrian baron Georg-Erasmus von Tschernembl—usually delivered a public speech (*oratio*) in which he thanked the rector and explained the emblem in front of a broader audience of students, parents, and the staff of the university. The first Altdorf prize medals were coined in 1577, and the tradition continued well into the 17th century. Levinus Hulsius printed the collected prize speeches from 1577 to 1616, together with images of the medals.[21]

Camerarius's emblems fit perfectly into the framework of this tradition: After the appearance of the first three books of the printed *Symbola et emblemata*, 1593–1597, a considerable number of Altdorf prize medals were coined after their example. For example, the medal of 1601 showing the squirrel crossing the river with the motto VINCIT SOLLERTIA VIRES, given to Johannes Paulus Coler from the third class [Fig. 3.11A and B], was copied from Camerarius II, 88 [Fig. 3.12]. Although Camerarius provided the examples for Altdorf medals, he may also have been inspired by them. There are several parallels in the manuscript emblem book and the Altdorf medals. In some cases the manuscript may have been the example; in other cases, Camerarius may have been inspired by already existing medals.[22] This may have been the case with emblem II, 4, with the rhino [Fig. 3.10].[23] Anyway, it is clear that Camerarius had very close connections with the Altdorf Academy and the medal production: His younger brother Philipp (1537–1624)[24] was from 1581 on prorector of the Academy, and for more than thirty years served as a member

20 For this emblem see the detailed analysis below.

21 Hulsius Levinus (ed.), *Emblemata anniversaria Academiae Altorfinae studiorum iuventutis exercitandorum causa proposita et variorum orationibus exposita* (Nuremberg, Christoph Lochner, Levinus Hulsius: 1597); 2nd edition: *Emblemata anniversaria Academiae Noribergensis, quae est Altorffii: studiorum iuventutis exercitandorum caussa inde ab anno Christi 1577 usque ad annum 1616 proposita; oratiunculis eruditis et nervosis in Panegyricis Academicis explicata atque in IV Decadas distributa. Opus philologicum multiplici doctrina insignique rerum et materiarum varietate, instar cornu copiae, iucundissimum et cuiusque professionis hominum utilissimum* (Nuremberg, Abraham Wagemann: 1617).

22 Cf. Harms – Heß, "Einleitung"; Stopp, *The Emblems of the Altdorf Academy* 87.

23 Cf. the detailed discussion below.

24 For Philipp Camerarius's biography cf. Kühlmann W., "Camerarius, Philipp", in *Verfasserlexikon—Frühe Neuzeit in Deutschland 1520–1620*, Bd. 1 (Berlin et al.: 2011); idem, "Camerarius, Philipp", in *Killy Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke des deutschsprachigen Kulturraumes*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: 2008) 342; Schelhorn Johann Georg, *De vita, fatis ac meritis Philippi Camerarii, Jurisconsulti, Historici ac Philologici pereximii et primi Academiae Altorfinae procancellarii commentarius* [...] *nunc primum edita* (Nuremberg, Johannes Michael Seitz – Christoph Cornelius Zell: 1740).

FIGURE 3.10 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 4. Private collection.*

FIGURE 3.11A *Altdorf price medal of 1601* (*Stopp no. 97*).

FIGURE 3.11B *Altdorf price medal of 1601, depicted in Hulsius Levinus* (*ed.*), Emblemata anniversaria Academiae Noribergensis [...] ab anno Christi n. 1577 usque ad annum 1616 [...] (*Nuremberg, A. Wagemann: 1617*) *342. Private collection.*

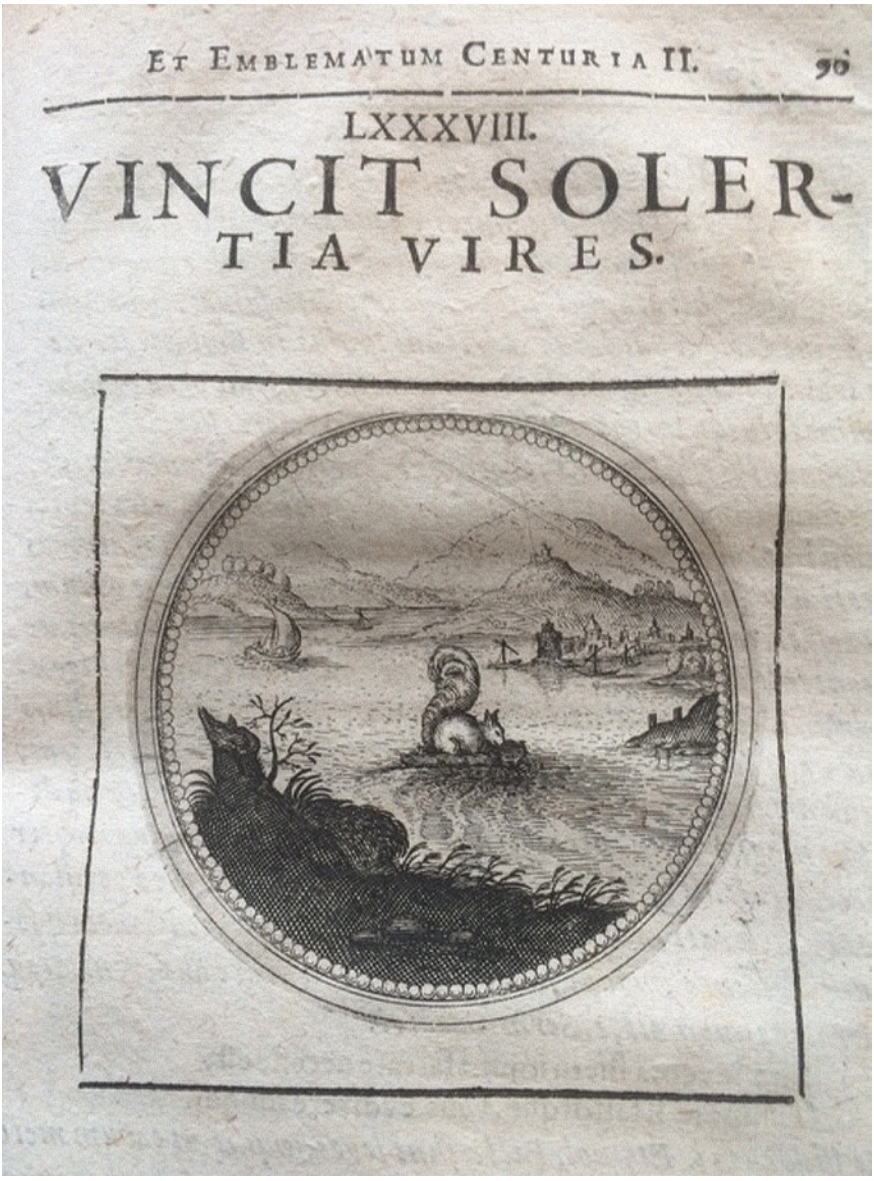

FIGURE 3.12 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 88. Private collection.*

of the committee that was in charge of the prize medals. Thus, we may suppose that Joachim Camerarius was from a very early stage on informed about the Altdorf medals, and that he was already somehow influenced by this tradition when he composed his manuscript collection of emblems (ca. 1585–1587), and of course, *a fortiori*, when he worked on his printed emblem books.

Pedagogical aspects are of great importance for both the printed emblem books and the manuscript collection, although there are some differences, especially when one looks at the second book of the printed emblems. In this book, the moral education is either general or focuses on political aspects and is of special interest for future political leaders, town administrators, and princes. In the manuscript, the didactic aims are directed mostly toward religious aspects, as is also suggested by the preserved title page of book two: SYMBOLORUM ET EMBLEMATUM *TAM MORALIUM QUAM SACRORUM* SELECTISSIMORUM CENTURIA ALTERA.[25] This is probably to be explained by the fact that the manuscript was dedicated to the bishop of Bamberg, Ernst von Mengersdorf.[26] In June 1586, a few months before Camerarius presented the bishop with the first book of the manuscript (October 1586), the bishop had opened a new seminary school in Bamberg.[27] Harms and Heß rightly emphasize the humanist outlook of this new school, and the humanist ideology of both the bishop and Camerarius. One could well imagine that with his manuscript collection Camerarius wanted to propose the idea of the emblematic Altdorf prize medals to the bishop's school, and that he prepared emblems in a sense that would fit a seminary, i.e. through interpreting the emblems in a religious sense.

In the manuscript, however, the discourse of biology (botany and zoology) is in general less important than it is in the printed emblem books. The two manuscript *centuriae* certainly do not represent a "Plinius emblematicus". A considerable number of the *picturae* (or *res significantes*)—about 50%—do not belong to biology.[28] Most importantly, Camerarius's composition—in a marked difference from the printed emblem books—does not at all reflect the order of nature as presented by Pliny's natural history. If the *picturae* (or *res*

25 MS p. 199, facsimile edition p. 203 (emphasis mine); cf. Harm – Heß, "Einleitung" XII 'Das Manuskript setzt hingegen […] stärker religiöse Akzente […]'.

26 For Ernst von Mengersdorf cf. Metzner J., *Ernst von Mengersdorf, Fürstbischof von Bamberg, die Weihbischöfe Dr. Jakob Feucht und Dr. Johann Ertlin* (Bamberg: 1866).

27 Cf. Harms – Heß, "Einleitung" XIV.

28 For example, of the emblems I, 1, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 22, 27, 28, 29, 32, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 43, 47, 48, 50 etc.

significantes) belong to the realm of biology, the part of the prose text that is dedicated to natural history is much shorter and simpler than in the printed emblem books; in general, Camerarius is satisfied with a single fact from natural history, and with one source from biological history (which is, not surprisingly, often Pliny). Only very occasionally other information is added.

In the printed emblem collection, however, the prose text is mostly four to five times as long; the information on natural history in particular is always extended and is usually much more complex. Camerarius is hardly ever satisfied with a single fact of nature. In book II he mostly adds either descriptive elements of the animal or other rare facts that are not directly connected with the emblematic *res significans.* Also, he regularly comes up with more, and preferably more remote, authorities on natural history. In general in the printed emblem books he prefers Greek *auctoritates* to Latin ones: Aristotle, Aelian, Oppian of Apameia, Plutarch (esp. *De sollertia animalium*), and so on. Furthermore, in a considerable number of cases it can be demonstrated that Camerarius drew heavily on Gesner's *Historia animalium* of 1551 ff.; Camerarius tried to include as much as possible the profound learning displayed in the zoology of Gesner, who was regarded by his contemporaries as *the new Pliny*. Nevertheless, only rarely does Camerarius mention Gesner, and Gesner is especially mentioned in cases in which Camerarius does not agree with him. In general one gets the impression that Camerarius used Gesner's work as a natural history sourcebook from which he took many of the authorities he quotes in his prose text. In this way, Gesner can often be found behind the first part of Camerarius's prose texts, even if Camerarius does not agree with him. Sometimes it was maintained that it is empirical observation in particular that characterizes the biological part of Camerarius's prose texts. This is, however, questionable. It is true that Camerarius sometimes sceptically discusses natural history information, but this does not necessarily mean that he had a preference for empirical observation. In the second book, on the quadrupeds, empirical observation only appears as an exception; more often, his inquiry is dedicated to the question of which of the bookish *auctoritates* is the right one. A kind of empirical orientation, however, can be detected with respect to the pictorial part of the printed emblems. It is clear that Camerarius took a great interest in the *picturae*: He was eager to present new, up-to-date images that rendered the animals as realistically as possible. In a number of cases the *pictura* of the printed emblem is more realistic or more convincing than its manuscript forerunner.

At least in book II, all these differences between the printed emblems and their manuscript forerunners are connected with their didactic orientation. The emphasis on the curiosities of nature is meant to strengthen the aspect of

delectatio.[29] The more *delectatio* offered, the better the moral education would function, and the stronger the effect of the emblems was expected to be.

Furthermore, the second part of Camerarius's prose texts—the part comprising the emblematic explanations—is more extended and much more complex in the printed emblems. This feature is connected with a number of aspects. In general, the web of emblematic intertextuality is more dense and more subtle in the printed emblems. Camerarius includes and/or mentions more emblematic sources than in the manuscript, and he offers a greater number of complex emblematic interpretations. For example, in a number of cases he connects his emblems (explicitly or implicitly) with the hieroglyphical tradition apparent in the illustrated Horapollo editions and in Pierio Valeriano's (1477–1558) *Hieroglyphica* (ed. pr. 1556). But most importantly, Camerarius usually connects his printed emblems explicitly with the Italian *impresa* hype of the second half of the 16th century, and he does so systematically and more often than in the emblematic manuscript. He adds not only variant *imprese* (partly with alternative interpretations), but also introduces alternative mottoes, which he partly invented himself and partly translated from Italian *imprese* collections. Works such as Scipione Ammirato's *Il rota overo dell'imprese dialogo* [...] (Naples, Giovanni Maria Scoto: 1552); Scipione Bargagli's *Dell' imprese*;[30] Camillo Camilli's *Imprese illustri di diversi, cio discorsi di Camillo Camilli* [...] (parte prima, Venice, Francesco Ziletti: 1586); Giulio Cesare Capaccio's *Delle imprese trattato* [...] (1592);[31] Luca Contile's *Ragionamento* (1574);[32] Lodovico Dolce's *Imprese nobili* (1583);[33] Giovanni Domenichi's *Ragionamento* (1559);[34] Paolo Giovio's *Dialogo dell'Imprese* (1574)[35] or *Le sententiose Imprese* (1561);[36] and Battista Pittoni's *Imprese di diversi principi, duchi, signori, e d'altri*

29 Cf. above.

30 *Dell' Imprese di Scipion Bargagli gentil'huomo Sanese* [...] (Venice, Francesco Franceschini: 1594).

31 Three books (Venice, Orazio Salviani – Giovanni Giacomo Carlino – Antonio Pace: 1592).

32 *Ragionamento di Luca Contile sopra la proprietà delle Imprese con le particolari de gli Academici affidati et con le interpretationi et chroniche* [...] (Pavia, Girolamo Bartoli: 1574).

33 *Imprese nobili et ingeniose di diversi prencipi, et altri personaggi illustri nell'arme e nelle lettere* [...] *con le dichiarationi in versi di Ludovico Dolce* (Venice, Francesco Ziletti: 1583).

34 *Ragionamento* [...] *nel quale si parla d'Imprese d'armi e d'amore* [...] (Milano, Giovanni Antonio degli Antoni: 1559).

35 *Dialogo dell'Imprese militari et amorose di Monsignor Giovio* [...] *et del Gabriel Simeoni Fiorentino. Con un ragionamento di M. Lodovico Domenichi, nel medesimo sogetto* [...] (Lyons, Guillaume Rouille: 1574).

36 *Le sententiose Imprese del Monsignor Paolo Giovio et del Signor Gabriel Symeoni ridotte in rima per il detto Symeoni. Al serenissimo duca di Savoia* (Lyons, Guillaume Rouille: 1561).

personaggi et huomini illustri (1566)[37] are of great importance for Camerarius's emblems.

The Rhino Emblems

In order to get a better impression of Camerarius's method of working it is best to look more closely at a couple of singular emblems. E. II, 4, NON REVERTAR INVLTUS (I will not return without having taken revenge), certainly presents a very rare species, one hardly ever seen in Europe—the rhino [Fig. 3.10]. The most important source of natural history is Pliny, VIII, 70–71, who tells us that rhinos are perpetually at war with elephants, and he describes the way the rhino kills the elephant—by cutting open the elephant's belly with its horn. Pliny also maintains that before fighting the elephant, the rhino usually sharpens its horn on a rock. This assertion is exactly what the engraving intends to show; in the left corner a rock is depicted, which the rhino is going to use as a whetstone. The wild nature of the foreground is in a sense contrasted with the typically European landscape with the windmill in the background. This is a general feature of the engravings: Most of them have European landscape backgrounds, even if exotic animals are depicted. For example, in E. II, 10, a lion is caught in the environs of a village with a church [Fig. 3.13]. In II, 17, the camel walks through a European landscape with a windmill [Fig. 3.14]. The European landscape backgrounds may be purely decorative; at the same time, for the 17th-century viewer they may have added some familiarity to the exotic images, and may have helped the viewer internalize the emblematic images and their messages.

Interestingly, E. II, 4 was already in the manuscript collection MS I, 30, with the motto AMAT VICTORIA CVRAM (Victory requires preparation). The *pictura* indeed shows the very first rhino that came to early modern Europe, an Indian rhino (*Rhinoceros unicornis*). The animal (with the name of Gujaranti) was sent to Lisbon in 1515 as a diplomatic gift from Sultan Muzafar II of Cambay to the King of Portugal Manuel I.[38] Dom Manuel enjoyed the rhino tremendously; he had a famous menagerie and was genuinely interested in natural history. He was eager to test Pliny's information by organizing an animal fight between the rhino and one of his elephants. Because the elephant panicked

37 Book I Venice, without date; book II Venice: 1566.

38 Cf. *Clarke T.H., The Rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs: 1515–1799* (*London: 1986*).

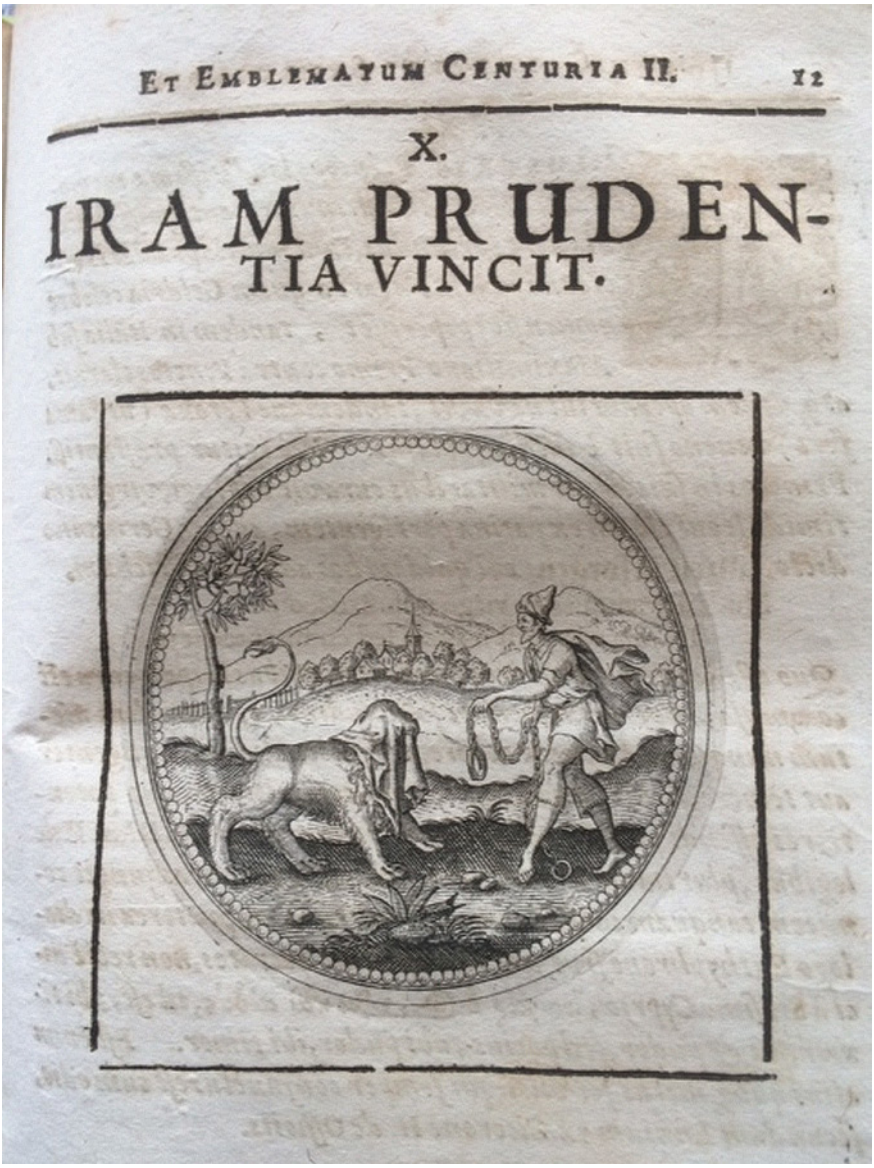

FIGURE 3.13 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 10. Private collection.*

FIGURE 3.14 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 17. Private collection.*

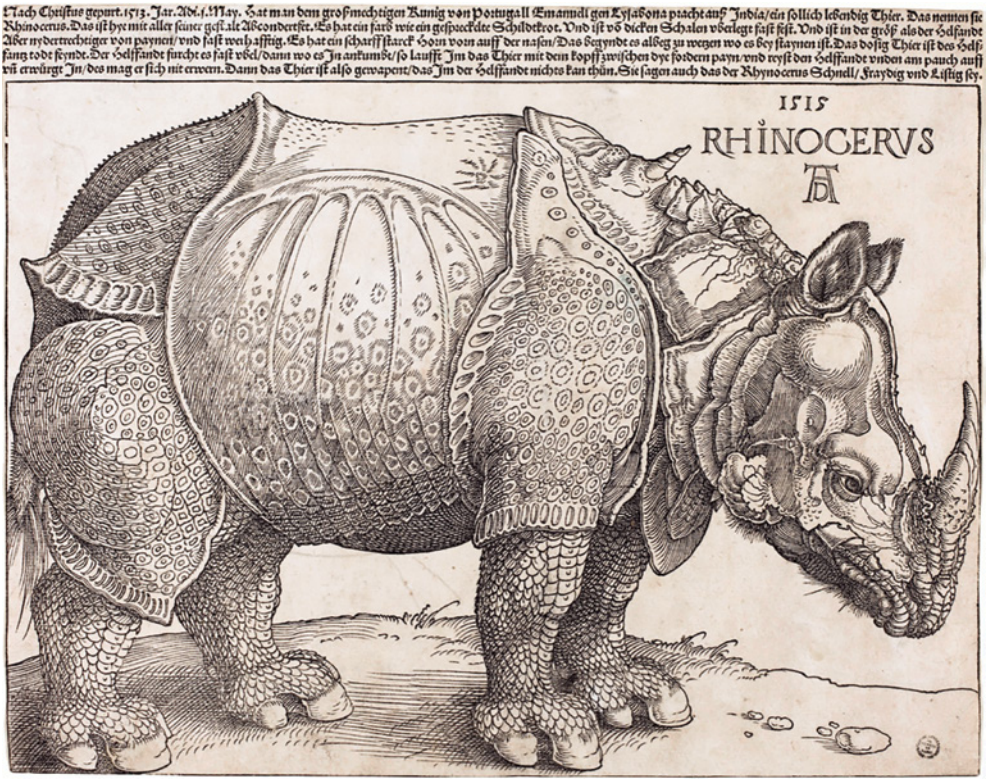
Nach Christus geburt. 1513. Jar. Als. f. May. Hat man dem grossmechtigen Kunig von Portugall Emanuell gen Lysabona pracht aus India/ein sollich lebendig Thier. Das nennen sie Rhinoceros. Das ist hye mit aller seiner gest. alt Abconterfet. Es hat ein farb wie ein gesprecklete Schildkrot. Und ist vō dickem Schalen vberlegt fast fest. Und ist in der grōss als der Helffant Aber nydertrechtiger von paynen/ vnd fast weich affig. Es hat ein scharff starck Horn vorn auff der nasen/ Das beyndt es allweg zu wetzen wo es bey staynen ist. Das dofig Thier ist des Helffants todt feynde. Der Helffant furcht es fast vbel/ dann wo es Jn ankumbt/ so Lufft Jm das Thier mit dem kopff zwischen dye fordern payn/ vnd reyst den Helffant vnden am pauch auff vñ erwürgt Jn/ des mag er sich nit erwern. Dann das Thier ist also gewapent/ das Jm der Helffant nichts kan thün. Sie sagen auch das der Rhynoceros Schnell/ Fraydig vnd Listig sey.
1515
RHINOCERVS

FIGURE 3.15 *Albrecht Dürer, Indian Rhino. Woodcut* (*1513*) (*Nuremberg: 1515*).

and ran away, Pliny was vindicated. After this successful test, Dom Manuel decided to present the rhino to Pope Leo X and send it to Rome. Unfortunately, the Portuguese caravel shipwrecked close to La Spezia, and the poor animal drowned.

The image of Camerarius's manuscript emblem [Fig. 3.15] ultimately goes back to Dürer's woodcut [Fig. 3.15], a woodcut that immortalized the rhino and made it world famous.[39] In an accompanying inscription Dürer suggested that he had portrayed the animal from life; however, he never saw the animal in person. Also, he claims that he saw the rhino in 1513, but at that time the rhino was still in India. Part of the enormous success of this woodcut was Dürer's phantastic *inventio*: the Indian rhino's characteristic skin folds [Fig. 3.17], which seem to divide its skin into big plates, and the wart-like bumps that cover parts

39 Cf. Salzgeber D., *Albrecht Dürer: Das Rhinozeros* (Reinbek: 1999).

of its skin, which Dürer interpreted as a medieval knight's suit of armour, thus giving the courageous warrior animal a proper appearance. Another stunning element of Dürer's fantastic *inventio* is the strange horn on the back of the animal [Fig. 3.15]. This horn looks like an ornament on a warrior's armour. Of course, the second horn had little to do with the animal's real appearance, but through Dürer's woodcut, the strange 'Dürerhörnlein' became authoritative for the rhino's image in the 16th and 17th centuries. Dürer's woodcut, however, was probably not the immediate example for the *pictura* of Camerarius's manuscript emblem; the image was taken from the Altdorf medal from 1582, which was made by Hans Jamnitzer and which is still preserved [Figs. 3.9A and B].[40] The medal provided the motto taken from Catullus (AMAT VICTORIA CVRAM), which of course was not present on Dürer's woodcut, and two important pictorial elements: the whetstone (not depicted by Dürer) [Fig. 3.15] and the extraordinary length of the "Dürerhörnlein". The Altdorf medal itself was in all likeliness designed after the example of Dürer's woodcut: in the *suprascriptio* Dürer told the story of the rhino's war with the elephant, and its habit of cutting open the elephant's belly with its horn [Fig. 3.15].[41] The young man who received the medal, Georg-Erasmus von Tschernembl, saw the relationship between the medal's image and that of Dürer: 'Ex illa Dureri pictura suspicor desumptam imaginem rhinocerotis, quae in nostro nomismate conspicitur' ('I think that the image of the rhino seen on our medal was taken from Dürer's famous illustration').[42] Furthermore, he discovered that the source of the motto was Catullus, *Carmina* 62, 16 (the well-known wedding hymn).[43] He explained the emblem in a twofold way: first in the sense of a mirror of princes, and second as the *vita scholastica* at universities. Applied in the first sense it means that victory always depends on the prince's constant care (*cura*) and his willingness to take on labour and risk; in the second, that students must avoid

40 Stopp, *The Emblems of the Altdorf Academy* 122 (no. 29); Cf. Harms – Heß, Facsimile edition 443–444 (commentary).

41 'Das dosig Thier ist des Helffantz todt feyndt. Der Helffandt furcht es fast vbel / dann wo es Jn ankumbt / so laufft Jm das Thier mit dem kopff zwischen dye fordern payn / vnd reyst den Helffandt vnden am pauch auff vnd er wuorgt Jn / des mag er sich nit erwern. Dann das Thier ist also gewapent / das Jm der Helffandt nichts kan thuon'—'It is the mortal enemy of the elephant. The elephant is afraid of the rhinoceros, for when they meet, the rhinoceros charges with its head between its front legs and rips open the elephant's stomach, against which the elephant is unable to defend itself. The rhinoceros is so well armed that the elephant cannot harm it'.

42 *Emblemata anniversaria Academiae Noribergensis* [...] (= 2nd ed.) 77.

43 Ibidem.

alcohol, sex, and sleep.[44] Camerarius's interpretation seems to be a variation of Von Tschernembl's: the emblem either brings to the fore the providence of the prince ('imago ducis providi')[45] in war matters, or advises one to master one's sins/flaws of character (*vitia animi*). Another source used by Camerarius was Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* II, 21 ("De rhinoceronte"). The zoological part of Camerarius's emblem is a paraphrase of Pliny's entry on the war between the rhino and the elephant.[46] Since Camerarius explicitly refers to Pliny ('ut Plinius scribit'), he suggests that he consulted the *Naturalis historia*. However, as the details of the text show, he took it from Valeriano.[47]

In a marked difference with the manuscript, the zoological prose text in Camerarius's printed version is much longer; in particular, he adds zoological information on the rhino's number of horns, its name, and so on. The number of horns turned out to be a zoological problem, because one of the African subspecies which bears two horns, probably the black rhino (*Diceros bicornis*), was well known in ancient Rome, and was described as such—for example, by Martial ('cornu gemino'—'with a double horn'),[48] Cassius Dio, and Pliny[49]—whereas in the 16th century only Indian rhinos (thus, those with one horn: *Rhinoceros unicornis*) occasionally made their way to Europe. How can one explain the second horn mentioned by the ancient authors? Gesner, in his *Historia animalium*, came up with a special solution.[50] In his opinion, all rhinos had only one horn on their nose. Dürer's woodcut was for Gesner the key to the latter's effort to harmonize all the existing information on the rhinoceros.

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44 Ibidem 77–79; cf. esp. the introductory sentences: 'Cuius symboli haud dubie haec est sententia: nullam victoriam ab ullo hoste unquam reportari sine ingenti cura, sine labore et sine aliquo periculo' (77), and 'Sed praetermissis bellicis victoriis paucis attingamus scholasticam militiam. Nobis enim scholasticis de nostra militia inclytus Noribergensis Reipublicae senatus in hoc symbolo commonefactionem proponere voluit […]: "Venter, pluma, Venus laudem fugienda sequenti" […] Qui igitur in castris Musarum versantur, ante omnia studeant temperantiae et sobrietati, ne a ventre, gula et crapula turpiter vincantur […]' (78).

45 Of course, the *providentia* of the prince is not the same as constant care, and willingness to take on labour and risk; Von Tschernembl's interpretations seem to be closer to the motto AMAT VICTORIA CVRAM.

46 *Naturalis historia* VIII, 70–71.

47 Valeriano Pierio, *Hieroglyphica seu de sacris Aegyptiorum* […] (Lyons, Thomas Soubron: 1594) II, 21 ("De rhinoceronte").

48 Martial, *De spectaculis* 22 (26), 5.

49 Cf. *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike* 8 (2000) 722, s.v. "Nashorn" (Ch. Hünemörder).

50 Gesner, *Historia animalium* I […] (Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1551) 954.

Apparently, Gesner believed that Dürer's claim to have depicted the Portuguese rhino from life was true. Therefore, Gesner was sure that if ancient authors talked about a second horn, they must have meant the strange one on the animal's shoulders (the "Dürerhörnlein"). This horn was not as sharp as the one on its nose and was not useful as a weapon, so in fact it could hardly be called a horn.[51] Camerarius's point of view very much resembles Gesner's, since he thinks that the rhino had only one horn, and he clearly used Gesner's chapter on the rhino. For example, Camerarius copied Gesner's Latin name for the rhinoceros, 'naricornis';[52] Pausanias's name, 'taurus Aethiopicus' ('Ethiopian bull');[53] the remark that, 'surprisingly, Aristotle never mentioned the rhino'[54] (which is in fact not true);[55] and so on. Like Gesner, Camerarius thinks that 'Martialis de gemino cornu licentia poetica loquitur' ('Martial talks about the double horn with poetic licence'). With respect to the "Dürerhörnlein" Camerarius even goes a step further than Gesner: he thinks that it does not even have the form of a horn, but is just 'something like a hump' ('tuberosum quippiam'). For the war between rhinos and elephants Camerarius does not quote Pliny (as in the manuscript; although in fact, there his source was Valeriano), but more impressive Greek sources, such as Oppian of Apameia's *De venatione*[56] and Aelian's zoology *De natura animalium*;[57] furthermore, for the rhino's bravery and fighting spirit, 'a line from Martial': 'Rhinoceros nunquam victus ab hoste redit' ('The rhino never returns from his enemy as the loser'). Camerarius took the authorities Oppian of Apameia and Aelian from Gesner as well;[58] the "new authority" Martial, however, is a bit curious. Although Martial talked about

51 Cf. ibidem: 'Quamquam enim gemina in hac animante cornua spectentur, unum in nare, ut diximus, quod grandius, alterum superius, parvum admodum et inutile, cum uti eo bellua non possit, ut in pictura apparet. Quare vix cornu etiam nominatur […]'—'Although one can observe that this animal bears two horns, one on the nose, as I have said, which is bigger, and another one on its back, the latter is (only) small and useless, because the animal cannot use it. Therefore, one can hardly call it a horn (in its proper sense)'.

52 Cf. ibidem 952: 'rhinocerontis, id est naricornis […]'.

53 Ibidem: 'Pausanias in Boeoticis tauros esse scribit in Aethiopia, qui rhinocerotes vocentur, a naso cornuto […]'—'Pausanius writes in his book on Boeotia that there are bulls in Ethiopia that are called rhinos because of the horn on their nose'.

54 Cf. ibidem 954: 'Aristotelem nusquam huius animalis meminisse miror […]'.

55 Cf. Aristotle, *Historia animalium* II, 1, 499 B 20–21; *De partibus animalium* III, 2, 663 A 18–23.

56 Oppian, *De venatione* II, 551–565.

57 Aelian, *De natura animalium* XVII, 44.

58 Gesner, *Historia animalium* I, 954.

rhinos a number of times, he definitively is not the author of this Latin verse; Camerarius mistakenly ascribed it to him.[59]

In general, the 'zoological part' of the prose text of E. II, 4, is entirely bookish, depends largely on Gesner, and has little to do with empirical information. As usual, Camerarius draws heavily on Gesner, but he only rarely mentions him. Camerarius does not offer first-hand information, and he had in fact never seen a real rhino. Nevertheless, he claims to have included new empirical information, and this claim regards the *pictura* [Fig. 3.10]—he says that he offers a new, authentic, realistic, and precise illustration ('accuratam designationem') of the animal made after 'an elegant engraving he just got from Spain'.[60] Harms and Heß state that 'Camerarius verweist hier auf eine neue (bislang nicht bestimmbare) spanische Quelle als Bildvorlage'.[61] Here, again, as he did with respect to Gesner, Camerarius suppressed his intermediate source. His *pictura* was modelled on an engraving made by the Dutch artist Philip Galle (1537–1612, born and first active in Haarlem, moved 1570 to Antwerp) in 1586, which depicted another Indian rhino which came to Portugal and Spain [Fig. 3.16]. The animal, baptized Abada, was first kept by the Portuguese kings Sebastian I and Henry I (1577–1580), and later by Philip II of Spain (1580–1588). A courtier of Philip, Joannes Moflinius, who had ordered an image of the animal (probably a drawing), returned to the Southern Low Countries; he gave it to Galle, who made the engraving in 1586. It was Galle himself who told the story of the genesis of the image in an inscription that accompanied the engraving ('PHILIPPUS GALLAEUS SPECTATORIBUS S<ALUTEM>'). Camerarius gave Galle's engraving to Johann Siebmacher, and he himself used Galle's inscription for building a claim to have received a new engraving from Spain (which in fact came from Antwerp).

A very important feature of the printed emblem book is the constant combination of the emblems with the Italian *impresa* tradition. In this case, Camerarius reshapes the emblem with the rhino as enemy of the elephant after the *impresa* of Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence (1532–1537) [Fig. 3.17]. This *impresa* was invented for the duke by Paolo Giovio and published by Giovio in his *Dialogo delle imprese*,[62] a work Camerarius frequently used. Through Alessandro's *impresa* the emblem gets a new meaning, and

59 We will come back to this later.

60 'Huius accuratam designationem curavimus exprimi ab icone in aes eleganter incisum, ex Hispania nuper allata'.

61 Harms – Heß, facsimile edition 444 (commentary).

62 I use here the edition Lyons, Guillaume Rouille: 1559.

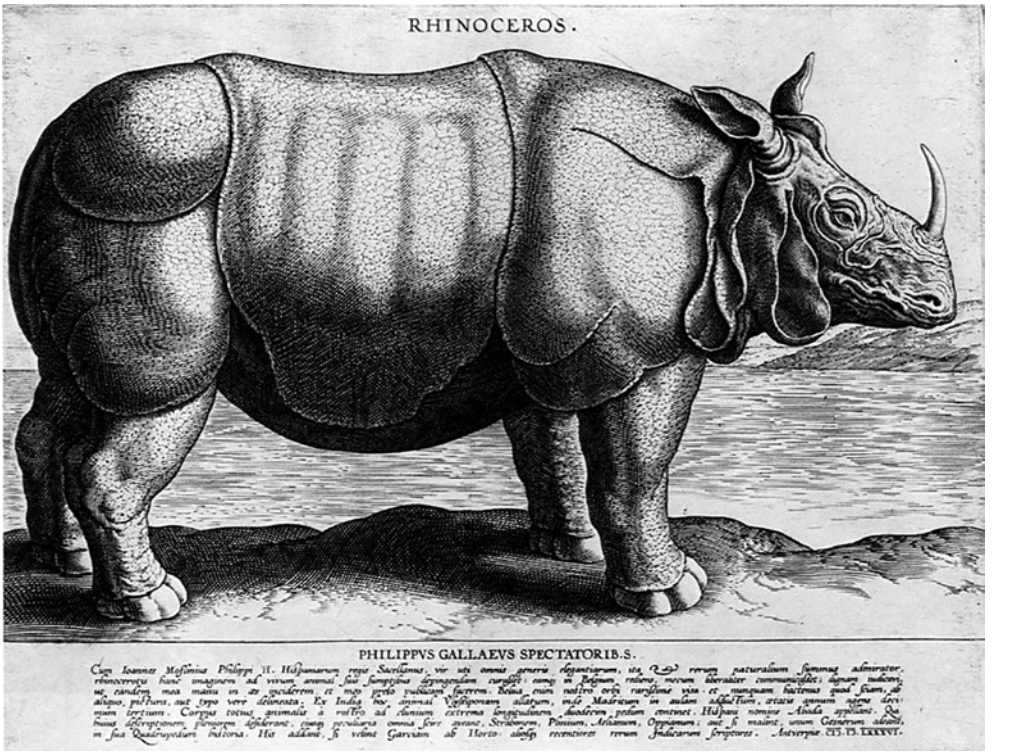

FIGURE 3.16 *Philipp Galle, Indian Rhino. Engraving* (*Antwerp: 1586*).

this is also expressed in a new motto: 'NON REVERTAR INVLTUS'. The emblem is no longer about general morals (advising the avoidance of vices) or on *providentia*, but solely on princely bravery/courage (*fortitudo*). The prince shall never return defeated from the battlefield. The new motto is modelled after the Spanish *impresa* NON BVELVO SIN VENCER—'I shall not return without victory'. Thus, in the printed version the emblem has turned exclusively into a "mirror of princes" emblem, and it represents knightly bravery. It is now solely about the prince's courage in war: he shall fight for glory and care not for his life; he shall return from the battlefield either as a winner or dead. Giovio describes his *impresa* for Duke Alessandro, which he not only used for the knightly coverture of his horses but also as a breastplate—thus, a kind of medal; the invention, Giovio says, he took from

> [...] the wild beast Rhinoceros, the deadly enemy of the Elephant, which being sent to Rome by Emanuel King of Portugals [...] drowned by hard

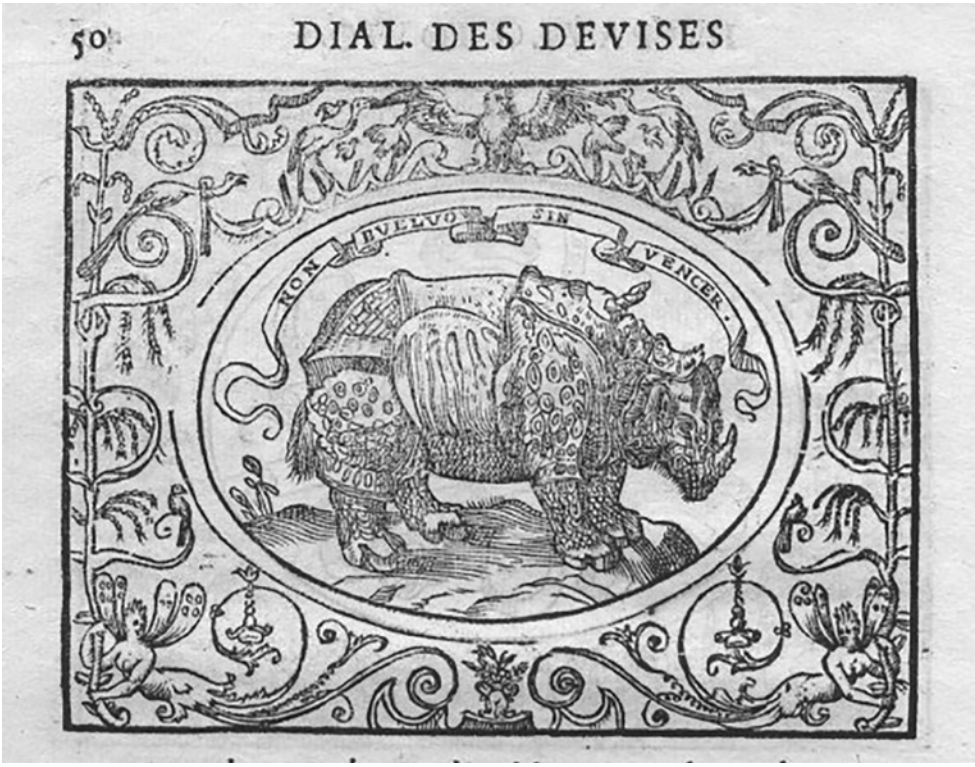

FIGURE 3.17 *Impresa of Alessandro de' Medici, from: Giovio Paolo,* Le sententiose Imprese del Monsignor Paolo Giovio et del Signor Gabriel Symeoni ridotte in rima per il detto Symeoni. Al serenissimo duca di Savoia (*Lyons: 1559*) *49*.

fortune, amongst the rocks a litle aboue Porto Venere, (for it was not possible that such a beast could save it self being chayned, albeit it swam miraculously a|mong the sharp rocks, which are all along that coste) yet notwithstanding there was brought to Rome, his true portraiture, and greatnes in February 1515 with information of his nature: the which as Plinie saith, and the Portugals affirme, is to goe and finde the Elephant, and assaulting him, striketh him under the panch with a hard and sharpe horne which it hath growing on his snout, neither doth hee euer depart from his enemy nor from sight, til he hath weried and slaine him, which most often falleth out: vnles the Elephant with his long snout doe take him by the throte, and in closing doe strangle him. The forme of this beast in goodly embrodery serued for the coverture of his Barbarie horses: which ran in Rome for the price or masterie, with this mot in the

> Spanigh tongue: No buelle sin vincer: I warre not but I won. retourne not without victory, according to this verse, 'Rhinoceros nunquam victus ab hoste cedit'. This deuise pleased him so that he caused it to be engraven in his brest plate.[63]

Also, in this case Camerarius did not mention his source (Giovio). Moreover, it appears that Camerarius has taken the Latin line 'Rhinoceros nunquam victus ab hoste redit' not from Martial, but from Giovio's *impresa*. In the Italian text of the *impresa* Giovio does not say who the author of the verse is; Camerarius may have genuinely thought that it was Martial, maybe because the line is part of an epigram in elegiac distich. But the author was actually Giovio himself: In the atrium of his villa at Como, he had a painting of the two largest land animals in life size, accompanied by an epigram explaining their characteristics: 'Humanos elephas retinet sub pectore sensus,/ Rhinoceros nunquam victus ab hoste cedit' ('The elephant has in his breast a human mind/ the rhino never returns from his enemy as the loser').[64] Although Camerarius may well have known Giovio's *Elogia*, he did not consult it in the case of E. II, 4. But he would not have mentioned Giovio as his source anyway, since he suppressed his name even as the inventor of the *impresa*.

E. II, 5, VIM SVSCITAT IRA [Fig. 3.18], is connected with II, 4, with respect to its meaning, *res significans*, and the *pictura* (a rhino fighting with a bear). Although its ultimate source is Martial (*De spectaculis* 22), the zoological *pictura* is typically Plinian, since it focuses on a rare animal and rare animal behaviour, and furthermore refers to a Roman animal show. E. II, 5, is representative of the book on the quadrupeds, since it is again exclusively a mirror of princes emblem. The previous emblem was about the prince's bravery on the battlefield; E. II, 5, also demonstrates knightly behaviour, i.e. princely anger

63 *The vvorthy tract of Paulus Iouius, contayning a discourse of rare inuentions, both militarie and amorous called imprese VVhereunto is added a preface contayning the arte of composing them, with many other notable deuises*. By Samuell Daniell late student in Oxenforde (London, for Simon Waterson: 1585). (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?cc=eebo;c=eebo;idno=a01764.0001.001;node=A01764.0001.001%3A5;seq=70;vid=3275;page=root;view=text).

64 Giovio, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium veris imaginibus supposita, quae apud Musaeum spectantur, in libros septem digesta* (Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino: 1551), book IV, 206: 'Utriusque beluae (sc. elephantis et rhinocerontis) imagines ex vera naturalique magnitudine picturis expressae in ipso Musaei nostri atrio spectantur, cum hac inscriptione singulis versiculis animantium naturam demonstrante'.

FIGURE 3.18 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 5. Private collection.*

that brings forth strength and power in battles. As in the previous emblem, the rhino represents the prince.

The zoological discussion from E. II, 4, especially the one on the number of rhinoceros horns, also functions as a basis here. Interestingly, the ultimate source, Martial, *De spectaculis* 22 (which describes a specific animal fight in a show given by Emperor Domitian in the Colosseum), explicitly states that the rhino took the bear 'on its double horn'. Martial meant this literally, and it is clear that he saw an African rhino in the amphitheatre. Camerarius, however, interpreted Martial's words metaphorically, following Gesner's *Historia animalium*. This time, he demonstrates his view that the rhino had only one horn solely in the *pictura*, in which the rhino was again drawn after Philip Galle's engraving from 1586 (thus representing an Indian rhino); naturally, Camerarius does not mention his source, Gesner, this time either. Although Camerarius cites Martial, *De spectaculis* 22, in extenso, he did not derive the emblem from this source, but adopted it from Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*,[65] where he found not only the basic emblematical meaning and the idea for the *pictura* [Fig. 3.19], but also Martial's text. That Camerarius took Martial's text from Valeriano appears from the fact that he quotes the phrase on the double horn as 'gemino cornu', whereas Martial has 'cornu gemino'. Camerarius, however, suggests in his prose text that he found Martial's verses independently.[66]

In his prose text, however, Camerarius does mention Valeriano, but only as the source of part of the emblematical meaning, and probably above all because he did not agree with him about the ultimate relevance of the emblem with respect to his "mirror of princes". Although Camerarius admits that princely anger makes sense, he gives more credit to the opposite virtue, *moderatio*. With this aim in mind, he connects his emblem once more with an *impresa*, QVO MAIOR, EO PLACABILIOR ('The greater a man, the quicker he calms down'). It is worthwhile to notice that this time Camerarius used a peculiar and curious collection of devices, Nicolaus Reusner's *Symbola imperatoria* (1588), in which the German jurist and emblematist construed a kind of phantastic prehistory of the *imprese*, namely of the Roman emperors from Caesar to Constantine the Great (none of whom, of course, used *imprese* or

65 Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* II, 20 ("De rhinoceronte").

66 'Quod etiam ex Martiale colligitur, qui hoc de eo epigramma composuit: sollicitant […]' ('One can conclude this also from Martial, who on the same topic composed the following epigram […]').

FIGURE 3.19 *Battle between rhino and bear, from Pierio Valeriano*, Hieroglyphica seu de sacris Aegyptiorum [...] (*Lyons, Paul Frelon: 1602*).

devices).[67] Reusner had presented QVO MAIOR, EO PLACABILIOR as the *impresa* of Emperor Aurelian (270–275).[68] Unlike the previous emblem, here Camerarius does not mention the princely "owner" of the impresa, but adds Euripides as an alternative authority: 'also Euripides magnificently advises the

67 Reusner Nicolaus, *Symbolorum imperatoriorum classis prima, qua symbola continentur imperatorum ac Caesarum Romanorum Italicorum, a Gaio Iulio Caesare usque ad Constantinum magnum* (Frankfurt a.M., Johann Spieß: 1588).

68 Ibidem, book 1, symbolum 50. Reusner derived the *impresa* from *Historia Augusta, Aurelianus* 22, 5–6.

same'. As one may suspect, Camerarius's source was in fact not Euripides himself, but Reusner.

The Leopard's Trick

E. II, 37, shows another exotic animal, one that has a rare outward appearance ('varia'—'mottled')[69] and displays curious behaviour: the African leopard (*Panthera pardus pardus*). According to Camerarius's ordering principle (from bigger to smaller size), the leopard comes after the horse (E. II, 30–33) and the tiger (E. II, 35–36). More than half of Camerarius's emblematic prose text is dedicated to zoology, and this part very much reflects Gesner's method in the *Historia animalium*: it deals first with the name(s) of the animal, second with its outward appearance, third with its habitat/range, and fourth with its behaviour. Camerarius's most important sources were indeed Gesner's zoology,[70] but alongside it Pierio Valeriano[71] and Pliny.[72] Camerarius derives the emblematical meaning (*res significata*) from the animal's behaviour, the "leopard's trick": the leopard was thought by the ancient zoologists to entice other animals with his pleasant odour, make them come to him, and trick them by hiding his face behind the leaves of a tree (his terrifying face was supposed to reveal his intentions as a predator).

The *pictura* repeats that of an Altdorf prize medal from the year 1593 [Fig. 3.20][73] which was given to baron Heinrich von Wildenfels. Camerarius also took over the medal's motto, ALLICIT VT PERIMAT ('he [i.e. the leopard] entices in order to kill'). In his oration, Baron Heinrich von Wildenfels interpreted the emblem with respect to school education. He regarded the leopard as the image of seductive sensual lust, to which the pupil should never yield. If he does so, he will not succeed, but perish (at least intellectually and spiritually). Camerarius had read von Wildenfels's *oratio*; however, he did not use it for

69 Pliny says that 'tigers and leopards are almost the only mottled animals', *Naturalis historia* VIII, 62: 'Panthera et tigris macularum varietate prope solae bestiarum spectantur'. This is, of course, not at all true; Pliny's authority was nevertheless acknowleged as proof of the animals' rare features.

70 Gesner, *Historia animalium* I, p. 935–948, chapter "De panthera seu pardali, pardo, leopardo".

71 Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* XI ("De panthera").

72 *Naturalis historia* VIII, 62–63.

73 Stopp, *The Emblems of the Altdorf Academy* 144–145 (no. 65).

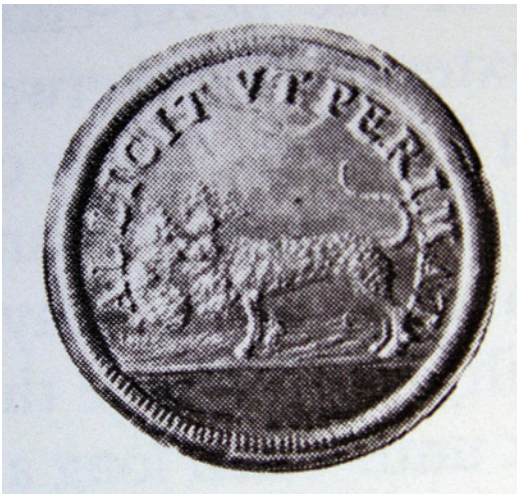

FIGURE 3.20 *Altdorf price medal, of 1593* (*Stopp no. 65*).

his emblematic prose text, but tried to outdo it with more detailed zoological information, with a more stringent interpretation, and also with more remote, and therefore more impressive, sources: He presents Varro as the authority for the animal's name in Greek, 'panthera'; for its remarkable behaviour he gives Plutarch's *De sollertia animalium*,[74] Aristotle,[75] Solinus,[76] and Aelian;[77] only at the end does he present Pliny as an alternative source, which he adds in order to explain the other sources.[78] However, Camerarius had picked up the Varro quote from Valeriano,[79] and the *auctoritates* for the curious "panther's trick" from Gesner, who cites them in extenso in his chapter "De panthera [...]".[80] Camerarius mentions neither Gesner nor Valeriano. Furthermore, Camerarius

74 Plutarch, *De sollertia animalium* XXIV, 3, 976 D.

75 Aristoteles, *Problemata* XIII, 9, 4.

76 Solinus, *Memorabilia* XVII, 8.

77 Aelian, *De natura animalium* V, 40.

78 'Plinius, qui postremo haec clarius exponit, ubi scribit [...]'—'Pliny who finally explained this better, when he states [...]'. This argument, however, is not very plausible, because the other texts (maybe with the exception of Plutarch) describe the panther no less clearly than Pliny.

79 Cf. Camerarius: 'Panthera a Graecis secundum Varronem dicta est ab omnifaria feritate [...]' and Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* XI ("De panthera"): 'nam panthera Graecum omnino vocabulum agnoscit Varro, quod ab omnifaria feritate [...] deducitur'. Camerarius refers to Pliny, *Naturalis historia* VIII, 62.

80 Gesner, *Historia animalium* I, 941.

presents two very curious "Latin names" for the leopard, namely 'Varia' and 'Africana': 'Panthera Latinis vocatur Varia, ab pellis varietate. Africanae quoque nominantur […]' ('Latin authors call the panther Varia ["The Mottled"] because of its mottled fur. They also call him "The African"'). This is odd information, because 'Varia' and 'Africana' are not real and valid Latin names for the panther. It was Gesner who construed these "names" through wrongful interpretations of Pliny: 'Panthera etiam Varia nominatur Latine, nimirum propter pellem maculosam […] Varias quidem a macularum varietate dici manifestum est'—'The panther is in Latin also called "The Mottled", of course because of its mottled fur […] It is obvious that they are called "Mottled" because of the variety of dots [i.e. the rosettes]'.[81] Gesner derived the name 'Africana' ('The African') from Pliny as well. In *Naturalis historia* VIII, 64, the Roman author reports a decree of the Roman Senate which forbade the import of African animals in Italy; this *senatus consultum* was struck down only in 170 BC. As Gesner understood the text, the ban was limited to panthers: this is, of course, highly unlikely. Camerarius literally took over Gesner's erroneous conclusion, but he did not mention him as his source.

In the case of E. II, 37, Camerarius also works in a 'Plinian' vein. He selects a curious fact of nature, one of the 'rariores animalium proprietates' announced on the title page of his emblem book, and here, too, the rare *proprietas* is derived from antique bookish knowledge. Although Camerarius says that leopards are also known in his time,[82] he does not enrich his bookish knowledge with any empirical observation. Moreover, in using his zoological sources he was not critical. After all, the 'information' about the leopard's hunting trick

81 Ibidem 936. Gesner refers to Pliny, *Naturalis historia* VIII, 63: 'Nunc varias et pardos, qua mares sunt, appellant […]'. However, he misunderstood Pliny. The sentence requires that one supply 'pantheras'. Pliny meant: 'Nowadays they also call the mottled (varias) panthers (pantheras) "pardi" if they are male'. This misunderstanding goes back to the Italian humanist and philologist Giambattista Egnazio, who interpreted in his comment to the *Historia Augusta* the passage of Pliny in the same way Gesner did. Besides, as the following passage of Pliny (VIII, 64) suggests, '(bestiae) variae' is used alternatively for all kinds of African animals that were used in Roman animal shows, including giraffes, zebras, wild donkeys and wild horses, wild dogs, hyenas, cheetahs, tigers, certain antelopes, and so on. Cf. also the list of animals given in *Historia Augusta*, *Gordiani tres* III, 33, in which are mentioned 'ten tigers, thirty leopards, ten hyenas (belbi, id est hyaenae), ten giraffes, twenty wild donkeys, forty wild horses, and innumerable other such animals, of different kinds […]'.

82 'Nota autem nostris quoque temporibus est Panthera, ad quam refertur Leopardus'—'The Panther is also known in our time, and it is called the leopard'.

does not sound plausible. In reality, no animals are enticed by the leopard's pleasant (or sweet) scent; on the contrary, if they caught his scent, they would take flight immediately. Like other *Felidae* predators, the leopard approaches his prey cautiously, preferably against the wind in order to avoid the prey smelling him. The phantastic story about the leopard's attractive odor was invented by an ancient zoologist, probably Aristotle, and adopted by other writers, such as Pliny, Solinus, and Aelian. Camerarius was obviously not as interested in controlling his sources (or in establishing empirical facts) as he was in collecting as many rare *res significantes* as possible.

With respect to emblematic interpretation, E. II, 37 shows a pattern relevant to the book on the quadrupeds. In the Altdorf *oratio*, Camerarius saw an interpretation which was directed to university students but was at the same time applicable to every Christian: the panther symbolized sensual lust, and man should avoid being seduced by it. Characteristically, Camerarius transferred the meaning of the emblem from a general one to a political one, one that would fit a "mirror of princes": that one should be cautious to avoid fraud and deceit. Camerarius came to this interpretation by combining the phantastic zoological story with a Horapollo lemma (II, 86) which says that the Egyptians depicted a malign, fraudulent, and underhanded man as a panther (πάρδαλις/ 'pardus').[83] Camerarius's advice belongs to the realm of pragmatic moral, without being Machiavellian; it is in fact directed against Machiavellian persons, and the advice is based on the cognitive understanding of political fraud. Therefore, its core is to strengthen the future politician's analytical tools. In order to achieve

83 *Hori Apollinis Niliaci Hieroglyphica hoc est de sacris Aegyptiorum literis* [*a Philippo Phasiano*] *nunc primum translati* (Bologna, Hieronymus Platonides: 1517) II, 89 (fol. XXXVIIv–XXXVIIIr): "Quomodo hominem propriam malitiam occultantem notant": 'Hominem, qui intra se ipsum propria occultet vitia et qui latere ipse quaerat, ne a suis fraudes eius detegantur, notare volentes, pardalim formant. Ipsa enim secreto caetera animantia venatrix insectatur impetum suum tunc maxime occultans, ne videatur, quando huiusmodi venatione feras taliaque animalia adoritur'; cf. the corrected and illustrated edition *Hori Apollinis selecta Hieroglyphica sive sacrae notae Aegyptiorum insculptae imagines* (Rome, Aloisio Zanetti: 1597) II, 86: 'Designantes hominem, qui scelestum suum ac malignum occultet animum […], pardum pingunt. Hic siquidem clanculum alia persequitur animantia, nec sinit impetum ac pernicitatem innotescere, qua in illis persequendis utitur'—'If they want to denote a man who hides his malign and criminal mind […] they [i.e. the Egyptian priests] paint a panther, because he pursues the other animals secretly, and he does not permit them to become familiar with the speed and power that he uses in hunting them'.

this goal, Camerarius advises the reading of Dio Chrysostomus's diatribe *περὶ ἀπιστίας* (On deceit).[84]

An Enigmatic Animal of the New World—The Opossum

Another example that significantly illustrates Camerarius's manner of working is E. II, 58 [Fig. 3.21]. This emblem depicts an animal of the utmost rarity; apparently not even the commentators of the manuscript, Harms and Heß, knew what it was—they talk about 'a dog-like quadruped with a remarkably big pouch on its belly'.[85] In the manuscript version the prose text is very short. It says that the animal was not known to the ancients but was only recently discovered in the Indies, and that above its belly it has a second open belly, in which it hides its babies until they are able to take care of themselves. A religious interpretation follows: the image symbolizes God's care for man.[86] The image was taken from Gesner's *Historia animalium* [Fig. 3.22], as was the intriguing zoological information. Interestingly, in Camerarius's manuscript the animal was anonymous, while Gesner had baptized it 'Simivulpa' in Latin and 'Fuchsaff' in German (something like 'Monkeyfox').[87] The motto, however, came from Luca Contile's *Imprese*, as did the remark that the animal was unknown to authors from classical antiquity.[88] In the manuscript Camerarius mentions neither Gesner nor Contile, and he does not comment on them. Anyway, he obviously preferred Gesner's illustration to Contile's, which is less specific [Fig. 3.23].

Both images, however, seem a bit enigmatic. Anyway, they do not resemble one of the existing species in the New World. The 'second belly' mentioned by Gesner is remarkably round, and in fact it looks more like a football or a big

84 Dio Chrysostomus, *Orationes* I.

85 Harms – Heß, facsimile edition 552 (commentary): 'Vierfüssiges, hundsähnliches Tier mit auffallend grossem Bauchbeutel'.

86 Camerarius, MS, facsimile edition 271 (MS p. 267): 'Animal hoc veteribus incognitum et nuper ideo in Indiis repertum, dicitur subter ventrem instar latae crumenae alium quasi ventrem habere apertum, in quem catulos suos iamdiu occultat, donec ipsi sibi victum quaerere possint. Ita quoque bona animi sub protectione divina semper constituta, facile custodiuntur'.

87 Ibidem 981 ("De simivulpa").

88 Contile, *Ragionamento*, fol. 56v, *pictura* and motto CVSTODIA TVTA; ibidem: 'animal [...] che di esso sia mai stata fatta mentione da gli antichi scrittori'—Camerarius, MS, facsimile edition 271 (MS p. 267): 'Animal hoc veteribus incognitum'.

tumour. But since Gesner in his description talked so clearly about the use of the 'second belly', he obviously refers to a pouch, and thus the animal must be a marsupial.

In comparison with the manuscript, the prose text of the printed edition (II, 58) is five times as long and is predominantly dedicated to zoology. Camerarius again applies Gesner's method: first, he discusses the animal's name; second, its habitat/range; third, its outward appearance; fourth, its behaviour; and fifth, some zoological parallels. Camerarius suggests in the first line that he got his information from 'writers of the Indies' ('scriptores rerum Indicarum'). In the following he indeed quotes two of them: the description by Spanish captain Vicente Pinzón (ca. 1462 to after 1514), one of Columbus's comrades, who explored the coasts of Brazil and Venezuela in the first half of 1500 and later became governor of Puerto Rico in 1505; and the Italian humanist and diplomat Pietro Martire da Anghiera (1457–1526), who composed the first comprehensive history of the explorations in Central and South America, consisting of an extended series of letters and reports. The work, written in Latin, was called *Decades de orbe novo*; each *Decas* comprised ten sections or 'books' ('libri'). The first reports, on Columbus's explorations of 1492, were written as early as 1493/4, in the form of letters to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza; books 3–8 were written from 1501 on and comprised the other travels by Columbus and those of Vicente Pinzón. The complete first *Decas* appeared in print in 1511, the following seven *Decades* between 1516 and 1530.[89] The *Decades de orbe novo* were frequently printed and widely available; nevertheless, Camerarius did not consult them, but took his information entirely from Gesner's *Historia animalium*, where he found the quotes of Vicente Pinzón's *Navigatio*, as well as of Pierre Gilles's (1490–1555) zoology from 1533.[90]

Importantly, Camerarius copied also the location of the opossum from Gesner: 'the region of Paria'. Today, this is the Paria peninsula in northeastern Venezuela, opposite of the island of Trinidad. Gesner's account ultimately went back to Pietro Martire's, but, as one can see from Martire's narrative, the location of the animal is a bit more complicated and somewhat different from what Gesner concluded from Martire's text. Martire first talks about a plurality

89 For modern editions cf. Martire Pietro, *De orbe novo decades I–VIII*, ed. R. Mazzacane, 2 vols. (Genua: 2005); *Acht Dekaden über die neue Welt*, ed. and trans. H. Klingelhöfer, 2 vols. (Darmstadt: 1972 and 1976); *Selections from Peter Martyr*, ed. G. Eatough, *Repertorium Columbianum* 5 (Turnhout: 1998).

90 *Ex Aeliani historia* […] *libri XVI de vi et natura animalium* (Lyons, Sebastianus Gryphius: 1533).

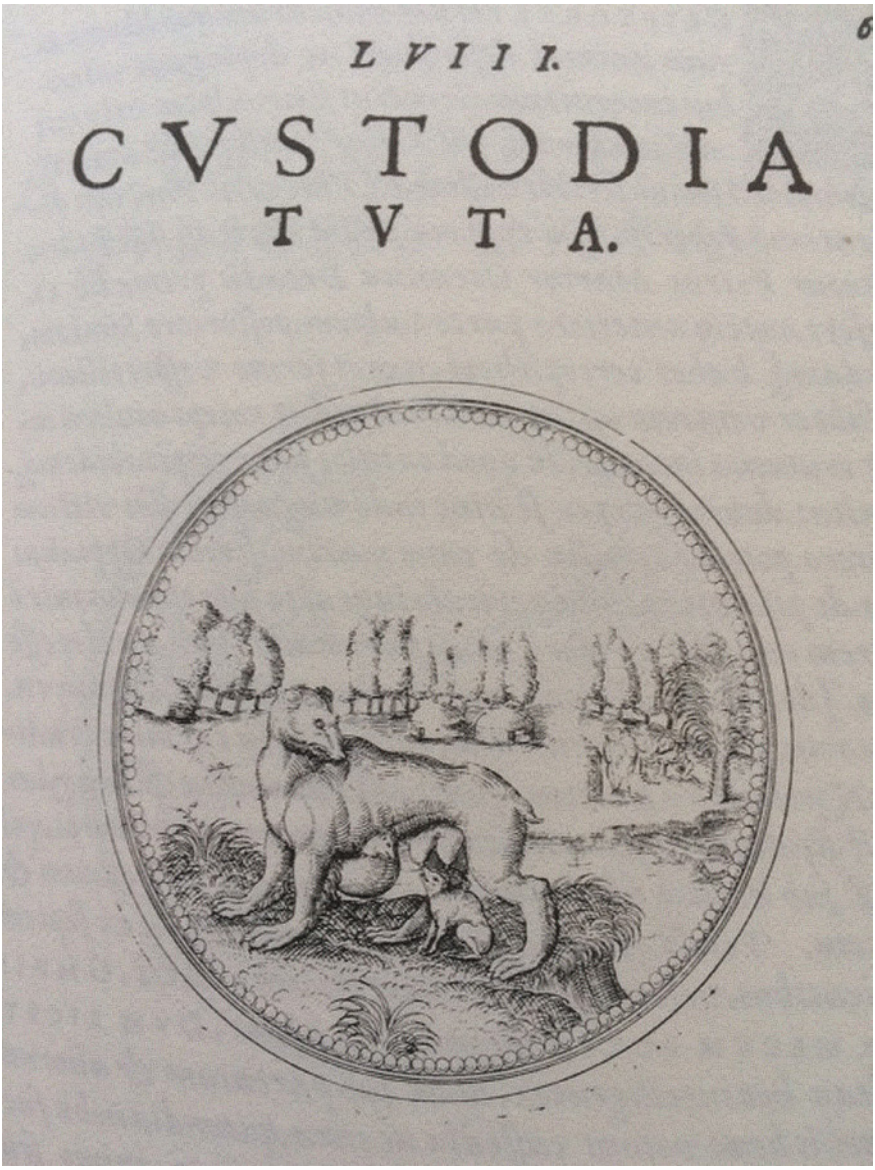

FIGURE 3.21 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 58. Private collection.*

Hæc ille per uirgíneam partem uoluptatem intelligens: per crura leonis, ſuperbiam: per alas, leuita-
tem. ¶ Eſt & Sphinx fabula ueteris cuiuſdam poëtæ, Aeſchyli ni fallor.
DE SIMIVVLPA. SIC ENIM FINGO
NOMEN, NE SIT ANONYMOS HAEC BESTIA:
cuius imaginem addidi, qualis in tabulis Geographi-
cis depingi ſolet.
I qui noſtra memoria Payram regionem luſtrarunt, beſtiam dicunt ſe uidiſſe quadr
dem, ex anteriore parte uulpem, ex poſteriore ſimiam: præterquâm quòd humanis

FIGURE 3.22 *'Simivulpa'* (*opossum*), *from Conrad Gesner*, Historia animalium [...] *I, 981.*

of 'Paria islands', and then, he says, Pinzón and his Spaniards sailed from the 'Paria islands' with the northeast wind and reached 'numerous islands'; on this trip they found anxious people who fled to the mountains and into the forest, and it was in such a forest that they discovered the strange animal.

> In most of the islands of Paria the Spaniards found a forest of red-coloured wood, of which they brought back three thousand pounds. This is the wood which the Italians call *verzino* and the Spaniards brazil wood. [...] Profiting by the north-west wind which the Italians call *grecco* [thus, actually the northeast wind] they passed numerous islands, depopulated by the ravages of the cannibals, but fertile, for they discovered numerous traces of destroyed villages. Here and there they discovered natives, who, prompted by fear, quickly fled to the mountain crags and the depths of the forests, as soon as they saw the ships appear. These people no longer

FIGURE 3.23 *Opossum, from: Luca Contile, Ragionamento* [...] (*Pavia: 1574*) *56.*

had homes but wandered at large because they feared the cannibals. Huge trees were discovered, which produce what is commonly called cinnamon-bark and which is claimed to be just as efficacious for driving off fevers as the cinnamon which the apothecaries sell. At that season[91] the cinnamon was not yet ripe. [...] Pinzón's men further claim that they have found huge trees in that country which sixteen men holding hands and forming a circle could scarcely encompass with their arms. An extraordinary animal [16] inhabits these trees, of which the muzzle is that of the fox, while the tail resembles that of a marmoset, and the ears those of a bat. Its hands are like man's, and its feet like those of an ape. [...].[92]

91 June/July, thus in the South American winter.

92 Martire Pietro, *De orbe novo. The eight decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera, trans.*F.A. Mac Nutt (1912) I, 9 (consulted via: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12425/12425-h/12425-h.htm#1IX).

If the Spaniards sailed with the northeast wind, by 'numerous islands' Martire can only mean the Leeward Antilles ('Benedenwindse eilanden' in Dutch), a long line of islands just north of the coast of Venezuela (including, among others, La Sola, Los Roques, Los Hermanos, Pratos, and Orchila, now belonging to Venezuela; and Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire, which are now part of the Netherlands). Therefore, the animal must have been discovered in the region of the Leeward Antilles, not on Paria peninsula. Because it was found in very big trees, it seems that its habitat must have been the rainforest. Rainforest, however, (at least nowadays) is not characteristic of the flora of the Leeward Antilles. But of course, Pinzón must have included in his trip parts of the mainland. After all, he was exploring the coastlines of South America. And moreover, especially in the time of the early explorations, it was almost impossible to discern islands from the mainland, and the mainland of Venezuela abounds in rainforest. Thus, the place where Pinzón's men discovered the animal was in all probability the coast of Venezuela south of the Leeward Antilles. Without knowing it, Camerarius had copied from Gesner the wrong region as the animal's habitat, which was all the more awkward because the former maintained that Pietro Martire was his source.

Although Camerarius took almost all of his zoological description from Gesner, he mentioned him solely as the inventor of the Latin and Greek names of the animal, 'simivulpa' and πιθηκαλώπεκα, and probably only in order to correct him: Camerarius considered Gesner's 'simivulpa' as linguistically incorrect, because in Latin the fox is called 'vulpes', not 'vulpa', and he emended it to 'simivulpes'; against Gesner's Greek name πιθηκαλώπεκα ('apefox') he brings to the fore Julius Caesar Scaliger's invention ἀλωπεκοπίθηκον ('foxape'); and he even (erroneously) "corrects" the adjectival name of the region: 'regione Pariensi' instead of Gesner's 'Pariana regione'.

After the discussion of the name and the place, Camerarius gives a description of the animal's outward appearance: its upper part should resemble a fox, and its lower part a monkey; it should have the tail of a guenon ('cercopithecus') and the ears of a bat. This description, again, he copied from Gesner (who took it from Pietro Martire),[93] with the exception of the remark on the animal's

93 Camerarius: 'Refert autem anteriore parte vulpem, posteriore simiam, caudamque habet cercopitheci, aures ferme vespertilionis […]'; Gesner, *Historia animalium* I, 982: 'vulpino rostro, cercopitheci cauda, vespertilionis auribus, manibus humanis, pedibus simiam aemulans'; Martire, *Decas* I, 9: 'vulpino rostro, cercopithecea cauda, vespertilioneis auribus, manibus humanis, pedibus simiam aemulans' (transl. Mac Nutt: 'of which the muzzle is that of the fox, while the tail resembles that of a marmoset, and the ears those of a bat. Its hands are like man's, and its feet like those of an ape').

human-like hands. These specifications, although they are meant to signify a miraculous being, are nevertheless helpful in identifying the animal. Because of the pouch it must be one of the opossum species (*Didelphidae*, with the subfamilies of the *Didelphinae* and *Caluromyinae*) of Central America. In itself, it could be the common opossum (*Didelphis marsupialis*), although the ears of this species do not resemble those of a bat; its hands are not human-like, and it does not remind one specifically of a fox. A better candidate would probably be the Central American woolly opossum (*Caluromys derbianus*) [Fig. 3.24]. Its reddish-brown fur and the form of its snout are reminiscent of a fox; its pink ears of a bat; its long hairy tail (and even its eyes) of a guenon or a long-tailed monkey; and indeed, its five pink, thin fingers of a human hand (it is a bit unfortunate that Camerarius left out just this detail). Moreover, its habitat is the rainforest with its big trees—and this is exactly the habitat where it was discovered. Pietro Martire's account says that Pinzón's men found it in the huge trees of the rainforest.

Gesner's image, which Camerarius took over as well, does not resemble a real opossum. Especially in Camerarius's illustration in the printed emblem book (because of the construction of space/landscape) it seems as if the animal were rather big, about the size of a dog or even bigger. In the hierarchical order of quadrupeds in Camerarius's emblem book, the opossum's place is contradictory: From the fact that it comes after the fox and the badger (E. II, 57), it would follow that it is smaller than they are; but from the fact that it is placed before the dog (II, 59–63), it would follow that it is bigger than ordinary dogs. In fact, however, opossums are rather small animals, varying in size between a mouse and a cat; the Central American woolly opossum measures some 28 cm long (without tail). With respect to their outward appearance they resemble rats more than other animals. They are, however, not rodents but omnivores, with a predator-like tooth formula (50 teeth). In Gesner's illustration, the pouch is drawn in the wrong place (on the breast instead of the lower part of the belly), and it is much too round (like a football); furthermore, the opossum's teats are in the wrong place: in the illustration, they are located outside the pouch, whereas in reality they are inside the pouch. Also, opossums have a greater number of teats (for example, the Virginia opossum has 13), whereas Gesner's illustration erroneously shows two big teats, which resemble the udders of a goat. And finally, the animal's tail is totally wrong. In the image it is very short, whereas in reality the opossum's tail is longer than its entire body. Obviously, Camerarius did not register the contradiction between Gesner's/Martire's description and the illustration. The description says that the animal has the tail of a 'guenon' (*cercopithecus*); the guenon family has very long tails (50–100 cm), longer than its body (32.5–70 cm). Of course, it is not clear what

FIGURE 3.24 *Central American woolly opossum* (*Caluromys derbianus*).

exactly Camerarius knew about guenons (*cercopitheci*); anyway, since he used Gesner's *Historia animalium* extensively, he could have read the chapter on the 'De simiis sive cercopithecis Prasianis [...]',[94] where Gesner says that *cercopitheci* have a tail that is longer than one metre.[95] Camerarius did not make a critical remark on the illustration; Gesner, however, seemed to not be totally happy with it.[96]

An Asian Rarity—The 'Suhak' (Saiga)

Finally, it seems interesting to look at how Camerarius works when he cannot fall back on Gesner (and Pliny). This is the case with E. II, 44, NON MIHI, SED POPULO, again a "mirror of princes" emblem. The animal [Fig. 3.25] is of the utmost rarity, entirely unknown to the ancients and also to Gesner. Camerarius

94 Gesner, *Historia animalium* [...] I, 970.

95 Ibidem: 'caudae longitudine supra duos cubitos'. The German cubits in Gesner's lifetime were all greater than 50 cm; the one of Freiburg i.Br. was 54 cm, the one of Augsburg was 58.7 cm, and that of Bamberg was even 67 cm.

96 Ibidem 982.

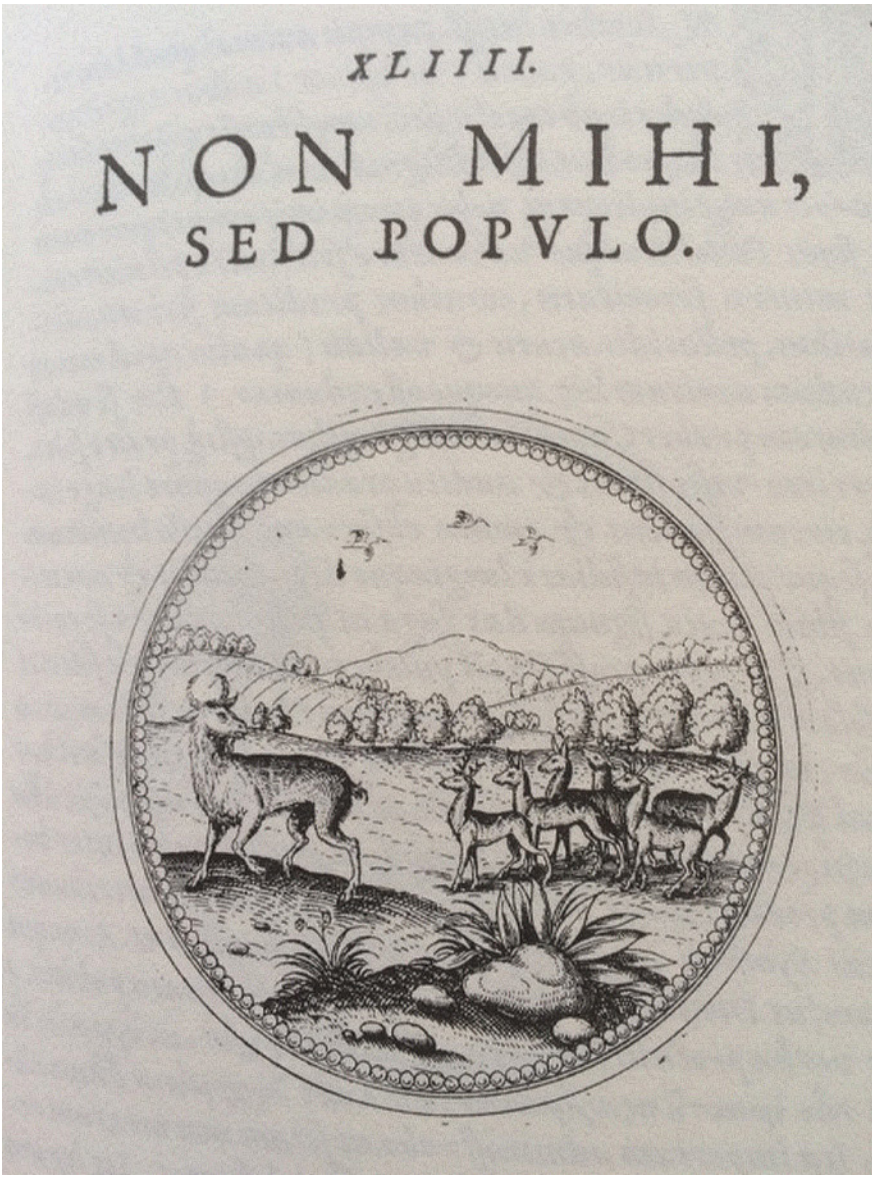

FIGURE 3.25 *Joachim Camerarius the younger*, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 44. Private collection.*

got his information on the animal's looks and behaviour from friends. One of them also possessed its horns, and he showed them to Camerarius. Thus, in this limited form, autopsy took place. Camerarius described the horns carefully: they 'have rings and are white, translucent, sharp, and strong'.[97] His friends told him that the animal 'resembles a chamois' ('silvestri caprae simile'), is unbelievably fast, and lives in Asia, but 'each year it reaches the borders of southern Ukraine'.[98] The inhabitants of the regions of its habitat call it 'Suhak'. The combination of the information Camerarius gives makes it possible to identify the animal as the saiga (*Saiga tartarica*) [Fig. 3.26]. Among the *Antilopini* (family of the antelopes) the *Saiga* is a genus of its own, characterized by its very strange nose, which looks a bit like a trunk, resembling that of a tapir. Saigas live in large herds in the Eurasian steppe—formerly from southern Ukraine to Mongolia and north China, nowadays in various, much smaller areas in the Republic of Kalmykia (Russia), Kazakhstan, and Mongolia. The horn is the main reason why the genus became endangered; it is used in Chinese medicine, similarly to the horn of the rhino. 'Suhak' is the Polish name of the animal:[99] southern Ukraine—called 'Podoliae' in Latin—belonged in those days to the Kingdom of Poland.

If one looks at the *pictura* of the emblem [Fig. 3.26], one can see that Camerarius followed closely the description of his friends: according to them, the animal resembled a kind of goat or chamois, but it had different horns. The friends also equipped him with a very odd piece of information: the animal had been observed guiding herds of 'roe deer' ('capreoli')—thus, animals of another species. On the engraving, the roe deer are indeed marked as another species: they are much smaller and bear different horns. It is from this observation Camerarius derived the "mirror of princes" meaning of the emblem: 'Rex bonus est pastor populi' ('The good King is the shepherd of his people'), as the epigram puts it, or SALVS POPVLI SVPREMA LEX ESTO ('The wellbeing of the people is [the Prince's] most important law'), as the prose text has it. The empirical observation itself, of course, must be a misunderstanding. Only male saigas bear horns, and male animals are the leaders of a herd. It looks as if Camerarius's friends had watched a herd that consisted only of females, and had erroneously interpreted it as a herd of roe deer. This wrong conclusion may have been suggested by the gender dimorphism between male and female saigas; the males are some 20 to 25 per cent bigger. One can see that in the engraving the difference in size is enhanced: the rare horn-bearer is about double the size of the roe deer.

97 'cornibus praeditum striatis, albicantibus, pellucidis, acutis et validis'.

98 'quotannis ad fines Podoliae usque adventare solet'.

99 In Russian, it is 'Saiga'; in Uzbek, 'Saigok'; in Kazakh, 'Akokei'.

FIGURE 3.26 *Saiga tartarica.*
PHOTO BY ANDREY GILJOV AND KARINA KARENINA.

With respect to the odd zoological 'facts', it appears that Camerarius was not very sceptical; he was eager to believe them because they contributed to the Plinian principles of rarity, amazement, and the intelligence of animals. Thus, even if Camerarius had no Plinian rarities at hand, he construed them himself. When Camerarius lacked classical *auctoritates* he used other means of authorization: in the case of E. II, 44, he emphasized that he had received a 'true image' ('vera imago') of the animal, and that both the image and information had been given to him by 'trustworthy men'—'a fide dignis viris'.

Conclusion

In his emblem book on the quadrupeds Camerarius very much worked along Plinian lines, and he took over Pliny's zoological concepts, above all his focus on rarities (including a certain preference for exotic creatures) and his tendency to discover a kind of human intelligence or behaviour in the animals. In the prose texts of the printed emblems there is generally more emphasis on zoological information. In general, Camerarius mentions more than a single

fact of nature and gives more zoological information than is strictly necessary for the understanding of the emblem. Strengthening the rare aspects of nature is used as a means to increase the didactic efficiency of the emblem book. In enhancing the zoological contents Camerarius has primarily used Gesner's *Historia animalium*. He not only exploited him as a sourcebook of zoological facts, but also took over Gesner's personal findings, his manner of presentation, and, more than once, his illustrations as well. Gesner had been hailed by his contemporaries as the new Pliny; for the emblem author Camerarius he even functions as a kind of Super Pliny: behind Camerarius's typically Plinian information often stands Conrad Gesner, larger than life. Nevertheless, Camerarius rarely mentioned the Swiss scholar, probably in order to underpin his own personal achievement. Especially with the help of Gesner, Camerarius tried to outdo Pliny. He was proud of presenting more intriguing information than Pliny. In the printed emblems Pliny was still an important source, but in the emblems many times Pliny's name is suppressed or mentioned only as an alternative. Instead of the widely known *Naturalis historia*, Camerarius prefers to present more remote and above all Greek *auctoritates*; this manner of working was probably also caused by a longing to make his own work more impressive. In almost all the emblems, Camerarius worked with intermediary sources he does not mention, and Gesner and Valeriano are among the most important ones. As we have seen, this method led here and there to errors and erroneous conceptions and statements. In general, Camerarius was not very critical with respect to the zoological information he took from Gesner or classical authors, and he made no real effort to replace bookish with empirical information. His eagerness to collect rarities was obviously stronger than his critical mind. On the other hand, Camerarius tried to present convincing engravings with realistic images of the animals; he provided the engraver Siebmacher with examples that corresponded with state-of-the-art-images, and a number of times he succeeded in equipping his emblems with better images than Gesner. In rare cases when Camerarius could not rely on antique authorities or on Gesner, he did not change his zoological principles: he was still in the first place eager to come to the fore with rarities. In this sense he composed a thoroughly Plinian—and more than Plinian—emblematic natural history.

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CHAPTER 4

Joachim Camerarius's Emblem Book on Birds (1596), with an Excursus on America's Great Seal

Paul J. Smith

With respect to his other emblem books on the natural world, Camerarius's book on birds and insects (full title: *Symbolorum et Emblematum ex volatilibus et insectis desumptorum centuria tertia collecta* [1596][1]) has its own specificities. These specificities concern the use of textual and pictorial sources, the birds' symbolism, and the book's general *dispositio*. In this essay I will discuss these aspects. To illustrate this, I will at the end of this essay focus on the opening emblem of the book, which has a strategic function: it informs its intended reader what he may expect from the book he just opened. As I will demonstrate, this opening emblem also gives us an idea of the impact of Camerarius's book in later centuries, as it was was one of the foundations for the world's best known coat of arms: the Great Seal of America.

In order to get a grip on the book's specificities, it is necessary to take a brief and preliminary look at the book's place in the history of emblem books, and more specifically the few emblem books consecrated to birds and other creatures of the sky. Indeed, Camerarius's emblem book is not the only nor the first book devoted to birds. There are at least three other printed collections with bird emblems or near-emblematic texts which precede Camerarius's. Here I give, in chronological order, Camerarius's predecessors, and their most notable resemblances and differences with regard to his emblem book. This helps us to see clearly Camerarius's specificities.

1 On Camerarius, see Harms W., "On Natural History and Emblematics in the 16th Century", in Ellenius A. (ed.), *The Natural Sciences and the Arts: Aspects of Interaction from the Renaissance to the 20th Century. An International Symposium* (Uppsala: 1985) 67–83, and Papy J., "Joachim Camerarius's *Symbolorum & Emblematum Centuriae Quatuor*: From Natural Sciences to Moral Contemplation", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Visser A.S.Q. (eds.), *Mundus emblematicus: Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books* (Turnhout: 2003) 201–234.

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Emblematic Context and Sources

1. Guillaume Guéroult, *Second livre de la description des animaux, contenant le blason des oyseaux* (Lyons, B. Arnoullet: 1550). The adjective 'Second' indicates that this book is considered a sequel: it is a continuation of Barthélemy Aneau's *Decades de la Description, Forme, et Vertu Naturelle des Animaulx, tant raisonnables, que Brutz* (Lyons, Balthasar Arnoullet: 1549), which is about mammals. Contrary to Camerarius's emblem books, which are all well-structured, as we shall see, Guéroult's and Aneau's books have a *dispositio* governed by the principle of *varietas*: they do not follow any particular traditional thematical order. In this, Guéroult and Aneau follow the first editions of Alciato's *Emblemata*, which only in the later editions are structured thematically. However, Guéroult's book is comparable to Camerarius's book because they both include flying insects, as well as fabulous birds, such as the phoenix. The inclusion of insects and fabulous birds is a conscious choice, one also made by the French poet Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas. Du Bartas, authoritative in his time, narrates the creation of the birds in the Fifth Day of his *Sepmaine ou la Creation du monde* (1581). This poem is ambivalent: on the one hand it is strongly inspired by the natural history works by Pierre Belon and Conrad Gesner. On the other hand, Du Bartas distances himself from Belon and Gesner by incorporating both insects and the phoenix—animals that are explicitly excluded by Belon and Gesner from their ornithological works.[2] Guéroult and Camerarius make the same choice, not because they believe that the phoenix really exists, or because they think that insects are in fact birds, but because they want to present the animals not only in a natural historical context, but also in a literary, allegorical, or emblematic context.

A major difference between Camerarius's learned Latin texts and Guéroult's work is that Guéroult appeals to a different, broader readership. His accompanying poems are in French: they are not based primarily on recent natural history or on classical scholarship, but rely more on traditional animal symbolism originating from the medieval bestiaries and early 16th-century proto-emblem books on animals and birds, recently studied by Alison Saunders.[3] Guéroult's

2 Smith P.J., "L'ornithologie de Du Bartas: histoire naturelle et typologie biblique", in Bjaï D. (ed.), *La Sepmaine de Du Bartas, ses lecteurs et la science du temps. En hommage à Yvonne Bellenger* (Geneva: 2015) 121–142.

3 Saunders A., "More French Emblematic Predecessors, Godly and Amorous", *Emblematica* 22 (2016) (69–106) 85, from which I quote the following information about the three proto-emblem books on birds: 'These are first, an anonymous late fifteenth-century collection of epigrammatic verses entitled *Dictz des bestes & aussi des oyseaulx*; and second, a slightly later

book was successful: since 1561 it has been reissued several times in an enlarged version originally made by Benoist Rigaud. The popular character of the book is reflected in its illustrations. Guéroult's illustrations (rough woodcuts) lack the detailing of the engravings of the illustrations by Johann Siebmacher, Camerarius's illustrator.

2. Conrad Gesner, *Icones avium omnium, quae in Historia avium Conradi Gesneri describuntur* (Zurich, Froschauer: 1555, second enlarged edition 1560). This book and its second edition are reissues of the illustrations from Gesner's monumental *Historiae animalium liber III., qui est de avium natura* (1555), with synoptic texts by Gesner himself, in which he put the most updated information about birds. As has been stated recently by Philippe Glardon, the *Icones* are no 'afterthoughts, pretexts to bring to profit costly plates, but rather […] an integral part of the entire work, exceeding by far the limits of the edited volumes'.[4] Because they are meant as scientific books, there is no place for insects in the *Icones*. But emblematics remain central to the book, because although this book was not meant as an emblem book, it was often used as a model book by painters and illustrators, including emblematists (see the Introduction of the present volume).

3. Pierre Belon, *Portraits d'oyseaux, animaux, serpens, herbes, arbres, hommes et femmes d'Arabie et d'Égypte: le tout enrichy de quatrains, pour plus facile cognoissance des oyseaux et autres portraits* (Paris, Guillaume Cavellat: 1557). Like Gesner's *Icones*, this book is a reissue of the illustrations of an ornithological handbook: namely, Pierre Belon's *Histoire de la nature des oyseaux* (1555), plus the illustrations of Belon's other successful work: *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables* (1553).[5] But, contrary to Gesner's *Icones*, this collection is not a scientific publication; it is meant as a kind of emblem book, with illustrations and epigrams—only the motto is missing. The accompanying epigrams, often badly written, are not by Belon but by his editor Cavellat—these poems are partly based on Guéroult's poems.[6]

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collection of illustrated verses on the behaviour of animals and birds included in the 1521 *Menus propos* by the *Rhétoriqueur* poet Pierre Gringore, and last, a work entitled *Sensuyt le bestiaire damours: moralisé sur les bestes & oyseaulx. Le tout par figure et histoire*, which connects both with the *Dictz des bestes & aussi des oyseaulx*, and with Gringore's work'.

4 Glardon P., "Gessner Studies: State of the Research and New Perspectives on 16th-Century Studies in Natural History", *Gesnerus* 73 (2016) 23.

5 Belon Pierre, *Histoire de la nature des oyseaux* […] (Paris, Guillaume Cavellat: 1555), and idem, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables, trouvées en Grece, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres pays estranges* […] (Paris, Guillaume Cavellat: 1553).

6 See Smith P.J., "Deux recueils d'illustrations ornithologiques : les *Icones avium* (1555 et 1560) de Conrad Gessner et les *Portraits d'oyseaux* (1557) de Pierre Belon", in Garrod R. – Smith P.J.

Interestingly, none of these bird emblem books seem to have been known or consulted by Camerarius. He used Gesner and, more rarely, Belon; however, he did not use their *Icones* or *Portraits*, but only their original handbooks. In fact, for his bird emblems, we can distinguish three main categories of sources: (1) emblem and *imprese* books, (2) books on natural history, and (3) an impressive number of works from the whole Greek, Latin, and Neo-Latin canon, from Homer to Petrarch, from the Bible and the Church Fathers to Erasmus and Budé.

Let us take a look at the first category. I found 12 emblematic sources, including *imprese* books, most of which are explicitly mentioned by Camerarius:

- Alciato, *Emblemata*, 1531 (or a later edition)
- Claude Paradin, *Les devises heroïques*, 1551 (or a later edition)
- Pierre Cousteau, *Pegma*, 1555 (or 1560)
- Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose*, 1555 (or a later edition)
- Piero Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 1556 (or a later edition)
- Georgette de Montenay, *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes*, 1567–1571 (or a later French or Latin edition)
- Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le Imprese illustri, con espositioni, et discorsi* [...], 1572 (Libri I–III), 1583 (Libro quarto) (or a later edition)
- Luca Contile, *Ragionamento sopra la proprietà delle imprese con le particolari de gli Academici Affidati*, 1575
- Scipione Bargagli, *Delle Imprese*, 1578; enlarged edition, 1594
- Laurentius Haechtanus, *Mikrokosmos* = *Parvus mundus*, 1579 (or a later edition)
- Juan de Borja, *Empresas morales*, 1581
- Hadrianus Junius, *Emblemata*, 1585 (or a later edition)

This impressive list, which probably is not exhaustive, needs some comments. In Camerarius's bird emblem book, Alciato, Pierre Cousteau, Laurens van Haecht (Haechtanus), Hadrianus Junius, and Georgette de Montenay are only mentioned once or twice. The list is broadly consistent with the emblematic sources that Wolfgang Harms and Gilbert Heß have indicated in their edition of Camerarius's manuscript *Symbola et emblemata tam moralia quam sacra*,[7]

(eds.), *Natural History in Early Modern France: The Poetics of an Epistemic Genre* (Leiden – Boston: in press).

7 Camerarius Joachim, *Symbola et emblemata tam moralia quam sacra. Die handschriftlichen Emblem von 1587*, eds. W. Harms – G. Heß (Tübingen: 2009) XVII–XVIII.

but the printed text differs from the manuscript in its use of these sources. Contrary to Camerarius's printed emblem book on birds, the manuscript contains several series of emblems stemming from the same source, especially Juan de Borja, *Empresas morales*; Claude Paradin, *Les devises heroïques*; Luca Contile, *Ragionamento*; and Battista Pittoni, *Imprese*. One notes some other differences in the details of the works: Pittoni does not seem to be used in Camerarius's printed bird emblem book; in the manuscript, Borja is a main source, whereas he is rarely mentioned in the bird emblem book; and Cousteau and Montenay, present in the printed book, are absent in the manuscript. In both the manuscript and the printed bird emblem book Luca Contile and Paolo Giovio are Camerarius's main emblematic sources, as we shall see. Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* presents an interesting case of intertextuality. Camerarius refers regularly and explicitly to the *Hieroglyphica* as a source, but in later editions of the *Hieroglyphica* from 1610 on, he himself will become a source for Valeriano's book: many of his emblems and prose texts will be integrated integrally in Valeriano's later editions.

As can be seen from the dates of their publication, the emblem books Camerarius used are not very recent, dating for a large part from his youth—Camerarius was born in 1534. But in his other emblem books on animals, Camerarius shows that he also has the tendency to update his emblematic lectures. This is the case with, for instance, Ottavio da Strada's *Symbola divina et humana pontificum imperatorum regum* (1600), which bears some very close resemblances to some of Camerarius's bird emblems, but which, due to its date of publication, should not be added to this source list; however, it is one of the sources of Camerarius's emblem book on fishes.

As for the second category of sources, natural history, Camerarius's book contains numerous references to the ancient natural histories of Aristotle, Pliny, and Aelian, and also, albeit in fewer number, to the modern ones: William Turner, Conrad Gesner, J.-C. Scaliger, Pierre Gilles, Edward Wotton, Olaus Magnus, and Pierre Belon. Of all these references, the ones to Conrad Gesner are the most important. Most references to the other naturalists seem to be made through the enormous compilation of Gesner's book on birds. It is striking that Gesner himself is not often mentioned by name. Sometimes he seems only to be mentioned to be corrected. And in the case of the opening emblem, Gesner is not mentioned explicitly, but seems to be targeted: the beginning of the text appears to be a correction to that of Gesner, as we will demonstrate in more detail.

It is interesting to note that Camerarius seeks to update his readings in natural history—and that he wants to highlight this updating. Thus, the Italian

zoologist Ulisse Aldrovandi is mentioned only once, not as a source but as Camerarius's correspondent, who sent a description of a seabird and whose ornithology, in press, Camerarius hopes to read soon:

> Misit autem hujus accuratam designationem ad me Dominus Ulysses Aldrobandus rerum Naturalium peritissimus professor Bononiensis, cujus libri absolutissimi de Avibus et aliis rebus, quos ad editionem adornat, avide expectantur (E. III, 54).
>
> However, an accurate description of this bird was sent to me by Mr. Ulisse Aldrovandi, Professor in Bologna, most expert in natural history, whose most perfect books On Birds and other things, which he prepares for publication, are eagerly awaited.

Mosaic Disposition of the Individual Emblems

Compared to the (few) bird emblems in Camerarius's manuscript emblem book,[8] which are much briefer, the printed emblem prose texts present themselves as a mosaic of quotations (in the 16th century the word *emblema* often means mosaic work, and can therefore be used as a metaphor for textual patchwork). The main dispositional principle of the individual emblem is variety, but this variety is streamlined by some general tendencies at work. The first and most obvious one is the self-imposed constraint of the single page: every textual elaboration, except for the last emblem (I will come back to this), should take place within this limited space. This implies a deliberate choice of the material at one's disposal, which can be enormous, for instance in the case of the eagle or the swan. The second characteristic is that the inventional starting point is always a pre-existing illustrated emblem or *impresa*, which functions as a 'hypogrammatic derivation'.[9] I found only two exceptions: Emblem 44, about an exotic curassow-like bird, is based on a purely textual source: Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Exercitationes* on Girolamo Cardano's *De subtilitate*.

8 See Harms W. – Kuechen U.-B. (eds.), *Joachim Camerarius, Symbola et Emblemata* (*Nuremberg 1590 bis 1604*). *Mit Einführung und Registern* (Graz: 1986–1988).

9 In literary semiotics, the notion of 'hypogrammatic derivation' indicates the textual remotivation of a pre-existing kernel or 'hypogram' (a proper name or an expression, proverb or motto). The notion of 'hypogram' was coined by Michael Riffaterre. See Smith P.J., "'Croquer pie'. *Quart Livre*, Ancien Prologue," in *Rabelais—Dionysos. Vin, carnaval, ivresse*, ed. Michel Bideaux (Marseille: 1997) 97–108 (97).

Emblem 83, about the *passer solitarius*, has a very rich but not emblematic prehistory.[10] In some cases, for instance in the three emblems consecrated to the ostrich, the main source is obvious, namely Giovio's three emblems devoted to the ostrich, which are put together in a single sequence in his *Dialoghi*. Camerarius produces the same sequence of three emblems. Even Camerarius's illustrations made by Johann Siebmacher remarkably resemble Giovio's: the only (minor) difference is that Camerarius's illustrations are stylized according to the illustrator's great model—Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, as will be demonstrated later.

In the amplification of Camerarius's prose texts the most important impulse is given by Gesner, regularly mentioned, but for the most part silently copied. Most of the learned quotations from Greek and Latin authors (Aristotle, Pliny, Plutarch etc.) can be found in Gesner. Several of Camerarius's prose texts open with etymological considerations on the bird's name—most of them mentioned by Gesner. These etymological beginnings mark the natural historical pretentions of the book, because the starting point of most 16th-century ornithological descriptions, including the ones by Turner, Gesner, and Belon, is etymology, especially Greek etymology, leading ultimately to a better understanding of Aristotle's bird identifications. One of the characteristics of Camerarius's text is his tendency to classify the different bird species: as we shall see, the first emblem, devoted to the eagle, opens with Aristotle's classification of six eagle species, which is also found, but with the species in a different order, in Pliny and in Gesner. Other learned classificatory observations abound: thus, as the author tells us, distinctions should be made between a wren (*Troglydes troglydes*) and a goldcrest (*Regulus regulus*) (E. III, 6), and between two kinds of ibises (E. III, 39), three kinds of herons (E. III, 42), two kinds of magpies (E. III, 58), four kinds of swallows (E. III, 85),[11] etc.

Another method of textual amplification is Camerarius's references to famous persons, thus placing, as it were, his own book under their patronage. The Italian *imprese* books enable Camerarius to highlight the royal and imperial use of his emblems, in past (the Roman emperors) and present. This tendency can be seen in the first and the last emblems of the book: respectively, Charles V (E. III, 1), Maximilian II (E. III, 1 and 2), Rudolph II (E. III, 3), and, in the last emblem, Charles V and the French King Francis I. In Emblem 22 Camerarius

10 See Smith P.J., "*Passer solitarius*: Tribulations of a Lonely Bird in Poetry and Natural History, from Petrarch to Buffon", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Göttler C. (eds.), *Spaces, Places and Times of Solitude in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden – Boston: in press).

11 Probably the barn swallow (*Hirundo rustica*), the common house martin (*Delichon urbicum*), the sand martin (*Riparia riparia*), and the common swift (*Apus apus*).

uses Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* to construct a kind of intellectual genealogy: via Valeriano, he traces his intellectual roots back to Giovanni Goviniano Pontano (died 1503), Marcantonio Sabellico (died 1506), and Pomponio Leto (died 1497). He cannot resist making a gentle pun on the last name: 'nomine, re et animo erga omnes hilaris, facilis et placidus' ('by his name, being and mind [he is] joyful, easy and indulgent to everyone').

Camerarius is also eager to mention other celebrities (mostly Italian noblemen and humanists) to whom the alleged *imprese* belong, as well as some recent scholars—Jean Bodin and Jacques Daleschamps, for instance. He also mentions some friends and colleagues from his own network. Besides Aldrovandi (see above), some other persons are alleged: his young colleague and friend Conrad Rittershausen ('amicus meus […] vir doctissimus'; 'amicus noster singularis'), author of the subscriptions of Camerarius's emblems, is mentioned three times (and some of his Latin verses are quoted). We find also the names of Johannes Antonius Viperanus, and David Hoeschel ('amico meo singulari'). Nathan Chytraeus gets a platform: Camerarius quotes a poem by him of no fewer than 17 lines, which are introduced in a most honorific way: 'Placuit autem hoc loco elegantissimum carmen doctissimi poëtae D. Nathanis Chytraei […] ascribere' ('I decided to insert in this place the very elegant poem written by the very learned poet Mr. Nathan Chytraeus') (E. III, 63). Also interesting in this respect is the introductory poem written by the scholar Helias Putschius, which was printed in the first edition of the book. In at least one copy of the first edition this poem has been crossed out, but in such a way that the poem, as in a palimpsest, still can be read.[12] In later editions of the work this poem disappears. This is probably because Putschius died in 1606.

Thus, Camerarius's emblem book seeks to suggest the existence of a virtual network, a *République des Lettres*, consisting of an inner circle of friends and some outer circles of humanists, both alive and dead, noblemen and princes.

The textual amplifications of the prose texts mostly end with one or several devices and mottos, from which the emblem has been constructed. This is done with great variety: these mottos sometimes are identical to the ones of the emblems in question, but often they are not, or are only partly identical. Let's take Emblem 24 once again as an example. The emblem is about the Zephyr, the soft west wind that makes the swans sing. Camerarius's prose text concludes with two mottos: *Zephyris aspirantibus* ('Zephyr for those who aspire') and *Abest cur aura paratis?* ('Why is the breeze absent for those who are ready?'), which do not correspond to the emblem's final motto. This motto,

12 See the copy of the Bayerische StaatsBibliothek Res/L.eleg.m 1347 w-3.

Aspiret mollior aura ('The breeze may blow more softly'), in fact only partly corresponds to the first motto, proposed by the prose text. But the motto *Zephyris aspirantibus* is used for the emblem (without *subcriptio*) that figures on the book's title page (as we shall see). Thus, the reader is implicitly but continually compelled toward self-activation: he is supposed to think actively about the choices and the processes that have led Camerarius to his final choice for this particular motto.

Dispositional Coherence of the Book

The book is given a clear dispositional coherence. In strategic places in the book—its beginning and its end—this coherence is explicitly motivated: Camerarius starts with the eagle, motivating his choice as follows: 'recte, ut opinor, huic centuriae tertiae ab ea exordium sumere licet' ('It is right to take the exordium of this third century from this emblem'). What is not said explicitly, but certainly plays a role, is that by devoting his first 16 (!) emblems to this royal bird, Camerarius wants to highlight the didactic function of the emblem book as a mirror of princes.[13] This function can be deduced easily from the mottos of the eagle emblems, for instance: "Cuique suum" ("To each his own", E. III, 1—which is about royal justice), "Dominus providebit" ("The Lord will provide", E. III, 2—about Godly providence), "Et profundissima quaeque" ("[Seeing] even the deepest things, whatever they are", E. III, 3—about royal perspicuity), and so forth. E. III, 9 "Sustinuere diem" ("They could stand the light") is an emblem especially devoted to princely education: it shows the eagle testing its young's endurance to stare directly at the sun.

In the last emblem, on the phoenix, Camerarius indicates explicitly that his book has to end with this particular bird, and also that his prose text on the phoenix should be longer than the other ones (five whole pages): 'Visum fuit tandem hanc tertiam Centuriam nostram cum Phoenice concludere et de illo paulo verbosius quam antea factum est, disserere' ('this third century is concluded by the phoenix, and to talk about it a bit longer than about the previous birds'). These beginnings and ends, and their respective motivations, are traditional both in emblematics and in natural history. Belon's *Histoire des Oyseaux* and his *Portraits*, and Gesner's *Icones* start with the eagle. Guéroult begins his book on bird emblems with the phoenix. In his emblematic fable book

13 On this aspect, see Karl Enenkel's contribution to this volume.

Mythologia ethica (1579),[14] Arnold Freitag opens his penultimate emblematic fable with the following motivation: 'let us bring forth the sole Phoenix, to end the art of this play with a gladsome winding up, such as comedies ought to have'.[15] This corresponds to Camerarius's final words on the phoenix (E. III, 100): 'atque ita Centuriae huic bono omine finem imponamus' ('thus we put the end of this century under a good sign'). And in his final emblematic fable Freitag feels the urgency to explain why he chooses the stork and not the phoenix to close his book: 'The Phoenix had almost put me to silence, and the flourishing hope of the blessed and endless life had shut the door of my Theater, but that after that last farewell, the religiousness of the Stork had willed me to add this short admonition'.[16] And Du Bartas begins the part devoted to the creation of the birds with the phoenix and ends with the eagle—an ending whose motivation he wishes to explain explicitly:

> Aigle, ne cuide pas qu'un superbe mespris
> M'ait gardé de coucher ton nom dans mes escrits,
> Je sçay bien que tu tiens tel rang parmi la troupe
> [...]
> Que le lyon parmi les bestes forestieres,
> Et le camus dauphin parmi les mariniers.
> [...]
> Mais comme le Phoenix luit sur mon frontispice,
> Tu doreras la fin de mon riche edifice.[17]

> Though last, not least; brave *eagle*, no contempt
> Made me so long thy story hence exempt
> [...]
> For, well I knowe, thou holdest (worthily)
> That place among the Aëry flocks that fly
> As doth [...]
> The noble *Lion* among savage beasts;
> And gentle *Dolphin* 'mong the Dyving guests.

14 Smith P.J., "Arnold Freitag's *Mythologia ethica* (1579) and the Tradition of the Emblematic Fable", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Visser A.S.Q. (eds.), *Mundus emblematicus: Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books* (Turnhout: 2003) 173–200.

15 Freitag A., *Mythologia ethica*, (Antwerp: Plantin, 1579), trans. A. Golding, in *A Moral Fable-Talk*, ed. R.G. Barnes (San Francisco: 1987) 294.

16 Ibidem 296.

17 Du Bartas G., *La Sepmaine ou Creation du monde*, eds. J. Céard et al. (Paris: 2011) 297.

[…]
But, as the Phoenix on my Front doth glister,
Thou shalt the Finials of my Frame illustre.[18]

Placing the eagle at the beginning and the phoenix at the end of his book, Camerarius does exactly the contrary of what Du Bartas did, but with comparable motivation and metaphors: Camerarius's 'exordium' may be inspired by Du Bartas's 'mon frontispice'.

Another way to ensure the book's coherence are the intratextual references[19] to Camerarius's first and second emblem books, and to his other bird emblems, by numerous deictic sentences.[20] The rare explicit auto-referential allusions to the emblems and mottos also suggest internal coherence.[21]

The suggestion of coherence is also given by the book's title page [Fig. 4.1], which in its general design resembles the title page Marcus Gheeraerts made for Freitag's *Mythologia ethica* [Fig. 4.2]. Moreover, in the frame surrounding the title Gheeraerts's title page displays some bird species which are identical to Camerarius's: ostrich, crane, stork, owl. But, contrary to Gheeraerts's frontispiece, all birds represented on Camerarius's title page refer to specific emblems: we already saw that the vignette at the base of the title page, representing three singing swans and adorned with the motto *Zephyris aspirantibus*, refers directly to Emblem 24. The eagle at the top of the page, perching on a world globe, probably refers to Emblem 2. The phoenix (top left) and the pelican (top right) are to be found in Emblems 100 and 37–38, respectively. And all of the other recognizable birds—ibis (or stork), crane, turkey, peacock, ostrich, rooster, owl, thrush (?), parrot, and spoonbill—have their own emblems.

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18 Du Bartas G., *His Divine Weekes* […], trans. J. Sylvester (London: Robert Young, 1633) 47.

19 Following the distinction made in literary theory between *intratextuality* and *intertextuality*, I use the term *intratextual* to indicate the *intentional* references between works by a single author, and *intertextual* to indicate the not necessarily intentional relations between texts in general.

20 'de quo plura in prima Centuria disseruimus' (E. III, 25); 'In priore Centuria dictum est' (E. III, 33); 'de quo posteriore in II. Centuria aliquid diximus' (E. III, 58); 'De quo infra Emblem. LXXIII' (E. III, 58); 'nos simile aliquid in priore Centuria de cane attulimus' (E. III, 74); 'Plura in Centuriae primae symbolo LXVII' (E. III, 91); 'Est et hoc symbolum antea in prima Centuria aliqua ex parte expositum, cuius tamen hic tractationem pleniorem repetere voluimus' (E. III, 92).

21 'qua icone indicatur […]' (E. III, 10); 'Nostra inscriptio est ex autore carminis de philomela' (E. III, 45); 'nostra haec inscriptio' (E. III, 100).

FIGURE 4.1 *Title page of Joachim Camerarius,* Symbolorum et emblematum [...] ex volatilibus et insectis desumtorum centuria tertia (*Nürnberg, Johann Hofmann: 1596*). *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/L.eleg.m 1347 w-3: https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00028235&pimage=5&v=100&nav=&l=nl*

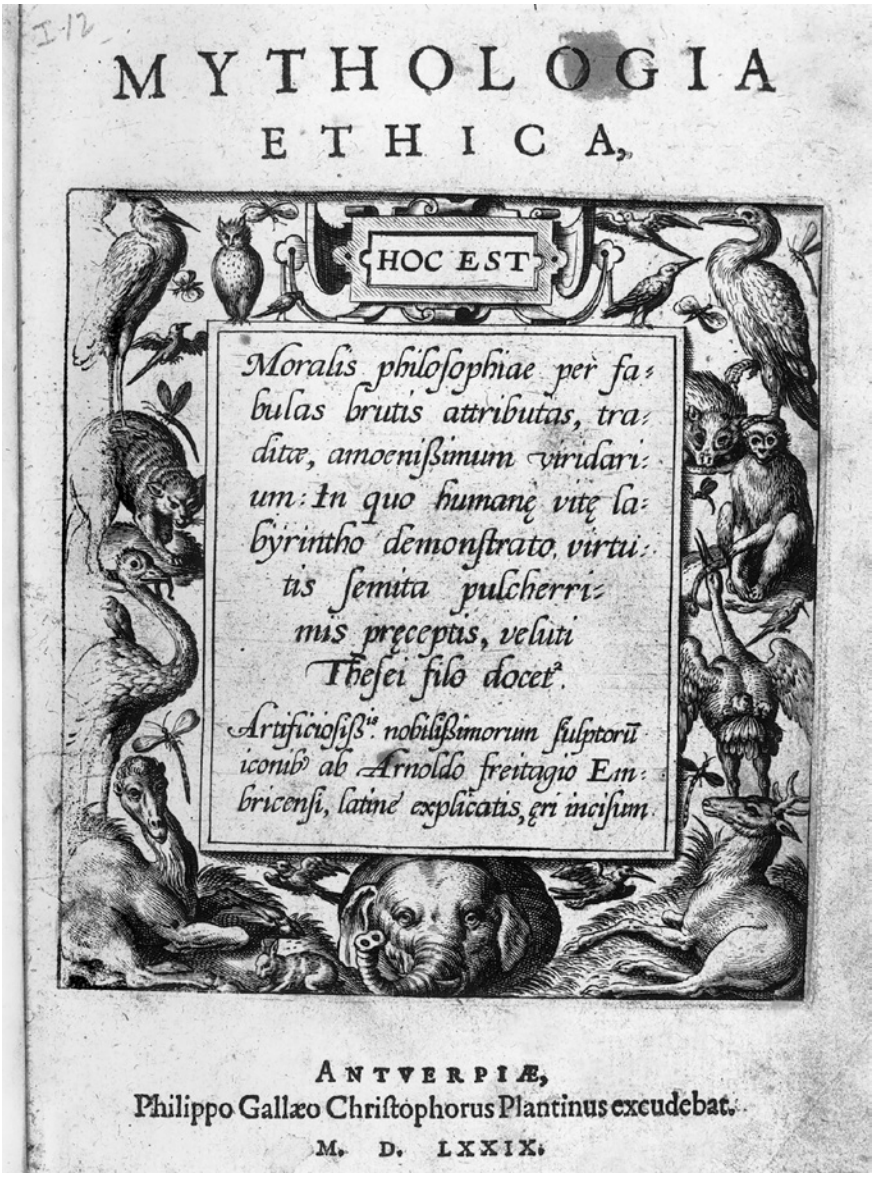

FIGURE 4.2 *Title page of Arnoldus Freitag,* Mythologia ethica (*Antwerp, Christopher Plantin for Philips Galle: 1579*). *Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections.*

But the most important way to obtain (or suggest) the book's coherence lies in the bird classification, which serves the basis for the book. The book's structure is built up by several groups (Table 4.1):

TABLE 4.1

Emblems	Birds and Other Flying Animals
1–16	Eagle
17–19	Ostrich
20–21	Peacock
22–26	Swan
27–28	Crane
29–36	Birds of prey
37–38	'Pelican'
39–42	Ibis, stork, heron
43–47	Exotic birds
48–49	Waterbirds (goose, 'onocrotalis'[spoonbill])
50–53	Fowl
54–56	Seabirds
57–58	Corvidae (crow and jay)
59–64	Pigeons
65–66	Extraordinary birds ('star bird', 'seleucidus')
67	Woodpecker
68–69	Partridge
70–76	Small birds
77–78	Owl
79–80	Raven
83–88	Small birds
89	Bat
90–99	Flying insects
100	Phoenix

The general order is tripartite: birds (E. III, 1–88), the bat (E. III, 89), and insects (E. III, 90–99). As we have mentioned above, putting the bat together with the birds is not uncommon in 16th-century books on birds, but putting the birds

together with insects is not an early modern naturalist choice (Turner, Belon, and Gesner refused to do so), but an old-fashioned (Pliny did so) one, as well as an emblematic or 'poetic' one: as we have noticed, Guéroult and Du Bartas, for instance, put insects in their books on birds.

The classification of birds was under discussion among 16th-century naturalists, who all sought to amend Aristotle's and Pliny's classifications—discussions that are reflected in other texts, such as Du Bartas's *La Sepmaine*.[22] Camerarius follows Pliny's classification in a very general way (from large birds to small birds, and then insects), but he differs from Pliny with regard to the details. Pliny's first birds are, respectively, the ostrich, phoenix, eagle, other birds of prey, *corvidae*, owls, etc. This is indeed very different from Camerarius's ordering, as is visualized in Table 1.

What are the idiosyncrasies of Camerarius's classification? First, there are some atypical separations: the eagles are put apart from the birds of prey, and the raven from the other *corvidae*, and there are two groups of small birds. Second, some categories are heteroclite: the category of 'exotic birds' (E. III, 43–47) comprises the bird of paradise, the 'curassow', two kinds of parrots, and the turkey. The 'star bird' (E. III, 65) and the 'seleucidus' (E. III, 66) seem to be put together only because of their extraordinary nature. This means that, generally speaking, the reader is invited to interpret idiosyncrasies in the ordering of the birds not only in a 'naturalistic' way, but also in other symbolic, thematic, or associative ways, both textual and visual.[23] Thus, for instance, the pelican (E. III, 37–38) follows the birds of prey (E. III, 29–36) because they both have a hooked bill, as is shown in the illustrations. The goose (E. III, 48) is followed by the spoonbill (E. III, 49) because the topic of both emblems is eating. The jay (E. III, 58) is followed by the dove (E. III, 59), for their respective illustrations show them both holding a twig in their beak. The owl (E. III, 78) is in antipathy with the crow, and therefore the next emblem is about a bird akin to the crow, namely the raven (E. III, 79). Emblem 70 is about the singing nightingale; Emblem 71 is about the silent thrush (the motto *Taciturnior* ['More silent'] contains a pun on *turdus* [thrush]).[24] Some emblems seem to be linked because their mottos are taken from the same source: thus, Emblems 63 and 64 took their motto from Bargagli, and Emblems 65, 66, and 67 took theirs from Contili.

22 See Smith, "L'ornithologie de Du Bartas".

23 This is also the conclusion of Papy, "Camerarius's *Symbolorum*", for Camerarius's first century on plants.

24 Camerarius refers to Isidore of Sevilla, who thinks that *turdus* is derived from *tarditate*, although Gesner thinks that *turdus* is an onomatopoeia. Camerarius seems to prefer Isidore's explication.

Text and Illustration in Manuscript and Print

At the basis of Camerarius's bird emblem book is the above-mentioned manuscript *Symbola et emblemata tam moralia quam sacra*. A total of 20 of the 100 emblems of Camerarius's bird emblem book can be found in the manuscript, albeit with evident differences in both text and illustration. The texts in the manuscript are shorter; the printed text is in most cases an elaboration and a contextualization of the handwritten text. Sometimes there are substantial differences coming to the fore in the motto: in those cases, the motto was modified, or it was replaced with a similar motto, as in the case of Emblem 16 (cf. MS I, 74). In the case of Emblem 19 the motto does not coincide with the motto above the illustration in the manuscript, but with a motto mentioned in the manuscript *subscriptio* (MS I, 89). Emblem 27 is devoted to the crane holding a stone, the stone-clutching crane being a symbol for vigilance. In the manuscript (MS I, 7) the bird symbolizes the *meditatio mortis*: one should always keep death in mind. In accordance with this symbolism the manuscript depicts a stone-clutching crane standing on a skull (MS I, 7), whereas in the printed version the skull has been removed. Emblem 28 is about a crane which eats sand in order to be heavier and therefore less wind-sensitive during migration. The illustration depicts the moment directly after the migration, when the crane spits out the sand. The printed text also briefly mentions that, for the same reason, flying cranes hold stones in their feet. This last particularity, briefly mentioned in the printed text, is highlighted in the manuscript text and depicted in the manuscript illustration (MS II, 62).[25]

In some cases the printed version and the manuscript version are opposites. Thus, the peacock in the manuscript symbolizes vanity, whereas in the printed version the bird's symbolism is very positive: it stands for beauty, immortality, fidelity (according to the French motto, mentioned in the prose text: 'Loyaulté passe tout'). In another case, two manuscript emblems are put together in the printed version: in the manuscript an emblem is devoted to the dove holding an olive branch, bringing to Noah the good news that the earth after the Flood was green and habitable again (MS I, 16). The emblem illustration prominently depicts Noah's Ark. The manuscript contains another emblem with a dove holding an olive branch, this time as a symbol of peace (MS I, 59). In the printed version both emblems are combined into one single emblem (E. III, 59). The printed prose text is not limited to the story of Noah, but is much broader: it is about the general symbolism of the dove as messenger of peace. The new

25 The direct sources of Camerarius's Emblems 27 and 28 are the *imprese* by Giovio on the topic of stone-clutching cranes. See the contribution of Maren Biederbick in this volume.

illustration in the printed version has been adapted: the dove with the olive branch is taken from MS 1, 59, whereas the seascape has been inspired by MS 1, 16, with the difference that the Ark has been reduced to a tiny boat.

As for the illustrations: they are made by Johann Siebmacher, partly on the basis of the anonymous manuscript illustrations. But the manuscript only contains 20 bird emblems, and therefore Siebmacher's main sources lie elsewhere, and often they are multiple and combined. One of Siebmacher's main models was Marcus Gheeraerts, who illustrated several emblematic fable books, among which is the above-mentioned Arnold Freitag's *Mythologia ethica* (1579). If we compare, for instance, Siebmacher's illustration of the ostrich [Fig. 4.3] with Giovio's [Fig. 4.4] and Gheeraerts's [Fig. 4.5] illustrations, we see that Giovio is the source for the main topic and the idea, but that the posture and attitude of the bird, more specifically the position of the bird's tail and feet, were inspired by Gheeraerts. Another interesting case is the phoenix. Comparison of the anonymous manuscript illustration (probably based on Giovio's phoenix) with Gheeraerts's phoenix [Fig. 4.6], and finally with Siebmacher's [Fig. 4.7], shows that Siebmacher adapted the original sketch to Gheeraerts's model. Siebmacher's stylistic refinements are sometimes at the expense of the zoological reality, as can be seen in the illustration of the bird of paradise (E. III, 43) [Fig. 4.8], the corresponding manuscript illustration being much more realistic, i.e. conforming more to the illustrations of the bird in Belon and Gesner [Fig. 4.9]. Generally speaking, Siebmacher's bird illustrations are neither very detailed nor realistic compared to the botanic illustrations he made for Camerarius's first century on plants. This has, of course, to do with Camerarius's personal interest in botany. Indeed, in Camerarius's book on birds, there are several depictions of plants which are much more detailed than the ones for birds.

The Opening Emblem: Structure and Sources

As is usually the case, the opening text of a collection has a strategic value: it announces what the intended reader can expect in the rest of the book. A close reading of the opening emblem makes clear what the profile of this intended reader is. The structure of the emblem's prose text is as follows: first a few remarks of an onomastic nature, then natural history information about the bird, then a general overview about the cultural history of the bird, and finally the old and contemporary application of the bird theme as an *impresa*.

The accompanying text opens with a quotation from the Greek poet Pindar, who gives a laudatory epitheton for the eagle, 'οἰωνών βασιλευς, regina avium'

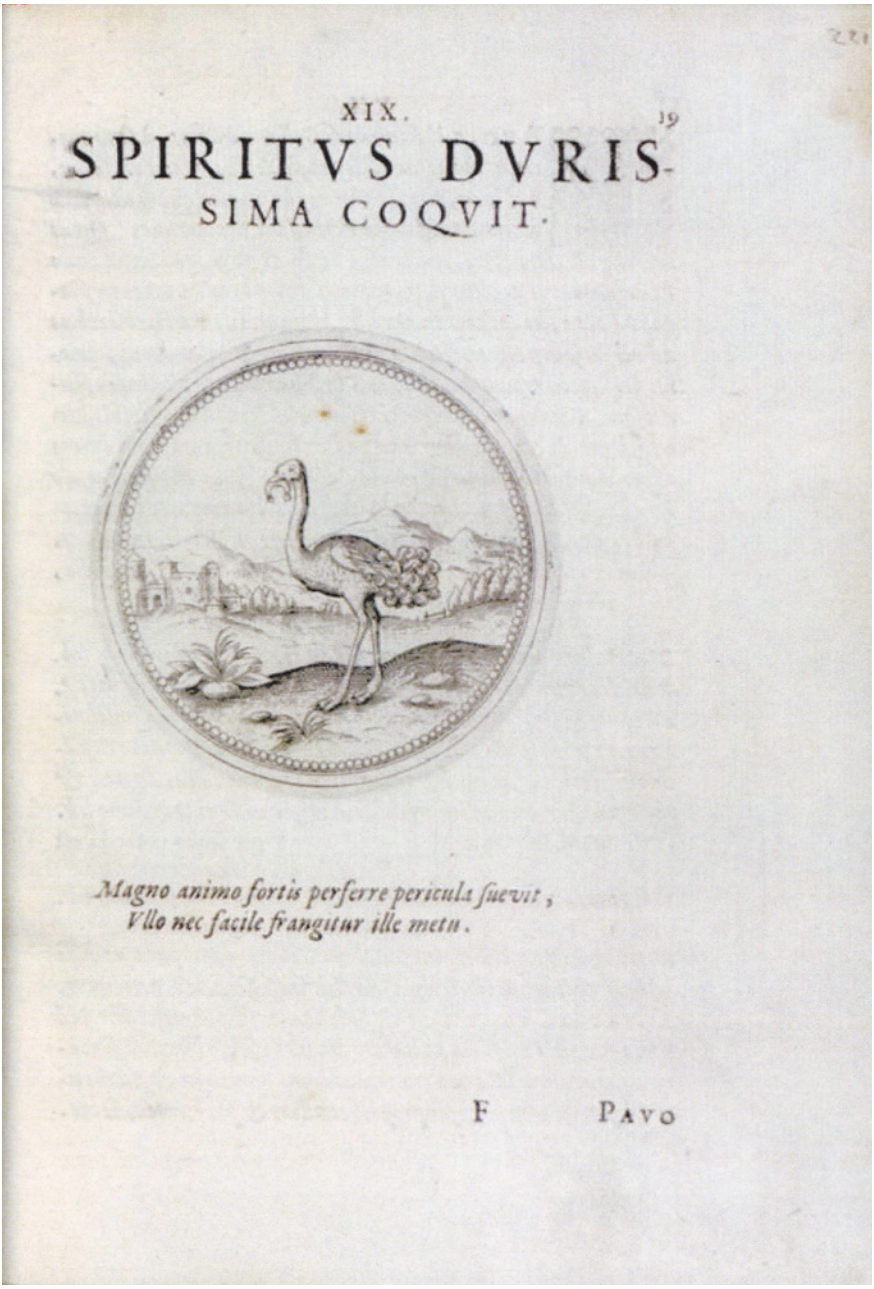

FIGURE 4.3 *Hans Siebmacher, Ostrich, from: Joachim Camerarius,* Symbolorum et emblematum [...] ex volatilibus et insectis desumtorum centuria tertia (*Nürnberg, Johann Hofmann: 1596*), *emblem no. 19. Bayerische StaatsBibliothek Res/L.eleg.m 1347 w-3: https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00028235&pimage=45&v=100&nav=&l=nl.*

FIGURE 4.4 *Anonymus, Ostrich, from: Paolo Giovio,* Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose (*Lyons, Guillaume Rouille: 1651*) *82, detail. The Research Library at the Getty Research Institute: https://archive.org/details/impresemilitarieoogiov.*

('queen of the birds'). This opening is strongly reminiscent of Gesner's first lines devoted to the eagle: there Gesner quoted some Greek and Latin authorities, all calling the eagle the 'king' or 'queen' of the birds.[26] The difference with Camerarius is twofold: Camerarius mentions Pindar, an authority not mentioned by Gesner (who, normally, is very exhaustive in his references), and he quotes him in Greek, whereas Gesner only gives the Latin translations.

Of course, not all readers would have noticed these corrections of Gesner, but they are supposed to have a scholarly interest in Pindar, one of the most difficult Hellenistic poets, who was much read, imitated, and commented upon by several influential hellenizing poets, both Neo-Latin and vernacular, like Pierre de Ronsard, Remy Belleau, and Jean Dorat. This opening reference to Pindar is a sign that the emblem collection has both scholarly and poetical qualities.

26 Gesner Conrad, *Historiae animalium liber III., qui est de avium natura* (Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1555) 162.

212.
t'Zy wt wat ghevveſte,
Elck prijſt t'zijne vbeſte.
1. Corinth. 4. Iudith. 6.
O Mme een anders wille ziet
Weeſt ieghens elck anderen vpgheblaſen niet
Want wie onderſcheet v in d'ærdtſche ghanghen?
Wat hebdy oock dat ghy niet hebt ontfanghen?
Niet van v zeluen, voor niet moet wy ōs anſchauwen
Vul lijdens, vul rauwen,
Oock de ghuene die op hem zeluen betrauwen
End' vp haerlieder eeghin macht berommen al,
d'Heer God almachtich, die veroodtmoedighen ſal.

FIGURE 4.5 *Marcus Gheeraerts, Ostrich, from: Marcus Gheeraerts and Eduard de Dene,* Warachtighe fabulen der dieren (*Bruges, Pieter de Clerck for Marcus Gheeraerts: 1567*) *212: http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Renaissance/Facsimiles/DeDeneFabulen1567/source/dene212.htm.*

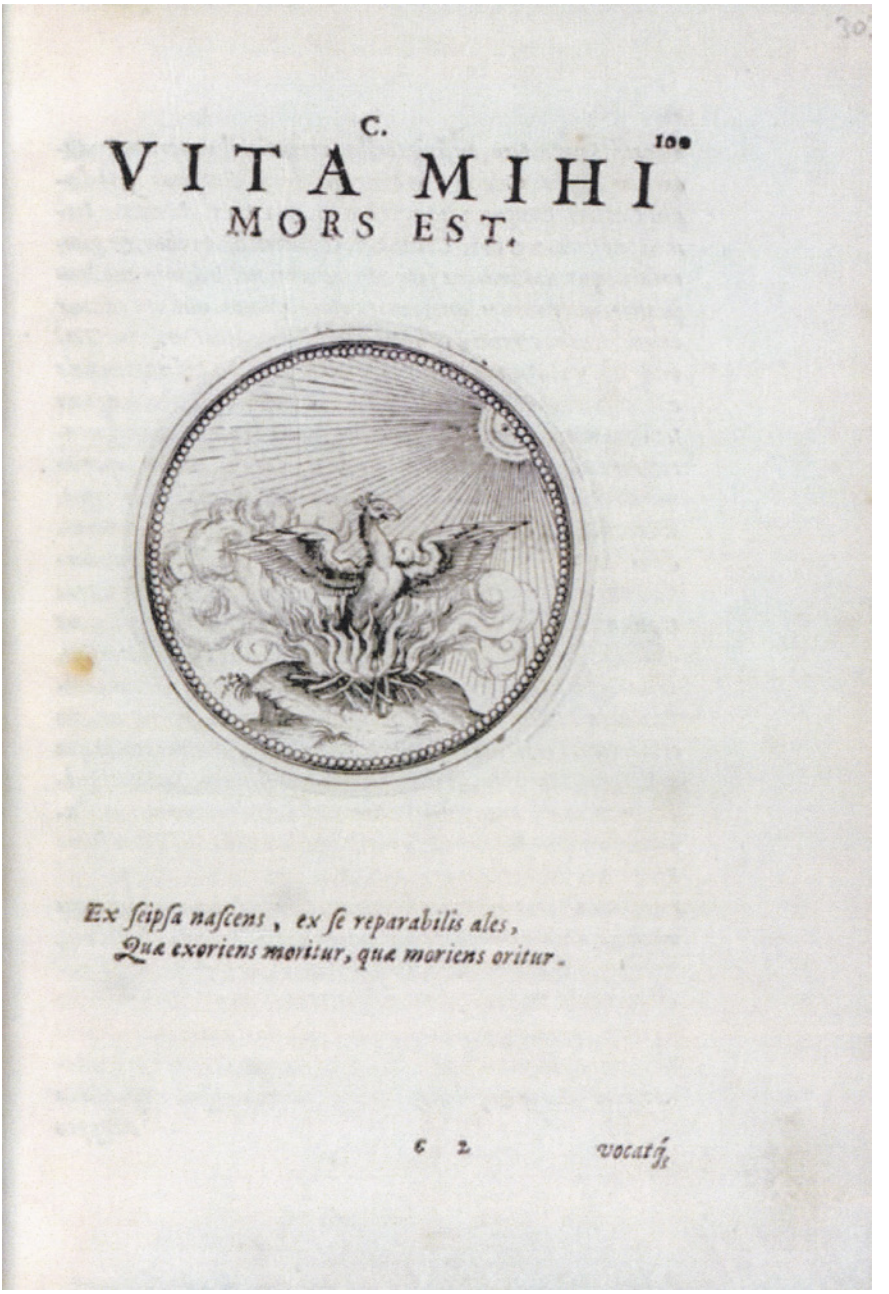

FIGURE 4.6 *Hans Siebmacher, Phoenix, from: Joachim Camerarius,* Symbolorum et emblematum [...] ex volatilibus et insectis desumtorum centuria tertia (*Nürnberg, Johann Hofmann: 1596*), *emblem no. 100. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/L.eleg.m 1347 w-3: https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00028235&pimage=207&v=100&nav=&l=nl.*

208.
Fælgiert ionckheyts iueght,
Vernieut v ter dueght.
Epheſi. 4.
LEght of den menſche,ende die gheheel of-gordt
Die naer begheerten der dolijnghen verdoruen wort
Maer metten gheeſt des verſtandts, weeſt vernieut dan
En den nieuwen menſche, als Chriſten man
Die na God gheſchepen is,doet clouckelick an
Elck zoo hy beſt can:
In de rechtueerdicheyt,helicheyt,ende waerheyt,
Daeromme aflegghende der lueghenen zwaerheyt
Yeghelick met zyn naeſten ſpreeckt warachticheden
Want t'ſamen zijn wy onder elck anderen leden.

FIGURE 4.7 *Marcus Gheeraerts, Phoenix, from: Marcus Gheeraerts and Eduard de Dene,* Warachtighe fabulen der dieren (*Bruges, Pieter de Clerck for Marcus Gheeraerts: 1567*) *208: http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Renaissance/Facsimiles/DeDeneFabulen1567/source/dene208.htm.*

FIGURE 4.8 *Hans Siebmacher, Bird of paradise, from: Joachim Camerarius,* Symbolorum et emblematum [...] ex volatilibus et insectis desumtorum centuria tertia (*Nürnberg, Johann Hofmann: 1596*), *emblem no. 43. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/L.eleg.m 1347 w-3: https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&l=nl&bandnummer=bsb00028235&pimage=00093&v=100&nav.*

20 Auium
Paradiſi auis, uel Paradiſea, ex Nouo orbe, noſtri tantum
ſæculi ſcriptoribus commemorata.
ITALICE Manucodiata: quod uocabulum Indi-
cum uel Noui orbis eſt, ubi Mamuco diata, id eſt Aui-
cula Dei nominatur.
GERMAN. Paradyſuogel/ Luffuogel.

FIGURE 4.9 *Anonymus, Bird of paradise, from: Conrad Gesner,* Icones avium omnium, quae in Historia avium Conradi Gesneri describuntur [...] (*Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1555*) *20. Zentralbibliothek Zürich: http://www.e-rara.ch/zuz/content/pageview/1457447.*

TABLE 4.2

Camerarius[a]	**Belon**[b]
I. **pygargos**, id est, albicilla, ab albicante cauda, vel **brophonos**, id est, hinnularia.	La premiere espece [...] *Pygargus*, pource [...] qu'elle a la queue blanchastre [...] *Neurophonos*, et en Latin *Hinnularia*.
II. **morphnos**, Naevia, vel **nèttophonos** anataria, vel **plaggos**, id est, planga vel clanga.	La seconde espece [...] *Morphna* [...] *Naevia* [...] *Nittophonos*, c'est à dire *Anataria* [...] *Planca*, *Planga*, ou *Clanga*.
III. **melanaietos** fulva, l**agophonos** leporaria.	La tierce espece [...] *Melaenactos* [...] *Lagophonos*, et *Leporaria*.
IV. **gupaetos,** a vuluris specie, item **oreipelargos**, id est, Ciconia montana, degenerans ab aliis.	La quatriesme espece [...] a quelque similitude de Vautour [...] *Gypaetos* [...] *Oripelargos*, qui est à dire Cigoigne de montaigne [...] Aigle bastarde
V. **haliaetos**, marina aquila.	La cinquiesme espece [...] *Haliaeetus* [...] Aigle de mer.
VI. **gnesios aetos**. Vera germanaque Aquila, quae Aeliano videtur esse **chrusaetos** sive stellaris.	La sixiesme Aigle, pource qu'elle est la vraye, et legitime en ceste espece [...] *Gnesion* [...] *Chrysaetos*, et en Latin *Stellaris*

a For reasons of readability, Camerarius's Greek letters have been transcribed in bold roman.
b Belon du Mans Pierre, *Histoire de la nature des oyseaux* 87–88.

The following quotations also presuppose a certain scholarship with the intended reader. After Pindar, two authorities are mentioned who will play a major role in the entire collection: Aristotle and Pliny. Camerarius explicitly played these two authorities off against each other. By enumerating the six eagle species, Camerarius does not follow the order of Pliny (or Gesner), but the order of Aristotle. On Pliny's order he remarks briefly: 'At paulo aliter Plinius lib[ro] X. cap[ite] III. haec enumerat, de quibus hic disputandi locus non est' ('In his book X, chapter 3 Pliny gave a somewhat different order, but there is no place here to discuss this'). However, Aristotle's text is too long for a single page, and therefore Camerarius is forced to condense it, while retaining the Greek names and giving a Latin translation. It appears that, in doing so, Camerarius silently made use of Pierre Belon's *Histoire des oiseaux*, as is visualized in Table 4.2. Remarkably, Camerarius wants to be more learned than

Belon, because he puts all the Greek names in Greek characters, whereas Belon transcribed them in italics.

After his quotations from Aristotle and Pliny, Camerarius comes up with a number of other learned references. First the biblical book Ezekiel, in which it is said that the eagle was the national symbol of the Babylonians and the Egyptians. It is striking that here and elsewhere in the collection biblical quotations serve as (natural) historical testimonies, without any religious message—contrary to the emblems of the manuscript. Then follows a series of learned quotations, with precise references, thereby underlining the scholarly character of the text: Xenophon and Curtius, who reported that the eagle was the main symbol of the Persians, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Dio, who wrote that the eagle was already a symbol with the Etruscans. I have not found the exact sources for all of these learned references.[27] But it is certain that they are not present in Camerarius's (unmentioned) main source for the final part of his commentary—and that they therefore can be considered as another learned (pedantic?) correction of his source.

This not explicitly mentioned main source is *Le imprese illustri*, by Girolamo Ruscelli (1500–1566), first published in 1566. It is here that Camerarius found the information about the coats of arms of the Emperors Charles V and Maximilian II, and their mottos. He chose the device of Charles V, *Cuique suum*, as the motto of his emblem. Apart from the learned references that Camerarius added to Ruscelli's information, it turns out that he also changed Ruscelli's information in other ways. Ruscelli begins by saying that the *impresa* goes back to Emperor Nero—after which he immediately explains why this despicable tyrant has such a well-wrought coat of arms:

> Nerone imperatore in quei primi mesi che fu o almeno finse d'esser buono, fece battere medaglie grandi in argento con la sua testa, che aveva per riverso un'aquila con l'ali aperte, la qual posava i piedi sopra un fulgore, e dalla parte destra aveva un ramo di lauro: volendo senz'alcun dubbio dimonstrare, che era in potestà sua di far guerra e rovinar il mondo, e tenerlo in pace. La qual invenzione si vide poi esser piaciuta ad altri imperatori che seguirono doppo lui [...].[28]
>
> The Emperor Nero in those early months, when he was, or at least feigned to be, good, ordered the striking of big silver medals representing his

27 These are not in Gesner.

28 Ruscelli Girolamo, *Le Imprese illustri, con espositioni, et discorsi* [...], Libro secondo (Venice: Franco Patritio: 1572) 15. I thank Paul van Heck for his help with the translation of this text.

> head, which on the back had an eagle with its wings spread, its feet on a lightning bolt, and at its right side a laurel branch: undoubtedly wanting to show that he had the power to make war and to destroy the world, or to keep it in peace. This invention turned out to please other emperors, who followed after him [...].

Then Ruscelli enumerates several other emperors, who used similar devices and *imprese*. Because of lack of space, and, no doubt, a refusal to problematize the unexpected origin of this emblem, namely the cruel Emperor Nero, Camerarius reduced Ruscelli's rich information to two laconic sentences:

> Atque nunc etiam Imperatores Romani felici auspicio eam gestant. Extant quoque antiqui aliquot nummi, in quibus aquila fulmini insidens addito oleae ramo conspicitur, tam pacem quam bellum repraesentans.
>
> And now even the Roman emperors bear [this device] as a happy token. There also exist some ancient coins, on which an eagle can be seen, sitting on lightning, to which an olive branch has been added, which represents both peace and war.

Camerarius's scholarly references to Xenophon, Curtius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Dio probably serve to mask that Nero was the inventor of the *impresa*.

Both of these sentences also show a second change in Ruscelli's information: the laurel branch mentioned by Ruscelli is replaced with an olive branch. The reason Camerarius replaced the laurel with the olive is because the olive symbolizes peace more clearly than the laurel, and additionally, as a biblical symbol, the olive branch had more authority and expressiveness than the pagan classical symbol of the laurel. The choice that Camerarius makes here for the olive branch is at first glance insignificant, but it will form an important item in the American reception of the emblem, as we will see in the excursus of this article.

Not only does the text indicate what the reader can expect, the illustration does as well [Fig. 4.10]. This image, which has no counterpart in the manuscript, shows a heraldic eagle with the typical heraldically shaped tail—this reinforces the importance of heraldry for the book. But at the same time, the heraldic eagle is set against a landscape, which indicates that the natural world plays a major role in the book—so much so that further in the book the birds are not depicted heraldically. The source of this image is also in Ruscelli's *imprese* book [Fig. 4.11]. There are, however, two differences from Ruscelli's illustration: the above-mentioned olive branch replacing the laurel branch (but this is hardly

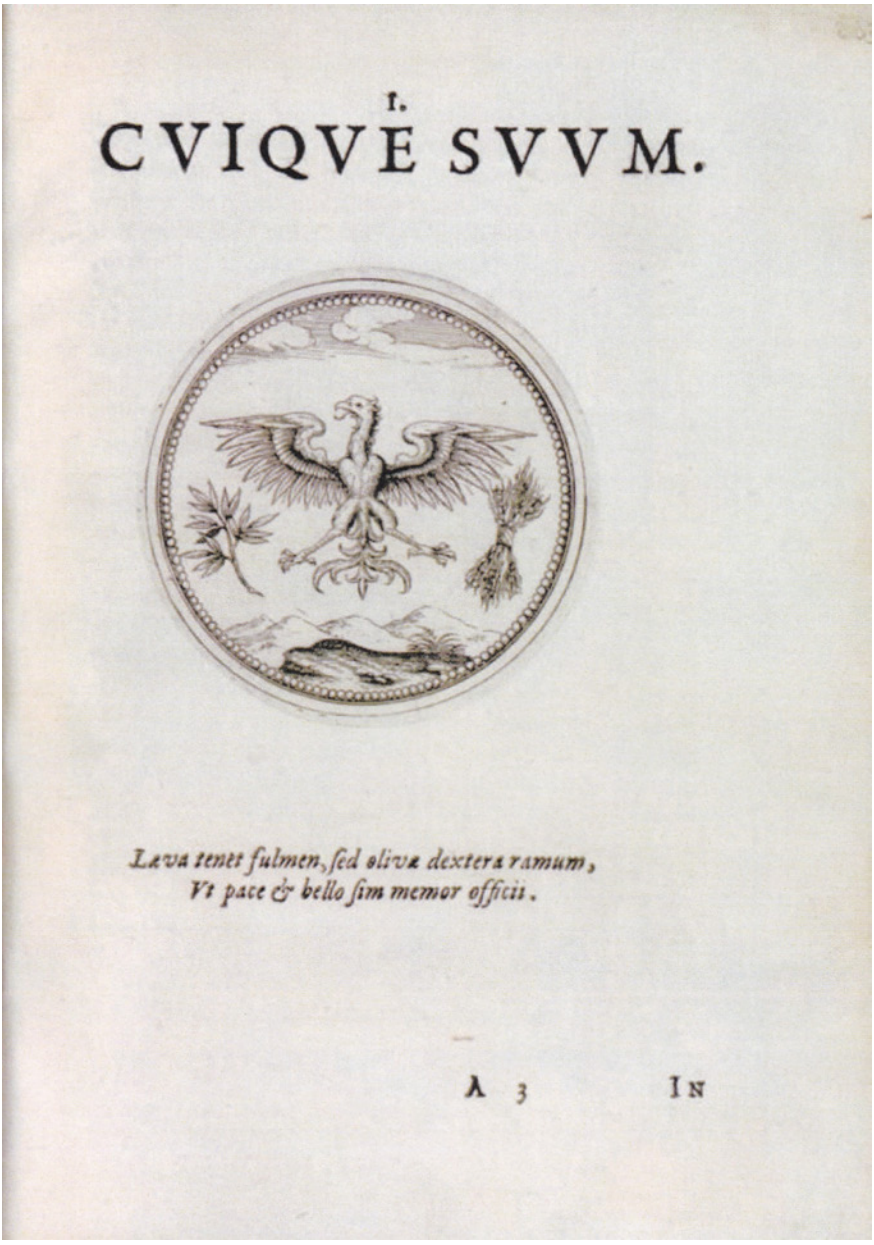

FIGURE 4.10 *Hans Siebmacher, Eagle, from: Joachim Camerarius,* Symbolorum et emblematum [...] ex volatilibus et insectis desumtorum centuria tertia (*Nürnberg, Johann Hofmann: 1596*)*, emblem no. 1. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Res/L.eleg.m 1347 w-3: https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00028235&pimage=00009&lv=1&l=nl.*

FIGURE 4.11
Anonymus, Impresa *of Maximilian II, from: Girolamo Ruscelli*, Le imprese illustri (*Venice: 1572*), *fol. 25r. Emblem Collection of the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign: https://archive.org/stream/leimpreseillustroorus#page/n61/mode/2up.*

seen in the illustration), and the general aspect of the eagle, which in Ruscelli is two-headed but in Camerarius one-headed, looking to the right. This is an important choice, which is not explained by Camerarius but which, of course, demands an explanation. This explanation has been given by later readers and users of the emblem, as we shall demonstrate.

By Way of Conclusion: Camerarius's Posterity

Camerarius's four emblem books have a large and enduring popularity. His books were reprinted until the 18th century. There also is a German translation of this work (1671)[29]—it would be interesting to see how this translation deviates from Camerarius's Latin original. Wolfgang Harms and Gilbert Heß[30] show how widespread the German reception of the emblem book was, not only in other emblem books (Jakob Bornitz), but also in Protestant

29 Camerarius Joachim, *Vierhundert Wahl-Sprüche und Sinnen-Bilder* […] (Mainz, Johann Bourgeat: 1671).

30 Harms – Heß, "Einleitung", in Camerarius, *Symbola et emblemata* XXI–XXII.

sermon books (Christian Scriver, Philipp Ehrenreich Wider), in theatre (Andreas Gryphius, Johann Christian Hallmann, Daniel Casper von Lohenstein), and in 17th-century natural history. They also give examples from the visual arts, and the so-called applied emblematics. What they do not do is refer to the reception of Camerarius outside of Germany, of which the 18th-century American reception by Benjamin Franklin and Charles Thomson is the most spectacular, because it is connected to America's Great Seal, which is directly based on Camerarius's eagle emblem. This will be addressed in a separate consideration, added as an excursus to this article.

A Brief Excursus on the Origins of America's Great Seal[31]

In 1782, after having received many proposals coming from three successive committees, the Continental Congress asked Charles Thomson, a classical scholar and Secretary of the Continental Congress, to come up with a final design for the Great Seal. Thomson's final design, predestined to become world's best known coat of arms, has been abundantly studied, but its prehistory remains partly obscure. What were Thomson's sources? How did he use them?

The Great Seal depicts an American bald eagle with wings spread wide [Fig. 4.12]. The bird holds 13 arrows in its left talon and an olive branch in its right. Above its head are 13 stars. On its chest the bird has a shield with 13 stripes, alternately 7 red and 6 white ones. The bird looks to the right and has in its beak a scroll, which bears a 13-letter motto in Latin: *E pluribus unum* (Out of Many, One). When on 20 June 1782 the Congress approved Thomson's design, the symbolism of the recurrent number 13 was obvious to everyone: it symbolized the 13 independent States represented in the Continental Congress. The symbolism of the arrows and the olive branch still had to be explained by Thomson: 'The Olive branch and arrows denote the power of peace & war which is exclusively vested in Congress'.

Thomson's sources, proposed by the three committees since 1776, are well known.[32] The main source for his final design was an emblem taken from Camerarius's *Symbola et Emblemata*. This work was a favourite book of

31 This is an adapted version of my text published as a blog on http://www.leidenartsinsocietyblog.nl/articles/on-the-origins-of-americas-great-seal-and-its-attributes-eagle-arrows-olive (5 January 2017). For more detailed historical and bibliographical information, I refer the reader to https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Seal_of_the_United_States (last consultation 27 January 2017).

32 See, for instance, Hunt G., *The Seal of the United States* (Washington, DC: 1892).

FIGURE 4.12 *Obverse of the Great Seal of the United States, from: Wikimedia Commons: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Seal_of_the_United_States#/media/File:Great_Seal_of_the_United_States_(obverse).svg.*

Benjamin Franklin (who owned a 1702 edition), who drew inspiration from it for his designs for the first American coins and bank notes. Possibly making use of Franklin's copy, Thomson took the first emblem of the third part of Camerarius's book. This emblem represents a heraldic eagle with an olive branch on its right and a bundle of lightning bolts on its left. The olive branch was the traditional biblical symbol of peace; the bolts corresponded to the classical representation of the Graeco-Roman Zeus (Jupiter), who meted out punishment with his lightning and who had the eagle as his animal attribute. Thomson changed two essential points of Camerarius's emblem. First, he substituted the bolts of Camerarius's eagle with the 13 arrows, putting them not

beside the eagle but into the eagle's talon. In doing so, he was probably following the example of the coat of arms of the Republic of the United Netherlands. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Dutch lion held in its left claw 7 arrows, symbolizing the 7 United Provinces. Since classical antiquity, the bundling of arrows or other objects has been the symbol of unity: an individual arrow is weak and can be easily broken, but the bundle as a whole is strong and unbreakable. Second, Thomson substituted Camerarius's European heraldic eagle with the American bald eagle, known among the North American Indians as the traditional symbol for strength and prowess.

However, the Congress's enthusiasm for the bald eagle was not shared by all. Franklin wrote to his daughter Sarah, tongue-in-cheek:

> For my own part I wish the Bald Eagle had not been chosen the Representative of our Country. He is a Bird of bad moral Character. He does not get his Living honestly. You may have seen him perched on some dead Tree near the River, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the Labour of the Fishing Hawk; and when that diligent Bird has at length taken a Fish, and is bearing it to his Nest for the Support of his Mate and young Ones, the Bald Eagle pursues him and takes it from him.

And as a fine natural observer, Franklin continued:

> Besides he is a rank coward: The little King Bird not bigger than a Sparrow attacks him boldly and drives him out of the district. He is therefore by no means a proper emblem for the brave and honest Cincinnati of America who have driven all the King birds from our country.[33]

And famously, as a practical joke, he added that the native turkey would be a better symbol to symbolize his country.

Camerarius's eagle emblem brings us to sources that are less well known or even unknown. Camerarius mentions that similar eagles can already be found on the medals of Roman emperors. Also, Emperor Charles V ordered a comparable eagle to be figured on a coin, and another emperor, Maximilian II, carried this eagle on his coat of arms. Camerarius does not indicate where he found this information. His source turned out to be an Italian book on the *imprese* (coats of arms) of illustrious men, entitled *Le imprese illustri*, by Girolamo Ruscelli,

33 Mulford C. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Benjamin Franklin* (Cambridge: 2008) 119–120.

first published in 1566. Ruscelli gives a depiction of the eagle of Maximilian II [see Fig. 4.11]. Ruscelli's image and description show that the eagles of Charles V and Maximilian II were not one-headed but two-headed. Ruscelli explains why the lightning is pictured to the eagle's left, and the laurel branch to its right: as the left hand is slower than the right hand, the Prince should therefore rule with his right (the laurel) rather than his left (the lightning). Thus, indirectly, Ruscelli's eagle explains why Camerarius and Thomson wanted their single-headed eagle to look to the right: the American eagle should be more inclined toward peace than war.[34]

In conclusion: the American Great Seal and its heraldic eagle have a long prehistory. As an imperial double-headed bird with a laurel branch and lightning bolts (Charles V and Maximilian II), the eagle figures in Ruscelli's book on *imprese*. Camerarius transformed this bird into a single-headed and rightward-looking bird, and gave it an olive branch instead of a laurel. Thomson, finally, gave the bird arrows instead of lightning bolts, as well as an appropriate motto. A proper understanding of the Great Seal's prehistory leads to a better understanding and appreciation of its rich and complex symbolism.

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34 From this point of view, it's worth noting that in 1946, in the early days of the Iron Curtain, the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill remarked to President Truman: 'Mr. President, with the greatest respect, I would prefer the American eagle's neck to be on a swivel so that it could face the olive branches or the arrows, as the occasion might demand.' (source: https://web.archive.org/web/20061004114221/www.winstonchurchill.org/i4a/pages/index.cfm?pageid=821).

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CHAPTER 5

Ichthyology and Emblematics in Conrad Gesner's *Historia piscium* and Joachim Camerarius the Younger's *Symbola et Emblemata*[1]

Sophia Hendrikx

Joachim Camerarius the Younger's (1534–1598) *Symbola et emblemata* (1590–1604) presents us with both an overview of natural history and moral wisdom, offering biological information and emblematic interpretations, supported by an array of references to emblematic and non-emblematic literature and various *imprese*. The work consists of four books, each containing one hundred emblems remarkable for their elaborate commentaries and the high quality depictions.[2] The first book of the work is devoted to plants, the second to quadrupeds,[3] the third to birds and insects,[4] and the fourth to aquatic animals, reptiles, frogs, and snails. While other connections are often more explicitly expressed, both in the biological element and in terms of emblematic and literary references the work shows a strong connection to Conrad Gesner's encyclopaedic work of natural history, *Historiae animalium*. Similarities in both text and image suggest that this work was kept at hand during the production of both text and image of the *Symbola et emblemata*. While distinctly different, there are important overlaps in content and approach between Gesner's work of natural history and Camerarius's emblem book. The fourth and final volume, which was first published posthumously in 1604[5] by the author's son Ludwig six years after the author's death, perhaps shows the greatest reliance

1 This article was written within the framework of the NWO programma *New History of Fishes. A long-term approach to fishes in science and culture, 1550–1880.*

2 For introductory remarks on Camerarius's emblem books see the contribution by Karl Enenkel in this volume, "Camerarius's Quadrupeds (1595): A Plinius Emblematicus as a Mirror of Princes".

3 For the quadrupeds cf. the contribution of Karl Enenkel in this volume.

4 For the birds cf. the contribution by Paul Smith in this volume.

5 The first three volumes on herbs and plants, four-legged animals, and birds and insects, were published separately in 1590, 1595 and 1596. The fourth volume was published jointly with a later edition of the first three volumes.

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on Gesner. This volume contains mostly emblems presenting fish and aquatic creatures.[6]

Of these, the below included *pictura* (E. IV, 23) [Fig. 5.1], showing a fisherman in a boat leading a salmon on a leash across a river while a group of other salmons follow it, is fairly typical. In its strangeness, this somewhat bizarre scene reminds first of all of Pliny's natural history, and the extensive attention this pays to all sorts of remarkable facts and tales that can be told about animals. However, Pliny was largely unfamiliar with the salmon, which is not a Mediterranean species,[7] as well as with many other species discussed here.

Throughout the work in particular the connection with Pliny is actively emphasised;[8] most of the commentaries referring to his Natural History. In addition, starting the section on aquatic animals with the whales and ending with the oysters, Camerarius applies a rough organisation from large to small in much the same way as Pliny begins his discussion of aquatic animals with the whales and ends with the starfish and the piddock. The organisation of the emblems in the preceding volumes of the *Symbola et emblemata* follows a similar pattern. The order in which the emblems are presented does divert from Pliny's at minor points. For example, as usual in sixteenth century works on fish, the whales are not followed by tritons and nereids, but by dolphins, while in Pliny's ordering the dolphins are discussed much later on. Camerarius's discusses the tritons and nereids after the fish and before the amphibians.[9] This notwithstanding, the association with Pliny is made clear.

However in his *Symbola et emblemata* Camerarius included a mix of Mediterranean species, mythological creatures, and fish that could be found in his native Germany. Since Pliny's descriptions are limited to a rather narrow range of mostly Mediterranean species and in addition are often very brief, this meant reliance on other sources was necessary. In fact, both the here depicted scene and the depicted salmon itself, are based on a discussion of this species

6 Camerarius included 66 emblems featuring fish or other aquatic animals, including mythological ones, 26 featuring reptiles and amphibians, and 8 featuring miscellaneous other creatures.

7 Pliny mentions the salmon only once and very briefly, describing it as a river fish which is a favoured dish in Aquitaine. No further information on the species is provided. Pliny, *Natural History*, book IX, trans. H. Rackham (Cambride MA – London: 1983).

8 Also see Enenkel, "Camerarius's Quadrupeds".

9 Cf. Smith, "Camerarius's Emblem Book on Birds". Camerarius' ordering reflects common sixteenth century classifications, which divert from Pliny's, as well as reflects other considerations such as an overlap in the topics of emblems or visual similarities. The resulting order of presentation is adapted to reflect Pliny's classification at the beginning and end of the ordering.

from the fourth volume of Gesner's *Historiae animalium*, individually referred to as *Historia piscium*. Many of the commentaries, in addition to references to a wide range of other authors, contain fragments of Gesner's description of the discussed species and many emblems contain depictions of fish which show close parallels to Gesner's depiction of the species. In addition, although the scenes portrayed in a smaller number of *picturae* stem from other authors, including most importantly Andrea Alciato, Pierre Belon, Luca Contile, Octavius de Strada and Juan de Borja, a greater number of depicted scenes appears at least partly based on descriptions by Gesner.

While the commentaries often refer to Pliny, Gesner is mentioned far less often. Presumably the reader, who was expected to be familiar with Gesner, did not need such explanation. In terms of visual material this reliance appears to have been slightly greater for the present volume than for its predecessors. This may be due to the subject matter, there was little emblematic literature available on aquatic animals, making a greater reliance on Gesner beneficial. In addition, a lack of familiarity of the reader with such species may have meant that more was required of the depictions of these often somewhat similar looking animals, making Gesner's often accurate and recognisable depictions a good source of information.

Strange and Remarkable Scenes

Gesner's approach to animal description was to collect all available of information which could be found on a species, including the anecdotal. Consequently, the scenes taken from Gesner's work, which in turn shows a strong connection to Pliny's *Natural history*, are every bit as much focussed on the interesting and strange as what could be expected from Pliny. Gesner however described a much wider range of species and displayed a strong attention to central and northern European species. In addition he described species more extensively. In this sense Gesner complements Pliny.[10] The description of the salmon forms an example, Pliny dedicates one sentence[11] to this which testifies of a distinct lack of knowledge on the species, while Gesner's ten-page description of the

10 Classical sources in general describe few species of fish. Aristotle described 117 different aquatic species. See Cuvier G., *Historical Portrait of the Progress of Ichthyology, from its Origins to Our Own Time*, ed. Pietsch Th.W. (Baltimore – London: 1995). By my count, in his *Natural history*, book IX, Pliny described 110 aquatic species.

11 Pliny, *Natural history*, books IX and XXXII.

salmon[12] forms a significantly richer source for an emblematic presentation of the species, including among many other facts the anecdote of the salmon on a leash and a long lists of references to various literature.

The scene with the salmon shows us Camerarius's general approach. This visualises a catch method Gesner states fishermen informed him of.[13] Both text and image [Figs. 5.1 and 5.2] are based on this single element of Gesner's extensive description, where the story is mentioned as one of a long list of catch techniques.[14] The salmon that is used as bait is eventually pulled ashore and the salmons it attracted follow it there, moving out of the river on to the riverbank where the fisherman can easily collect them. Although the text has been altered and Camerarius writes in significantly more elegant Latin, Camerarius's text shows close overlaps with certain parts of Gesner's, making clear that this served as a model.[15] However, much has also been added. Gesner's description states that the salmon used as bait must be a female specimen. In Camerarius's text, as is evident from the female adjectives used in the motto,[16] the salmon is also female. In relation to this more depth is added to the tale, Camerarius presents the following salmons as a group of suitors, who either follow the female out of desire or because they are in competition with one another.[17] Meanwhile they blindly trust the female. Through a series of literary and theological references the reader is subsequently led towards a conclusion. Much

12 Gesner Conrad, *Historia Piscium*, (Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1558) 969–979.

13 Gesner, *Historia Piscium* 977: 'Retia tria, singula circiter viginti passus longa coniunguntur, ea demissa, ut non amplius tribus pedibus a vado absint, a piscatoribus, qui in cymbis utrinque sunt, a tergo salmonem, non ante ipsos, trahuntur. Existimantur autem inutiles qui supra rete fuerint; ii solum probantur, qui circa vadum irretiti fuerint. Simili modo in Angliae fluvio Tamesi capi audio. Coitus tempore alicubi piscatores captam foeminam funiculo alligant, et paulatim ad ripam attrahunt. Quod si mas supervenerit, coitus desiderio sequitur, et a piscatore post frondes latente, cum prope ripam accesserit, tridente percutitur'.

14 Including also the use of various types of nets, as well as hook and tackle. The here described method may refer to what is nowadays called lasso fishing.

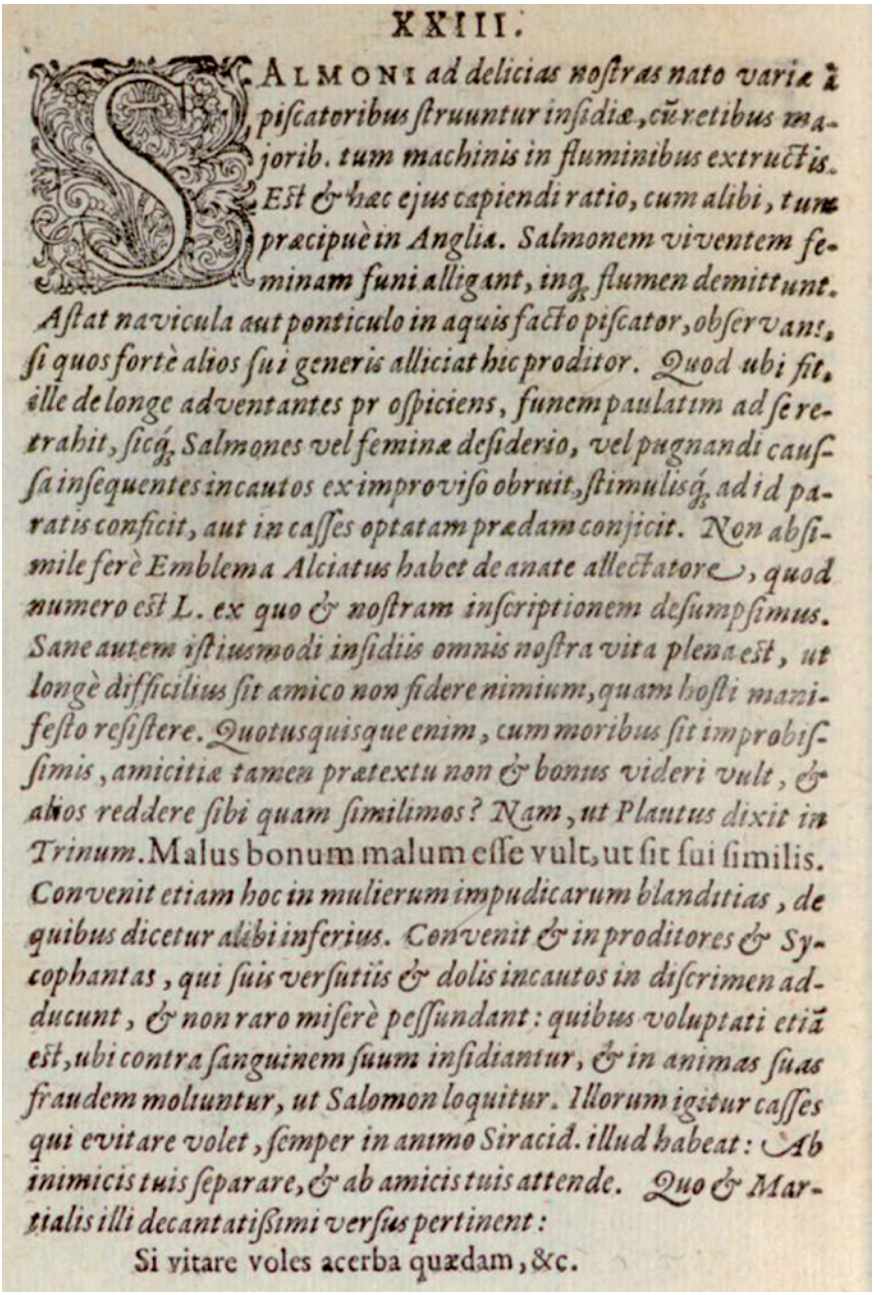
15 Compare for example the following with Gessner's text quoted under footnote 13: 'Est et haec eius capiendi ratio cum alibi, tum praecipue in Anglia. Salmonem viventem feminam funi alligant inque flumen demittunt. Astat navicula aut ponticulo in aquis facto piscator, observans, si quos forte alios sui generis alliciat hic proditor. Quod ubi sit, ille de longe adventantes prospiciens, funem paulatim ad se retrahit, sicque Salmones vel feminae desiderio vel pugnandi caussa insequentes incautos ex improviso obruit stimulisque ad id paratis conficit aut in casses optatam praedam conjicit'.

16 'Officiosa Aliis, Exitiosa Suis'—'Helpful to others, deadly to her own'.

17 'Salmones vel feminae desiderio vel pugnandi causa insequentes incautos'.

OFFICIOSA ALIIS,
EXITIOSA SVIS.
Hoſtis aperte, aſt clam falſus nos perdit amicus,
Nec quisquam eſt ſtructis tutus ab inſidiis.

FIGURE 5.1 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger,* Symbola et emblemata*, Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *23. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/L. eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*



XXIII.

SALMONI ad delicias noſtras nato variè à piſcatoribus ſtruuntur inſidiæ, cũ retibus maiorib. tum machinis in fluminibus extructis. Eſt & hæc ejus capiendi ratio, cum alibi, tum præcipuè in Anglia. Salmonem viventem feminam funi alligant, ingq; flumen demittunt. Aſtat navicula aut ponticulo in aquis facto piſcator, obſervans, ſi quos fortè alios ſui generis alliciat hic proditor. Quod ubi fit, ille de longe adventantes prоſpiciens, funem paulatim ad ſe retrahit, ſicq; Salmones vel feminæ deſiderio, vel pugnandi cauſſa inſequentes incautos ex improviſo obruit, ſtimuliſq; ad id paratis conficit, aut in caſſes optatam prædam conjicit. Non abſimile ferè Emblema Alciatus habet de anate allectatore, quod numero eſt L. ex quo & noſtram inſcriptionem deſumpſimus. Sane autem iſtiusmodi inſidiis omnis noſtra vita plena eſt, ut longè difficilius ſit amico non fidere nimium, quam hoſti manifeſto reſiſtere. Quotusquisque enim, cum moribus ſit improbiſſimis, amicitiæ tamen prætextu non & bonus videri vult, & alios reddere ſibi quam ſimilimos? Nam, ut Plautus dixit in Trinum. Malus bonum malum eſſe vult, ut ſit ſui ſimilis. Convenit etiam hoc in mulierum impudicarum blanditias, de quibus dicetur alibi inferius. Convenit & in proditores & Sycophantas, qui ſuis verſutiis & dolis incautos in diſcrimen adducunt, & non raro miſerè peſſundant: quibus voluptati etiã eſt, ubi contra ſanguinem ſuum inſidiantur, & in animas ſuas fraudem moliuntur, ut Salomon loquitur. Illorum igitur caſſes qui evitare volet, ſemper in animo Siracid. illud habeat: Ab inimicis tuis ſeparare, & ab amicis tuis attende. Quo & Martialis illi decantatiſſimi verſus pertinent:

Si vitare voles acerba quædam, &c.

FIGURE 5.2 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger,* Symbola et emblemata, *Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *23. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Res/L.eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*

like the salmon, Camerarius warns his readers, we would be wise not to trust others too easily,[18] even if they appear to be friendly.

The emblems are consistently centred around such scenes, which often are for a large part based on information which can be found in the *Historiae animalium*, as well as in some cases other works of natural history, including for example Pierre Belon's *Observations des Plusieurs Singularitez*, as well as on emblematic sources. Generally, these scenes have their roots in behaviour that was described as typical for the discussed species, such as the tendency of salmons to swim behind the largest female when they migrate, the habit of the black seabream to form a relatively long-term partnership with its mate, or of the mackerel to follow other fishes into traps. However, although such descriptions form the starting point, the emblems then zoom in on interesting details such as the fact the that salmon can be used as bait (E. IV, 23), the seabream is praised for its loyalty to its mate (E. IV, 33), and the mackerels pay for their stupidity with their lives (E. IV, 21). This results in anecdotes which are remarkably similar to, for example, Pliny's account of the tortoise whose shell decorates bedsteads,[19] the dolphin that loves music,[20] or the sturgeon that for all its might can be slain by a single bite from the small lamprey.[21]

In their focus on remarkable scenes from nature or strange qualities of species, Camerarius's emblems read as an emblematic imitation of Pliny's *Natural istory*. This close connection to Pliny allows Camerarius to present his emblems as a work of natural history of the highest authority. The fact that the work equally relies on Gesner, known to his contemporaries as the Swiss Pliny for producing a zoological manual universally esteemed for its completeness, makes equal sense in this light. The use of Gesner's extensive and highly structured *Historiae animalium*, which includes information ranging from the various names for species to animal behaviour and anecdotes organised under

18 See in particular the last two lines of the text: 'Ab inimicis tuis separare et ab amicis tuis attende. Quo et Martialis illi decantatissimi versus pertinent "Si vitare voles acerba quaedam", etc.' [NB: etc = et tristis animi cavere morsus, nulli te facias nimis sodalem: gaudebis minus et minus dolebis].—'Aim to distance yourself from your enemies and your friends. The often praised verses of Martialis apply here: 'If you want to avoid bitterness, and protect yourself from the pain of an unhappy soul, don't make anyone your special friend: you will be less happy but also less unhappy'. In addition see the first line of the subscriptio: 'Hostis aperte, ast clam falsus nos perdit amicus', 'An enemy hurts us openly, but a false friend secretly'.

19 Pliny, *Natural history*, book IX, 13.

20 Pliny, *Natural history*, book IX, 8.

21 Pliny, *Natural history*, book IX, 17.

separate headings,[22] in addition offered the benefit of a wealth of references to works of natural history and literature, as well as illustrations.

From Nature to the Moral Realm

In his commentaries Camerarius connects nature, and the depicted scene, with the moral realm. The top half of Camerarius's commentaries as a rule reflects the depicted scene. Regularly Camerarius quotes Gesner more or less directly here, changing only grammar or word order.[23] The second half of the commentary subsequently takes the reader through various literary, emblematic, and theological references and musings towards a moral conclusion. In the text on the female salmon quoted authors include Alciato, Plautus and Martial, while further theological references include Solomon and the Book Ecclesiasticus. Such references take the reader from the initial representation of nature to a conclusion reflecting on a lesson that can be learned from this. The references to theology and literature also display the erudition of the author, in particular since these are often so brief that further information is required. In the text concerning the female salmon, Camerarius refers to one of Martials epigrams[24] including only the first few words, followed by 'et cetera',[25] leaving the reader to fill in the blanks.

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22 Gesner's descriptions include the various names of the species in different languages, information on its physical appearance and its habitat, the internal organs and their functions, the behaviour of the species, how the fish can be used for all sorts of applications, as food and as medicine, and all sorts of anecdotes, symbolical connotations, and other associations connected with this species. The different sections of these extensive descriptions are indicated with the letters A to H, the letter D being the heading for animal behaviour and the letter H for anecdotes, allegory and symbolism. The type of strange and remarkable anecdotes that served as a basis for Camerarius's emblems were mostly listed under H, although sometimes also under D.

23 For example, Camerarius writes on parrotfish 'Scarus enim, teste Plinio, inclusus nassae non fronte erumpit nec infestis viminibus caput inserit, sed aversus caudae ictibus crebris laxat fores, atque ita retrorsum erumpit', This is based on the following fragment of Gessner's description 'Scarum inclusum nassis non fronte erumpere nec infestis viminibus caput inserere, sed aversum caudae ictibus crebris laxare fores atque ita retrorsum erumpere'.

24 Martial, *Epigrams*, XII, 34, trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge, MA – London: 1978).

25 'Si vitare voles acerba quadam […]'. The omitted text reads: 'et tristis animi cavere morsus, nulli te facias nimis sodalem: gaudebis minus et minus dolebis'—'If you want to avoid bitterness, and protect yourself from the pain of an unhappy soul, don't make anyone your special friend: you will be less happy but also less unhappy'.

The conclusions are connected with the description in the upper part of the text with constructions such as 'this also touches upon', 'this (also) suits', 'to which also corresponds', or '(this) extends also to',[26] quoting authors who have made relevant remarks. In the text on the female salmon the reader is thus led from the description of the catch method, via Plautus, Solomon, and the Book *Ecclesiasticus* to Martial's verse which also forms the conclusion. The connection between the description of nature and the sphere of the ethical is consequently made clear, both knowledge of nature and literary knowledge lead to the same conclusion, and the realms of nature, ethics, and religion are connected. The *subscriptio*, a distichon, summarises the conclusion but is always a repetition of the last part of the commentary and is in that sense not essential. In the case of the female salmon this reads: 'An enemy harms us openly, but a false friend secretly. No-one is safe from a set trap'.[27] The emblems cannot be fully understood without a thorough reading of the commentary. The fact that the one-page long commentaries are printed on the left-hand side while the emblems are printed on the opposite right-hand page [Figs. 5.1 and 5.2] indicate that the commentary should be read first.

Text, Image, and the Source

The *picturae* and in particular the scenes in which the animals have been depicted show a close connection to this commentary and to the sources upon which this relies. The connection between *pictura* and commentary is visible in particular in those cases where existing *picturae* have been copied from predecessors and altered to match the text. An example is the emblem presenting the remora (E. IV, 27) [Fig. 5.3], the legendary fish which is said to attach itself to a ship and hinder its movement. The remora was discussed by a variety of authors since antiquity and was interpreted as *res significans* for the moral weakness of humankind by Andrea Alciato.[28] Alciato's emblem presenting the remora gave rise to a range of imitations in emblems and *imprese*. Among these one from Luca Contile's *Ragionamento*[29] [Fig. 5.4] on which Camerarius in turn based his *pictura* presenting the remora.

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26 'quod et tangit', 'congrua est', 'quibus conveniunt', 'et eodem pertinent'.

27 'Hostis aperte, ast clam falsus nos perdit amicus / Nec quisquam est fructis tutus ab insidiis'.

28 Alciato Andrea, *Emblemata* (Leiden, Christopher Plantin – Franciscus Raphelengius: 1591), emblem 82.

29 Contile Luca, *Ragionamento* […] (Pavia, Girolamo Bartoli: 1574) 146.

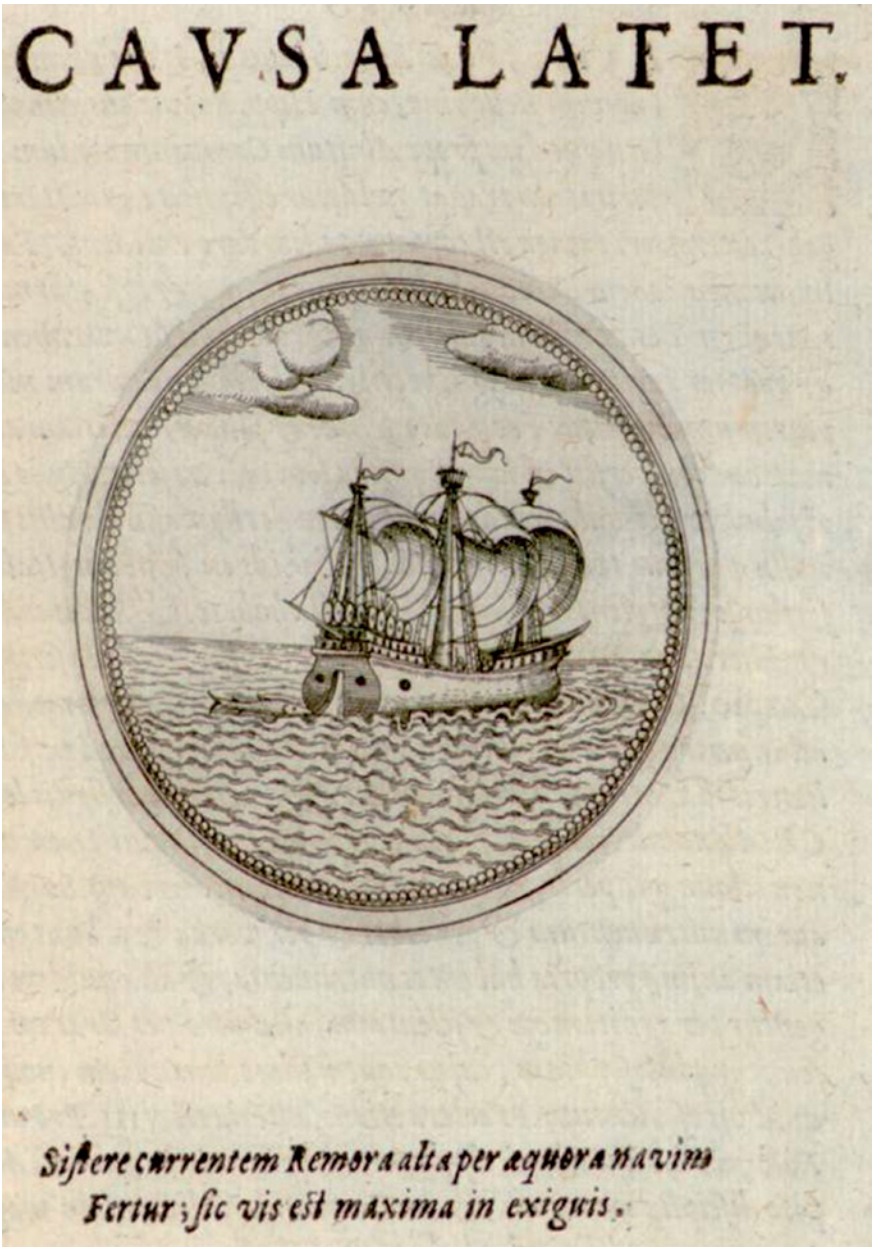

FIGURE 5.3 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger*, Symbola et emblemata, *Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *27. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/L. eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*

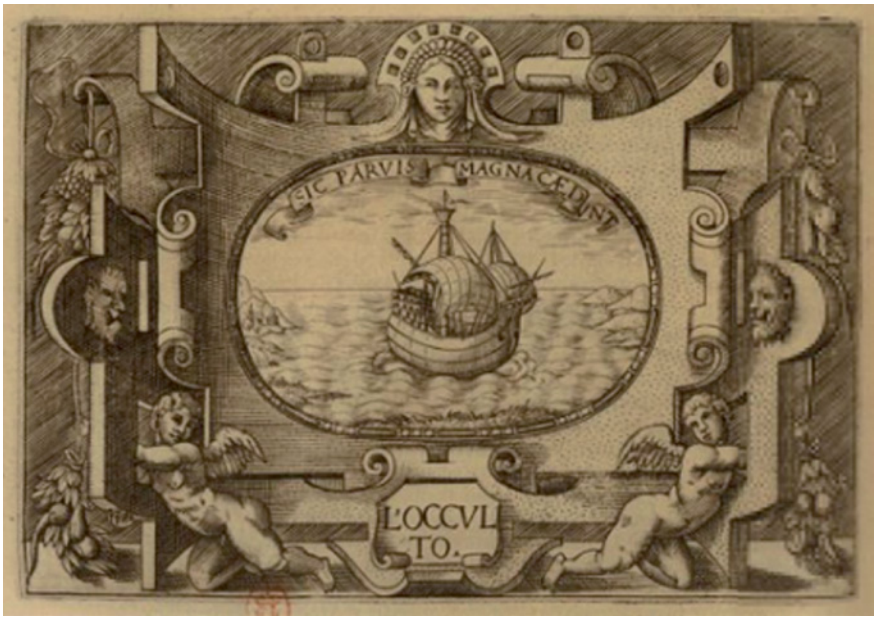

FIGURE 5.4 *Luca Contile,* Ragionamento [...] (*Pavia, Girolamo Bartoli: 1574*) *fol. 145v. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Réserve des livres rares, Z-512.*

In order to illustrate the powers of the remora Camerarius refers to the role the fish played at the battle at Actium where Mark Anthony and Cleopatra were defeated by Octavian, when according to Pliny the remora stopped Mark Anthony's ship.[30] Subsequently a range of other authors is referred to in order to reach the conclusion Camerarius attaches to this mythical creature. The commentary subscribes to a point of view shared with Gesner and with Guillaume Rondelet in assuming that the remora attaches itself to the stern of a ship.[31] In this, these authors take opposition to a wide range of others who placed the remora on the keel. Rondelet originally based this assumption on the pseudo-Aristotelian work *Mechanica* which treats the rudder of a ship as a lever, which due to its position on the stern can move the entire ship, even though the rudder is small. In relation to this Rondelet argued that its position on the stern made the remora able to influence the ship's progress. Gesner's description of the remora is for a large part based on Rondelet's.

30 Pliny, *Natural history*, books IX and XXII.

31 Rondelet Guillaume, *L'histoire entière des poissons*, pt. II. (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1558) 334–335.

Camerarius subsequently refers to Plutarch's equally mechanical explanation which cites accumulated organic material on the ship as both the cause of the ship slowing down and of the remora's presence.[32] Mechanical explanations are not Camerarius's primary concern however. The commentary further builds on Scaliger's assumption, from his *Exoticarum exercitationum*, that the ability of the fish to stop ships is an inherent faculty of the remora, much like the ability to attract metal is an inherent faculty of a magnet. Following the reference to Scaliger, Camerarius quotes Pausanias's *Description of Greece* on hidden virtues and powers which are God-given to unobtrusive creatures. The power of the remora is subsequently presented as a reflection of divine omnipotence,[33] which can employ small unknown causes to make things happen. Here we have arrived at the true focus of the emblem. Barring this last reference, all above mentioned authors were also mentioned by Gesner.[34]

For the depiction of the remora itself it appears Camerarius turned directly to Pliny,[35] who describes the remora simply as a fish that holds on to ships, or ἐχενηίς from the Greek ἔχω (hold) and ναῦς (ship). The creature shown in the *pictura* is a generic looking fish, remarkable only because it seems to have sucked itself to the ship. In this Camerarius turns away from popular interpretations of the remora as a snail, a viewpoint subscribed to by various authors including Conradus Mutianus, Luca Contile and Pierre Belon. In addition, he turns away from Rondelet and Gesner's interpretation of it as a lamprey. Neither Gesner nor Rondelet included a depiction. Contile's original *pictura* was altered to match Camerarius's interpretation of the creature. Affiliating himself with Gesner and Rondelet, Camerarius shows the remora on the stern of the ship, where Contile's original and for example Alciato's *pictura* show the keel of the ship.[36]

The Manuscript

We can deduct from the manuscript of Camerarius's emblems, which has fortunately been preserved,[37] how commentary and *pictura* were composed.

32 Plutarch, *Moralia*, question VII, trans. W.C. Helm Bold (Cambridge, MA – London: 1965).

33 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. W.H.S. Jones – H.A. Ormerod (Cambridge, MA – London: 1918), VIII, 16, 6.

34 Gesner, *Historia Piscium* 410–415.

35 Pliny, *Natural history*, books IX and XLI.

36 Alciato, *Emblemata*, emblem 83.

37 Stadtbibliothek Mainz, shelf mark HS II 366.

FIGURE 5.5 *Luca Contile,* Ragionamento [...] (*Pavia, Girolamo Bartoli: 1574*) *fol. 135v. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Réserve des livres rares, Z-512.*

Many of the printed emblems and commentaries have no predecessor in the manuscript, only about a quarter can be found here. Nonetheless the manuscript bears evidence of how the author worked. For the print version the text on the remora was significantly extended, the manuscript text is rudimentary. The manuscript *pictura*, as well as the motto, is an exact copy of Luca Contile's imprese[38] [Fig. 5.4], here still depicted with the keel towards the viewer. This suggests the *pictura* was later altered to match of the text.

Another legendary creature included in book four of Camerarius's collection of emblems is the four-headed Hydra (E. IV, 75) [Fig. 5.6], which according to Greek mythology was slain by Hercules at Lerna. The Hydra frequently featured as the theme of emblems and *imprese*. As in the case of the remora, Camerarius's manuscript *pictura* is a near perfect copy of an *impresa* from Luca Contile's *Ragionamento*[39] [Fig. 5.5], to which Camerarius added the motto 'nunquam cessandum', 'never-ending'. The image was significantly al-

38 Contile, *Ragionamento* 146.

39 Contile, *Ragionamento* 136.

FIGURE 5.6 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger,* Symbola et emblemata, *Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *75. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/L. eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*

tered for the print. The very brief manuscript text[40] repeats the basics of the tale, while the printed text includes more information. While the manuscript text does not follow Gesner's exact phrasing, the content corresponds with the first paragraph of Gesner's text on the hydra.[41] Camerarius compares the heads of the Hydra which grow back when they are removed with human misdemeanours, which are both as hard and as necessary to extinguish as the heads of the Hydra.

In both cases the printed version shows significant differences to the manuscript. In the case of the remora, in addition to the ship having been turned 180 degrees, the motto has been altered. In the manuscript this reads 'sic parvis magna cedunt', 'so the great turns out the little ones', while in the print this has been altered to 'causa latet', 'the cause is hidden'. In the case of the hydra the motto was changed to 'vix Hercules', 'through the courage of Hercules', and the new, altered, *pictura* shows a less stubby Hydra. In many cases such changes to the manuscript designs were made. *Picturae* were improved, mottos altered, and the commentary greatly extended. As evident case of the remora, the *picturae* were for the printed version often matched to the text, and consequently to the sources of that text. This suggests the *picturae* were most likely created in close collaboration with Camerarius himself. These were newly made for this publication by the engraver Johann Siebmacher.[42] While commentary, motto, and pictura are already present in the manuscript, the subscriptiones are not. These were subsequently added for the print version, but were not produced by Camerarius himself but by his son Ludwig and his acquaintance Konrad Rittershausen. It seems Camerarius took very little interest in these epigrams, which add no new information. The *pictura* on the other hand received as much interest as the extensive commentaries.

Intelligent or Unintelligent Nature

As in the case of the remora, many of the emblems communicate a theme of small unobtrusive creatures which have great powers or display intelligent behaviour. In connection to this the general theme of the emblems appears to be that which we can learn from nature through observation. In most cases this means the intelligence or lack of this displayed by animals is highlighted.

40 See Harms W. – Heß G., *Joachim Camerarius d. J. Symbola et Emblemata tam moralia quam sacra. Die handschriftlichen Embleme von 1587* (Tübingen: 2009) 374.

41 Gesner, *Historia piscium* 541.

42 Harms – Heß, *Joachim Camerarius* [...]. *Die handschriftlichen Embleme von 1587* XV.

This may not be noticed at first sight but is visible to the close observer and can serve as instruction. In many cases Camerarius was also able to take such observations from Gesner's *Historiae animalium* and Pliny's *Natural history*. For an example of displayed intelligence we can turn to an emblem presenting parrotfish (E. IV, 36) [Fig. 5.7]. The *pictura* shows several parrotfish imprisoned in a wicker-basket trap while several others swim just outside it. This is one of the most skilfully executed *picturae* of this volume of the *Symbola et emblemata.* The parrotfish are depicted in lively poses and in much detail. In fact, the depicted fish are a clear improvement on even Gesner's illustration of the species,[43] since the specimens depicted in this *pictura* much more clearly show the species' characteristic overbite.

The *pictura* shows how the captives have forced their tails between the twigs of the trap, and those outside of it grab their friends' tails with their mouths and pull them to freedom. This scene is described by Pliny,[44] who presents the parrotfish as a symbol of true friendship, as well as by Plutarch, who presents this behaviour as a sign of intelligence.[45] Gesner repeats this tale,[46] and Camerarius in turn has copied fragments of Gesner's text almost word for word.[47] From Gesner's description of the animal Camerarius takes the reader through several quotes from Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*,[48] Euripides' *Orestes*,[49] Seneca's *Agamemnon*[50] and Lucan's *Pharsalia*[51] towards a reflection on friendship. The commentary remarks that the intelligence of the

43 Gesner, *Historia piscium* 999.

44 Pliny, *Natural history,* book XII, XI. In fact parrotfish are cannibalistic and likely to attack weak specimens.

45 Plutarch, *On the Intelligence of Animals*, XXV, I.

46 Gesner, *Historia piscium* 1001 D.

47 See note 23.

48 'sincerae vero fidei amici praecipue in adversis rebus congnoscuntur, in quibus quidquid praestatur totum a constanti benivolentia proficiscitur'—'Truly loyal friends are most recognised in times of trouble, when whatever is rendered proceeds entirely from steady good will'. Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* Book IV, 7, *De amicitia*, trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge MA – London: 2000).

49 'It is in hard times that near and dear should help near and dear'. Euripides, *Orestes*, trans. D. Kovacs (Cambridge, MA – London: 2001) 665–666.

50 'Good fortune calls for loyalty, but adversity demands it'. Seneca, *Agamemnon*, trans. J.G. Fitch (Cambridge, MA – London: 2004) 205.

51 'To support the loser in adversity is right, but only for those who have shared in his prosperity; no loyalty ever picked out the wretched as friends'. Lucan, *The Civil War*, book VIII, 534–535 trans. J.D. Duff (Cambridge, MA: 1928).

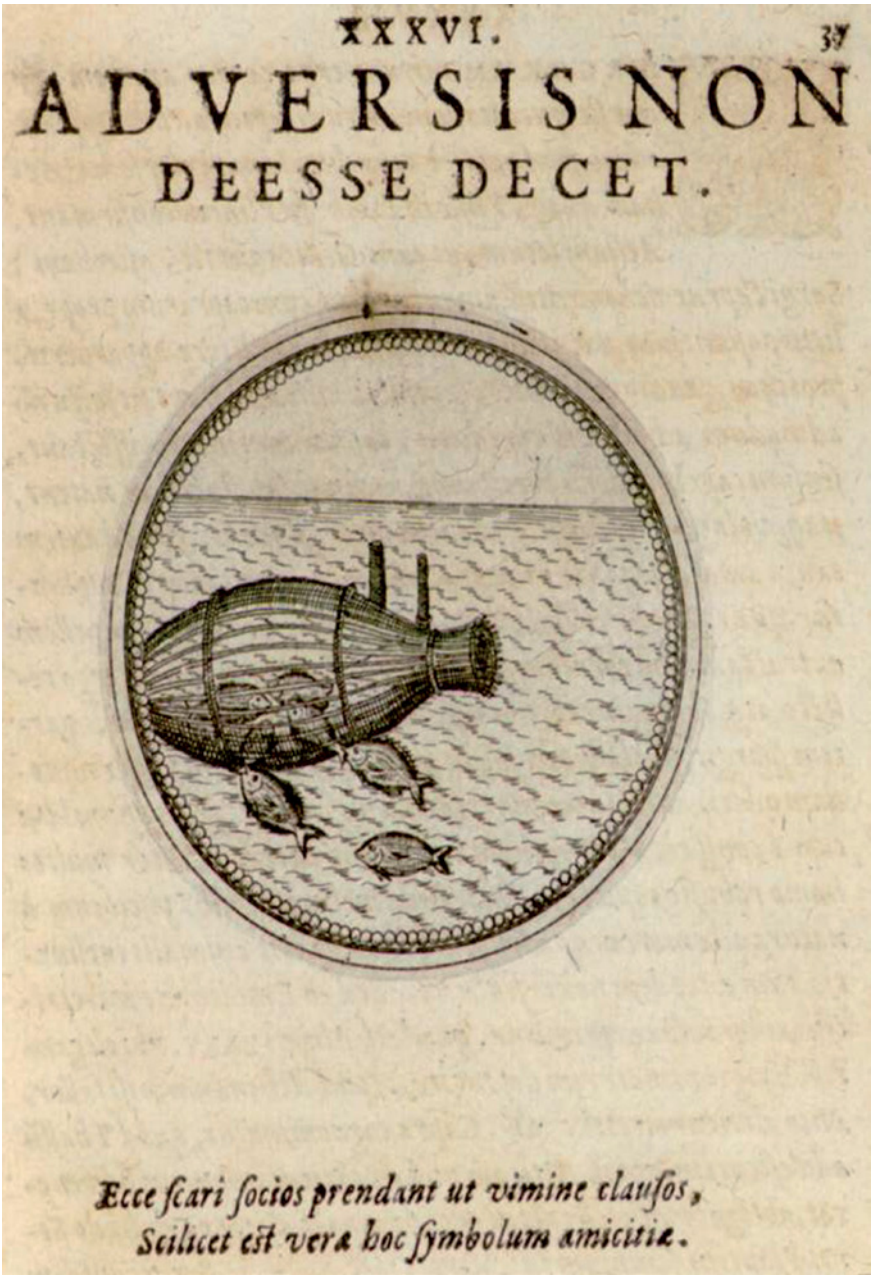

FIGURE 5.7 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger,* Symbola et emblemata*, Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *36. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/L. eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*

parrotfish to liberate not only itself but also its friends is admirable and worthy of praise.[52]

Similarly, the unintelligence of certain species is highlighted to instruct the reader. In addition to the above described *pictura*, a near identical *pictura* showing mackerels has been included (E. IV, 21) [Fig. 5.8]. In this case Camerarius could not rely on a description by Pliny. The behaviour to which the commentary refers, however, was described by Gesner. Again some specimens are depicted inside a wicker-basket trap while others swim just outside it. In contrast to the parrotfish however, the mackerels are not trying to help their friends escape. Instead, those that are still free are attempting to join their friends inside the trap even as those inside are trying to escape. The epigram reads 'These want to go in, but those want to break out of the trap, many are equally stupid as the mackerels'.[53] The commentary explains how captured mackerels pay for their thoughtless stupidity. Seeing others inside a trap they blindly follow, and only once inside do they realise they want to escape. By then however, it is too late.

Through a series of quotes from and references to Oppian, Battista Mantovano (Giovanni Battista Spagnoli), Saint Jerome, Stobaeus, Pindar, and Vegetius the mackerels are first compared to a child which innocently sticks its hand into the fire because it doesn't yet know this will hurt, then to young men who are eager to get married only to realise once they are that marriage is a trap they would like to break free from, and lastly to inexperienced soldiers who are eager to go to war and only realise their mistake once they see the horrors of the battle field. The commentary concludes by reminding us that war is sweet only for the inexperienced. The remark holds the mackerel's unintelligence up like a mirror to remind the reader he should think twice before eagerly embarking on something.

Therefore, while the encompassing theme remains the same, there is often a duality to the *res significans*. The story of the mackerels invites the reader to reflect firstly on the eagerness of young men to embark upon marriage, and the eagerness of married men to escape the institution. Secondly, we are invited to reflect on the realities of war which form a stark contrast with the glory imagined by the inexperienced soldier. In this manner many of the emblems leave the reader with various possibilities for interpretation. The same applies to an extent to the commentary on the parrotfish discussed previously. Camerarius quotes first Valerius Maximus in stating that one only truly gets to know who

52 'Nam profecto admiranda haec illius cum ad se, tum ad socios liberandos solertia est et fides non minori laude digna […]' (E. IV, 36).

53 'Isti intrare volunt, ast hi perrumpere nassam / Multi et cum Scombris desipiunt pariter'.

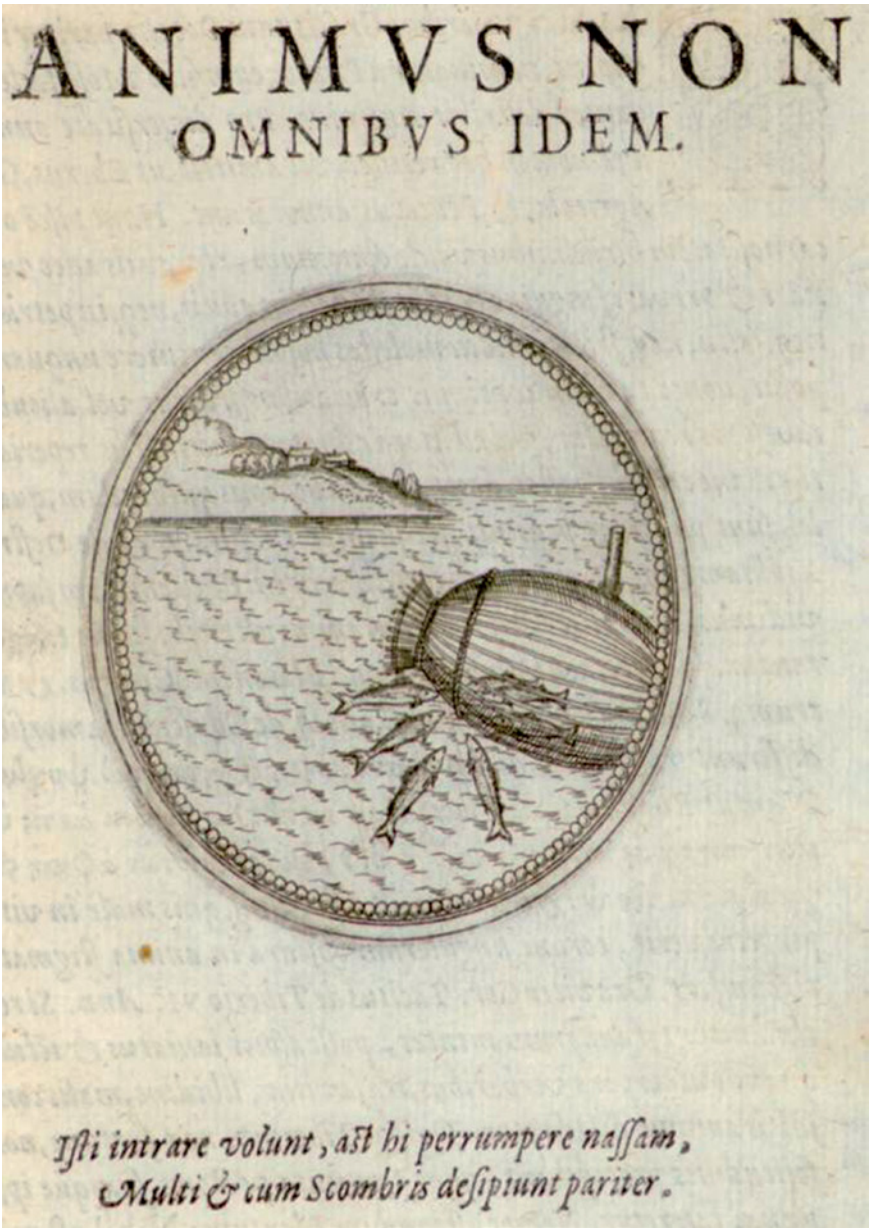

FIGURE 5.8 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger,* Symbola et emblemata*, Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *21. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/L. eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*

one's friends are in times of trouble, when those who prove themselves loyal do so with no personal gain. Following this however he quotes Lucan's prescription that one should support only those with whom one once shared good fortune, as nobody choses the unfortunate as objects of friendship.[54] The difference is subtle but distinct. Is the reader meant to reflect on the fact that one does not truly know who one's friends are in times of prosperity, or on a duty to help specifically those with whom one is affiliated? In such varying degrees there is a level of ambiguity to all of the commentaries, much along the lines of the reflections on the genre in Claude Mignault's 1574 treatise on symbols which Camerarius included[55] in the preliminaries of the first volume of his *Symbola et emblemata*, which prescribes adding several layers of meaning.

A Lack of Emblematic Predecessors

As the above discussed examples show, the reliance on Conrad Gesner's *Historiae animalium* as a source which offered overlapping themes and approaches, as well as a rich supply of references, was great. In particular for the here discussed volume of the *Symbola et emblemata* on aquatic animals, this is also due to a distinct lack of emblematic predecessors. This was particularly pressing in light of Camerarius's endeavour to include a hundred emblems in each volume of his *Symbola et emblemata*. Two of Camerarius's most important emblematic sources, Andrea Alciato[56] and Luca Contile,[57] included eleven emblems and four imprese depicting fish or aquatic animals respectively, and the four species presented by Contile also feature in Alciato's work. In relation to the sixty-six emblems presenting fish and aquatic creatures which Camerarius included this is rather little. Similarly other emblematic sources for this volume of the *Symbola et emblemata*, including among others Juan de Borja, Pierio Valeriano Bolzani, Octavius de Strada, and Joannes Sambucus, did not produce a wide range of material including aquatic animals. This may well be the reason that in addition to the aquatic species and reptiles which are announced on the title page also emblems presenting a leech [Fig. 5.9], two scorpions [Fig. 5.10] and four snails [Fig. 5.18] (E. IV, 74, 95–100), none of which fall

54 Lucan, *Pharsalia*, VIII, 534–535.

55 Joachim Camerarius, *Symbola et emblemata*, Book I (Nuremberg, Johannes Hofmann and Hubert Caymox: 1590) 1–10.

56 Alciato, *Emblemata*.

57 Contile, *Ragionamento*.

FIGURE 5.9 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger,* Symbola et emblemata*, Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *74. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/L. eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*

FIGURE 5.10 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger,* Symbola et emblemata, *Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *95. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/L.eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*

into either category, are included. This suggests the author struggled to gather a hundred emblems for this volume.

The fact that at the time several publications which contained ample depictions of fish and which perhaps can be considered to border on the emblematic in terms of their form were in circulation, does not diminish that the lack of emblematic predecessors dealing with aquatic animals was significant. Such 'semi-emblematic' publications included for example a fish calendar dispensing medical advice set in rhyme produced by Jakob Ruf and Conrad Gesner, also printed in a work by Gregor Mangolt [Fig. 5.11].[58] This features a range of the illustrations which would later appear in Gesner's *Historiae animalium*.[59] Another such example is Francois Boussuet's poetical *De natura aquatilium carmen*[60] [Fig. 5.12], which includes each of Rondelet's ichthyological illustrations and combines these with poems reflecting on the culinary and medicinal virtues of fish. Such publications are however not emblematic in the sense that they do not venture into the moral realm. Consequently, these were not suitable examples for Camerarius's emblems. Representations of fish in a purely emblematic context were scarce, while fish and reptiles did feature in emblematic works and imprese, Camerarius was hard pressed to find emblematic examples for each of the species he includes. Gesner could supplement what was otherwise not available.

Another possibility would be that the leech, the scorpions and the snails were added because the author had not yet reached a hundred emblems by the time he passed away in 1598. The remaining emblems would then have been created by his son Ludwig, who published the volume after his father's death and who contributed to the epigrams.[61] However, the content and the level of erudition expressed in the commentaries strongly suggest these were finished by the author himself.

It should be pointed out that this does not necessarily mean that emblematic examples were not applied even when these did not deal with the species presented by Camerarius. In his discussion of the female salmon [Fig. 5.1], a

58 Mangolt Gregor, *Fischbuch, von der Natur der Fische* (Zurich, Andreas Gesner: 1557).

59 This work is a compilation of a work on fish by Gregor Mangolt, a calendar produced by Jakob Ruf and Conrad Gesner, and a late medieval tract on fishing and bird catching. Mangolt indicated the calendar and the tract on fishing were added by Conrad Gesner and his cousin Andreas Gesner, who printed the work, and that the Gesner cousins published the work without his permission. Also see: Keller H.E., "Edition, Einleitung und Kommentar der Fischsprüche", in Keller H.E. (ed.), *Jakob Ruf. Leben, Werk und Studien* (Zurich: 2008) 967–993.

60 Boussuet François, *De natura aquatilium carmen* (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1558).

61 Harms – Heß, *Joachim Camerarius* […]. *Die handschriftlichen Embleme von 1587.*

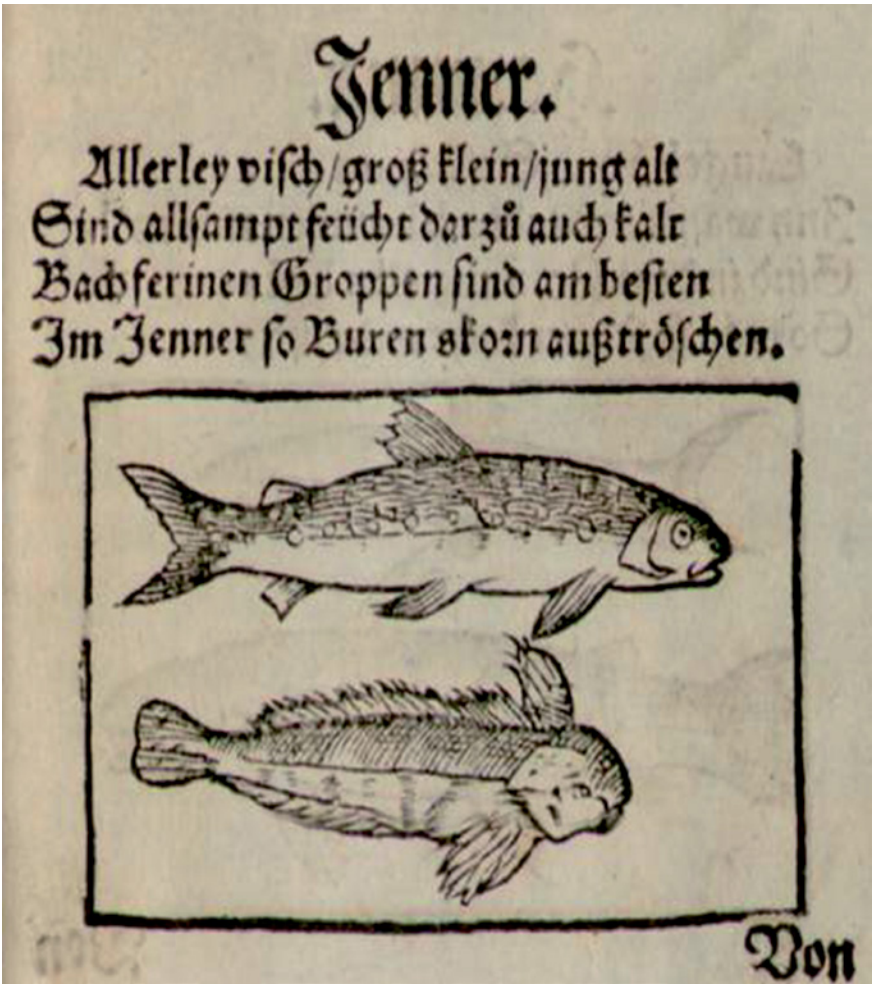

FIGURE 5.11 *Gregor Mangolt,* Fischbuch (*Zurich, Andreas Gesner: 1557*) *13. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/Zool. 348.*

species not previously discussed in an emblematic context, Camerarius refers to an emblem by Alciato discussing ducks [Fig. 5.13].[62] Also here, a specimen is used as bait. A female duck is trained to attach itself to a passing flock and lure this into a trap.[63] Both in Alciato's original and in Camerarius's emblem

62 Alciato, *Emblemata*, emblem 50.

63 The text reads: 'Altilis allectator anas, et caerula pennis', / Assueta ad dominos ire redire suos, Congeneres cernens volitare per aera turmas, / Garrit, in illarum se recipitque gregem, /

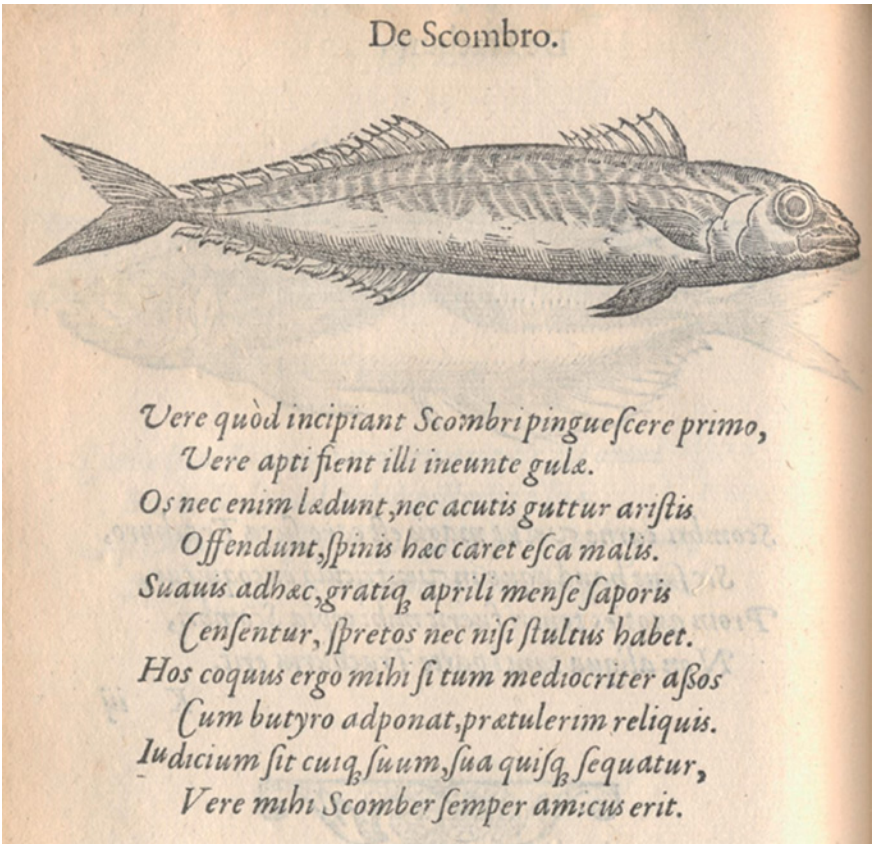
De Scombro.
Vere quòd incipiant Scombri pingueſcere primo,
Vere apti fient illi ineunte gulæ.
Os nec enim lædunt, nec acutis guttur ariſtis
Offendunt, ſpinis hæc caret eſca malis.
Suauis adhæc, gratiq; aprili menſe ſaporis
Cenſentur, ſpretos nec niſi ſtultus habet.
Hos coquus ergo mihi ſi tum mediocriter aßos
Cum butyro adponat, prætulerim reliquis.
Iudicium ſit cuiq; ſuum, ſua quiſq; ſequatur,
Vere mihi Scomber ſemper amicus erit.

FIGURE 5.12 *Francois Boussuet,* De natura aquatilium carmen (*Lyon, Macé Bonhomme: 1558*) *78. Rare Fish Books Amsterdam.*

presenting the female salmon, the specimen used as bait is presented as treacherous to its own kind. In relation to this it is suggested even one's own kind should not be trusted too lightly. In both cases this is reflected in the motto, Camerarius's motto reading 'Officiosa aliis, exitiosa suis', 'obliging to others but

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Praetensa incautas donec sub retia ducat: / Obstrepitant captae, conscia at ipsa silet. / Perfida cognato se sanguine polluit ales, / Officiosa aliis, exitiosa suis'—'A duck fattened in order to attract others, with blue feathers, used to come and go to her masters. Seeing several of her own kind flying through the air, she quacks, and attaches herself to the flock, until she leads the innocent birds under the nets that have been set for them. The captured birds cry out, but the collaborator is silent. The treacherous bird has tainted herself with the blood of her own kind. Helpful to others, deadly to her own'.

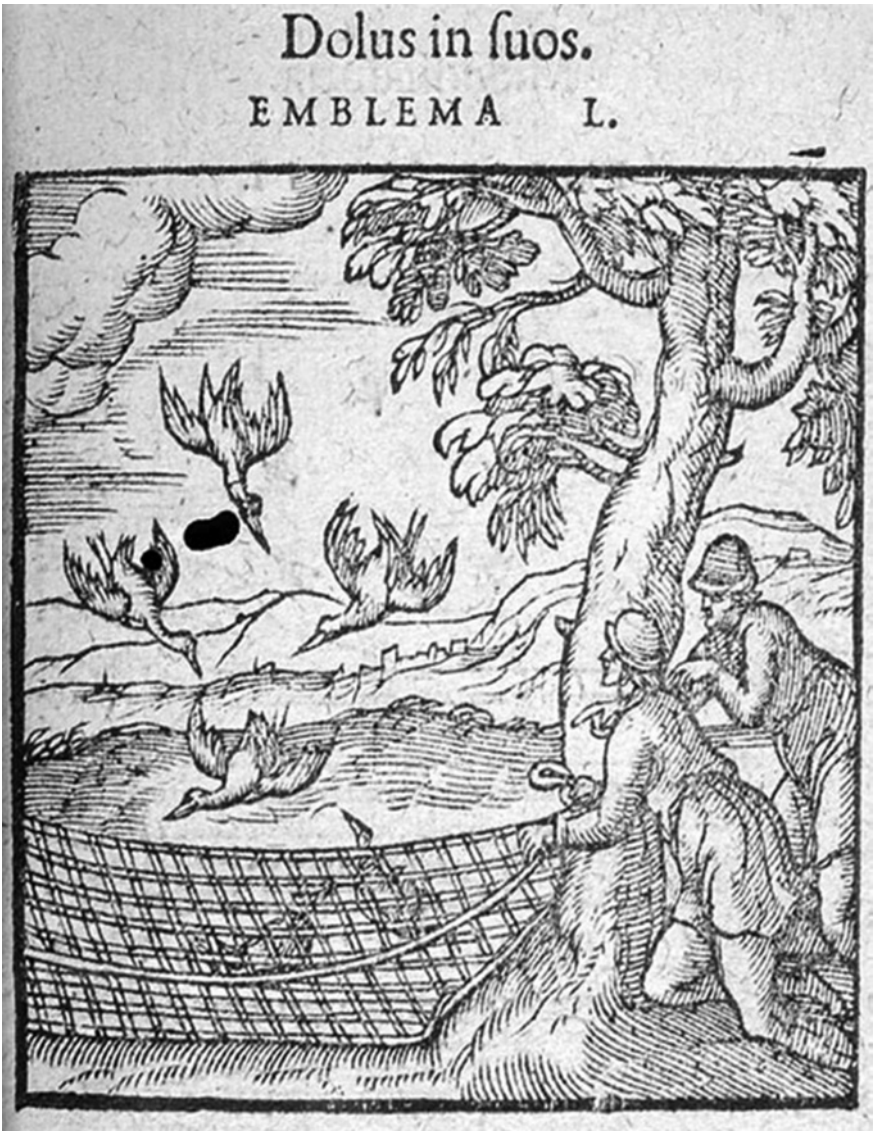

FIGURE 5.13 *Andrea Alciato,* Emblemata (*Leiden, Plantin, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1591*) *69. University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, SM 58, p. 69.*

deadly to her own', and Alciato's 'Dolus in suos', 'deceit against one's own'. The notion of the treacherous female specimen is not present in Gesner's description of the female salmon, where the scene merely describes an alleged catch method. Emblematic predecessors could thus be adapted to include aquatic

animals, and descriptions from natural history were adapted to fit an emblematic framework.

Recognisable Images

In particular for the here discussed volume of the *Symbola et emblemata*, the *Historiae animalium* was also a source of visual material. It is possible that fishes such as the salmon, the parrotfish or the mackerel, were less recognisable to and less easily distinguished from one another by the greater public than for example the fox, the goose or the wolf. Fish is found in a much greater, often confusing, variety of species than land animals and birds.[64] Consequently, more was required of the depictions of these animals in the *pictura*, in particular considering the quantity of fishes which Camerarius included. While authors who included a limited range of fishes could get away with generic depictions, Camerarius's depictions had to be both recognisable and distinguishable. To this end, Gesner's illustrations, labelled 'ad vivum' by the author, were particularly useful. There is much reason to assume that by this term Gesner meant that the images should communicate a true understanding of the depicted object. In the context of the *Historia piscium*, which describes over 700, often similar looking, aquatic species, this would include an understanding of how to identify and recognise a species.[65] Such accurate images also proved useful in the context of Camerarius's emblems. While the background landscapes are not based on prior examples, the fish depicted here appear in numerous cases to have been based on Gesner's depiction of the species,[66] suggesting

64 Currently 32.000 species of fish have been identified against around 10.000 species of birds and 5.500 species of mammals. See: The World Conservation Union. 2014. IUCN Red List of Threatened Species 2014.3. *Summary Statistics for Globally Threatened Species. Table 1: Numbers of threatened species by major groups of organisms (1996–2014)*. The fact that classical sources identified only around 120 species of fish (see note 10) means that in the early modern period there was an abundance of undescribed aquatic species, which suggests this confusion was profound indeed.

65 As pointed out by Sachiko Kusukawa, with this phrase Gesner referred to the effect an image had on the beholder, rather than the question whether an image was a true portrait of something in nature. What mattered was that the reader formed an understanding of the depicted object. See: Kusukawa S., *Picturing the Book of Nature. Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago – London: 2011) 175, 251.

66 Such as for example E. IV, 15, 16, 18, 22, 32, 23, 38.

that a copy of the *Historiae animalium* was kept at hand when the *picturae* were designed.

Again we can turn to the *pictura* depicting the female salmon [Fig. 5.1] as an example. This is best interpreted in relation to a second emblem dealing with salmon, in this case a male salmon (E. IV, 23) [Fig. 5.14].

Both depictions appear to have been based on Gesner's. In fact, for both *picturae* Camerarius could only have made use of Gesner's depictions,[67] which clearly show the differences between the male and female [Fig. 15. and 5.16]. Other naturalists failed to include separate depictions of male and female specimens of the salmon. Gesner's depictions of the species as well as Camerarius's *picturae* show the female as smaller and plumper, and the male with the hooked lower jaw that male specimens of this species develop during spawning. Camerarius also shows the male covered in leeches; this corresponds with a scene described by Gesner.

The commentaries, partly based on Gesner's description, are equally clear on which is the male and which is the female.[68] Much like the scene in which the female salmon is depicted, the *pictura* depicting the male is also based on an element of Gesner's description of the species. In this case this is a long description of the salmons' suffering due to leeches that cause the fish so much pain that they leap out of the river, sometimes ending up stranded on the riverbed where they subsequently die. Camerarius compares the sufferings of the male salmon to the, deserved, sufferings of those who have a guilty conscience.

The difference in appearance between male and female means the reader can more easily distinguish between both. As a result his same reader can consequently more easily recall which scene is described in which *pictura* and which message is attached to this, the depicted fish serving as a mnemonic aid. The style in which the fish have been depicted stands in contrast to the style of the surrounding landscape, which receives less emphasis. In this Camerarius emblems remind for example of Adriaen Collaert's 1598 *Piscium vivae icones*, in which fish taken from the work of naturalists such as Pierre Belon, Hipolito Salviani, Guillaume Rondelet, and Conrad Gesner, depicted in a style which allows for easy identification of the depicted species, are placed prominently

67 Gessner, *Historia piscium* 969–970.

68 This again stands in stark contrast to the descriptions of several other prominent naturalists, including for example Pierre Belon and Guillaume Rondelet, who described the female rather than the male as developing the hooked lower jaw, inadvertently swapping the genders around. See: Belon Pierre, *De aquatilibus* (Paris, Charles Estienne: 1553) 277–279 and Rondelet, *L'histoire entière des poissons*, Book II, 122–124.

FIGURE 5.14 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger,* Symbola et emblemata, *Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *22. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/L.eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*

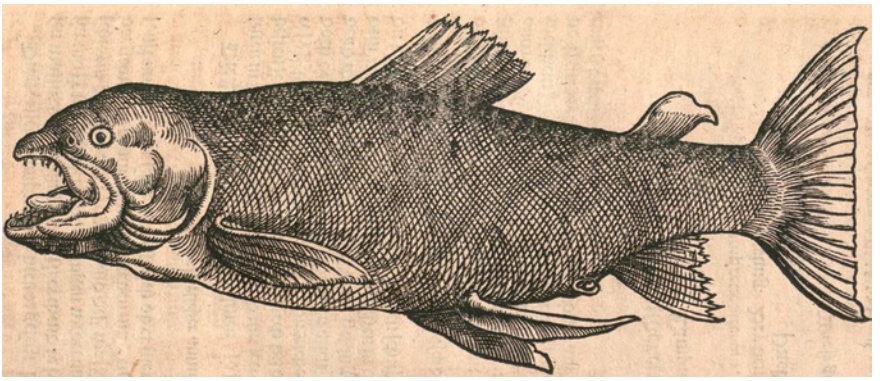

FIGURE 5.15 *Conrad Gesner,* Fischbuch (*Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1575*) *fol. 18rv. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Zool. 200 w.*

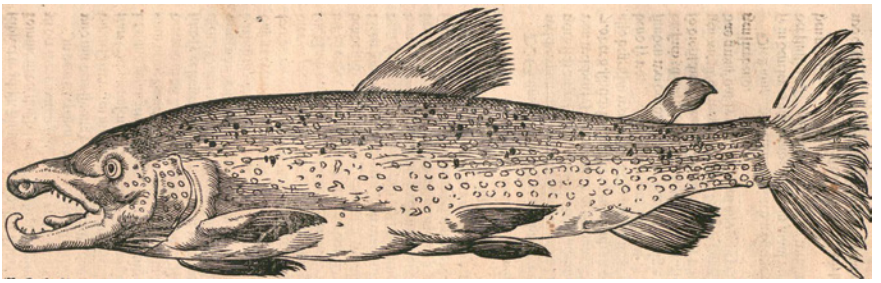

FIGURE 5.16 *Conrad Gesner*, Fischbuch (*Zurich, Christoph Froschauer: 1575*), *fol. 182r. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Zool. 200 w.*

and in exaggerated proportions in the foreground, against somewhat more vaguely depicted backgrounds[69] [Fig. 5.17].

Accurate and Generic Depiction

While a substantial number of the depicted fish appear to have been based on Gesner's illustrations,[70] in other cases these were also improved upon. This was the case, for example, for the depicted parrotfish [Fig. 5.7] which much more prominently than those depicted in Gesner's work display the overbite that is

69 Adriaen Collaert, *Piscium vivae icones* (Antwerp, Theodoor Galle: after 1598).

70 See note 66.

FIGURE 5.17 *Adriaen Collaert,* Piscium vivae icones (*Antwerp, Theodor Galle: after 1598*), *plate 6. Engraving. British Museum, 2AA*,a.67.5.*

characteristic for this species. Most fish have been depicted in such a way that we are able to correctly identify them. In the case of the salmons [Fig. 5.1 and 5.14], this includes the careful depiction of differences in body-shape between the male and the female. The representation of nature is, while not the primary concern, taken seriously enough to depict animals in painstaking detail, which is all the more impressive considering the small size of the depictions. The function of such easily identifiable images in Camerarius's emblems may be twofold. First of all the use of images in a style which reminds of that of famous naturalists is undoubtedly a means to display erudition, in a similar manner to the abbreviated reference to Martial's epigram in the commentary on the female salmon, which quotes only the first few words followed by 'et cetera'. Much in the same way as this serves to highlight the author's familiarity with such texts, the inclusion of these illustrations shows that Camerarius was thoroughly familiar with such works. The inclusion of such depictions adds weight to an emblem as something grounded in scholarly literature.

In addition this is functional in light of the inclusion of emblems dealing with very similar animals to which very different messages are attached. While the emblem dealing with the female salmon reflects on the dangers of trusting someone too easily, that presenting the male salmon reflects on the torment

caused by a guilty conscience. Taking into consideration that the *res significans* should be recognisable, it is clear this is much more easily achieved when the male and female are depicted in such a way that we can distinguish between them. The same applies to emblems depicting different fish in identical situations, such as the parrotfish [Fig. 5.7] and the mackerels [Fig. 5.8]. The message here is very different, the mackerels serve as a warning not to blindly follow others, while the parrotfish are a symbol of friendship. With such different meanings it is important the reader knows which fish is being discussed. While mackerels and parrotfish are notably easier to tell apart than female and male salmons, recognisable depiction is in each of these cases essential.

It should be noted that this style of depicting is neglected in those cases where the emblem does not deal with a specific species. Camerarius included several emblems which refer to fishing techniques [Fig. 5.19].[71] In these cases his *picturae* include small generic fish which do not resemble a specific species. The style in which these are depicted is very different from the style in which for example the parrotfish and the salmons are executed. The same applies to *picturae* where there can be no doubt about which animal is depicted. This is the case in emblems depicting snails [Fig. 5.18] and snakes, of which Camerarius included only one kind and which stand out amongst all the fishes included in this volume.[72] This suggests that displaying erudition through scholarly depictions was not the primary aim, but depiction in this style is at times functional in the context of the emblems and was applied when this was the case.

Gesner and Emblematic Sources

One of Gesner's, in no way uncommon, aims set out in the introduction to his *Historiae animalium* states that the observation of animals can provide an example for people's behaviour and morals.[73] Here the author quotes Theodore Gaza's 1476 translation of Aristotle's *De Animalibus*. In relation to this Gesner

71 For example E. IV, 30 and 31.

72 For example E. IV, 3, 99 and 93.

73 Gesner Conrad, *Historia piscium*, Book I (Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1551), "Epistola Nuncupatoria", fol. α3v: 'Non est autem quod ideo minus aliquis admirationem habendam haec animalcula putet, si virtutes istae non propriae, hoc est, non ex ratione et voluntatae ipsorum oriri videantur: necque enim ideo minus mirabimur opera Dei, quibus per naturam indidit, ut illius sponte eadem multa perficiant, quae homines vix longo tempore docti exercitatique praestare possunt'.

FIGURE 5.18 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger*, Symbola et emblemata, *Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *99. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/L.eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*

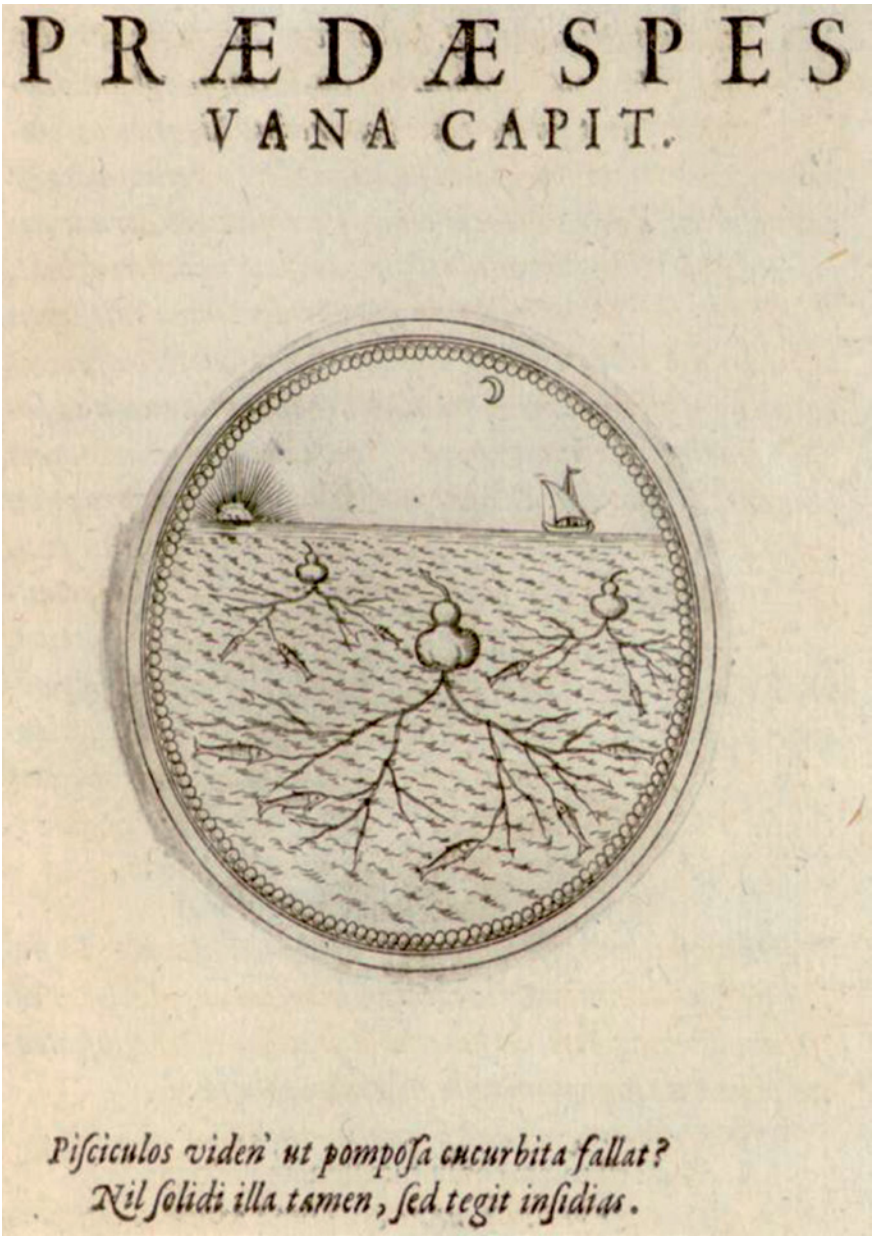

FIGURE 5.19 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger,* Symbola et emblemata*, Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *30. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/L.eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*

displays not only a strong interest in animal behaviour and anecdotes about animals, but also in emblematic literature,[74] in which this can be more explicitly be applied to the moral realm. Whenever an emblematic representation of a species was available when Gesner published his *Historiae animalium*, although this was not often the case for aquatic animals, this is mentioned in his description of that animal. An example of this is his description of the white seabream[75] in which Gesner refers to an emblem by Alciato based on Oppian's *Halieutica* [Fig. 5.20].[76] Camerarius in turn devotes an emblem to this species. This includes a *pictura* [Fig. 5.21] which shows a fisherman wearing in a goat skin catching in his net the white seabream, which according to the text was so attracted to the smell of goat it could not resist its catcher.

Alciato is mentioned in Camerarius's commentary and the *pictura* is clearly modelled on later editions of his *Emblemata*,[77] both depictions showing a fisherman wearing a goat skin in roughly the same pose in a boat, catching a fish in his net. However, as in many cases, in Camerarius's *pictura* the depicted fish has been altered. Where Alciato's *pictura* contains an unidentifiable elongated fish which looks nothing like the round seabream, Camerarius's *pictura* shows a seabream that is much more accurate and resembles that depicted in Gesner's *Historiae animalium*. In addition to this white seabream, an emblem presenting the highly similar black seabream (E. IV, 34) [Fig. 5.22], not based on a prior emblematic example but with roots in Gesner's description and depiction, was also included. While these species look much alike, the behaviour described and the message attached are completely opposed. In this Camerarius again bases himself on Gesner, who had remarked on a contrast in the mating behaviour of these species.[78] Meanwhile both species have been depicted in such a way that they look different.

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74 The latter is in Gesner's animal descriptions listed under the letter H, also see note 22.

75 Gesner, *Historia piscium* 999.

76 Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus, *Halieutica*, trans. A.W. Mair (Cambridge, MA – London: 1920), IV, 308–73.

77 The pictura shown here is from the 1591 edition of Alciato's *Emblemata* published in Leiden, by Frans van Ravelingen (Raphelengius) at the Plantin press.

78 Both the white seabream, Diplodus sargus sargus, and the black seabream, Spondyliosoma cantharus, start their lives as hermaphrodites and later in life develop into males or females. In a school of white seabream at the time of spawning a single specimen develops into a male, white the male female ratio of adult black seabream is roughly 50/50. Source: Fishbase. The spawning behaviour of the Diplodus sargus sargus was referred to by Oppian, without mention of the hermaphrodite phase. See Oppian, *Halieutica* IV, 308–373.

FIGURE 5.20 *Andrea Alciato*, Emblemata (*Leiden, Christopher Plantin – Franciscus Raphelengius: 1591*) *94. University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, SM 58.*

FIGURE 5.21 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger*, Symbola et emblemata, *Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *37. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/L.eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*

FIGURE 5.22 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger,* Symbola et emblemata*, Book IV* (*Nuremberg, Gotthard and Philipp Vögelin: 1604*) *33. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/L.eleg.m. 1347 w-4.*

The commentary on the black seabream takes us from a description of this fish centring on the fact that it only takes one mate, via references to Oppian, Aelian and Seneca to a reflection on promiscuity. The commentary on the white seabream on the other hand details the polyamorous behaviour of this species, stating that the males are generally found with lots of females. As the text on the black seabream, this commentary also extensively refers to Oppian's description of this fish, which states it is irrationally attracted to goats and that fishermen take advantage of this fact to catch it.[79] The commentary further details how this unnatural love leads to the downfall of this fish, as fishermen dress up in goat skins and throw flour mixed with goat hair in the water to lure them. From here the text, also referring to Aelian and Pliny, takes the reader via references to Alciato, Athenaeus and Plautus to a reflection on prostitution, comparing associations with prostitutes to the unnatural attraction of the white seabream to goats, both which tendencies will lead to the errant individual's destruction. The scene described by Oppian is extensively discussed by Gesner, under the heading animal behaviour.[80] Alciato's emblem is mentioned under the heading anecdote. Both Alciato's emblem and Gesner's description and depiction of the species are reflected in Camerarius's emblem (E. IV, 38). In addition to being a source of biological and literary information, as well as visual material, in this and in several other cases the *Historia piscium* was also a good source of emblematic references.

Conclusions

As the here discussed examples demonstrate, Camerarius's emblems to a significant extent rely on Conrad Gesner's *Historiae animalium* in terms of both textual and visual content. This is due firstly and most obviously to the overlap between natural history and emblematics in terms of subject matter as well as their perception of the connection between nature and the moral realm, and in addition to the air of authority that Gesner, Pliny, and other respected naturalists could lend to the emblems. On top of this however, and particularly so

79 This curious statement is not explained by Oppian. Interpretations of this text have been diverse. Also see: Lytle E., "The Strange Love of the Fish and the Goat", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 141 (2011) 333–386.

80 For the various elements of Gesner's animal descriptions see note 22. The scene described by Oppian is in Gesner's description of the white seabream listed under D, and therefore as a description of the behaviour of the species, while Alciato's emblem is mentioned under H, as an anecdote about the species.

for this volume describing a range of aquatic animals, this was due to necessity. In this respect ichthyological emblems stand out within the genre of nature emblems, as these were rarer and perhaps less suitable to communicate their emblematic messages than emblems featuring plants, quadrupeds, and birds.

The general theme of the emblems, that we can draw instructions on morality from the observation of nature, evidently was by no means an uncommon thought amongst naturalists of Camerarius's time. This overlap between the moral realm and the realm of nature, which we have seen expressed by Gesner in the introduction to his *Historiae animalium*, is also evident in the structure of the emblems. Here the top half of the commentary is intertwined with, most often Gesner's, natural history while the bottom half ventures into the moral realm, the knowledge of nature supporting the emblematic. Meanwhile, the perception that the observation of animals can provide people with a guideline for moral behavior is not only reflected in the structure of Camerarius's emblems and his choice of subject matter, but is simultaneously the reason Gesner was interested in emblematic literature and included this in his animal descriptions whenever possible. This overlap between the genres of natural history and natural history emblems in aims and approach to the study of nature and the moral realm should however not obscure the various practical reasons which led Camerarius to mine Gesner for anecdote and visual material.

While Camerarius's imitation of Gesner's thoroughly complete and authoritative *Historiae animalium* also partly results from the fact this provided him with a similar aura of erudition as did his imitation of Pliny, Gesner also provided descriptions and depictions of a much wider range of aquatic animals than Pliny and on top of that of a range of animals which Camerarius could find in his immediate surroundings. While there is much less geographical variety in mammals and birds, fishes vary significantly from region to region, and Pliny's Mediterranean species are largely absent from that part of Europe where Camerarius's was active. At close to 700 species,[81] there was no publication available describing a wider range of aquatic creatures than the fourth volume of Conrad Gesner's *Historiae animalium*.[82] In addition, Gesner describes these species with a flair for the anecdotal resembling that of Pliny, allowing his descriptions to be slotted seamlessly into Camerarius's style and his aim to include a wide range of aquatic species. As we have seen, Camerarius included

81 The title page of Gessner's *Historia Piscium* indicates that 706 illustrations were included (my own count shows this number to be largely correct), some of these however depict the same species.

82 Guillaume Rondelet's *L'histoire entière des poissons*, the second most extensive work on aquatic animals from the period, includes only 450 species.

exotic and even non-existent as well as everyday species. For all of these, Gesner was a suitable source of information.

The similarity between many of the aquatic animals depicted in Camerarius's *picturae* and Gesner's depictions suggests a copy of the *Historiae animalium* was kept at hand during the production of the *picturae*. The reliance on Gesner as a source of visual material therefore in part simply stems from the fact that Gesner's depictions were available. In addition though, this reliance on Gesner may also stem from the fact that different types of fishes looked more alike to readers than land animals and birds. While the average reader could be expected to recognise common species, the inclusion of many similarly built fishes depicted on a relatively small scale could be confusing. This is particularly so since Camerarius included so many different emblems featuring aquatic creatures. As we have seen, Camerarius's aim to include a hundred emblems proved impossible in the case of aquatic animals, which were therefore supplemented with reptiles and snails. While the third volume of the *Symbola et emblemata* also contains emblems dealing with different types of animals, in this case birds and insects, these are connected by habitat.[83] Even a similar construction proved impossible in the case of aquatic creatures but nonetheless sixty-six emblem featuring such creatures were included. Often these are similar looking species that are discussed in connection with very different moral messages, such as the above discussed male and female salmon or the black seabream and white seabream. Consequently these must be depicted in such a way that they can be told apart, making the *res significans* recognisable. As we have seen, in most cases much care was taken to depict the animals in such a way that we can identify them. Gesner's "*ad vivum*" depictions were suitable for this purpose. The fact that Camerarius does not depict fish in the same manner when an emblem does not discuss a specific species appears to confirm that his choice to use Gesner's depictions, or in some cases to create depictions in this style, was inspired by reasons of functionality.

What made this reliance on Gesner necessary rather than convenient is the fact that, unlike on the subject of plants, animals or even birds, when it came to aquatic animals Camerarius's was hard pressed to find emblematic predecessors. It should be pointed out that Camerarius actively sought these and included several *picturae* which stand in an emblematic tradition. These most often have been altered to match the commentary and its natural historical source, most often Gesner, which provided the anecdote. In addition, as we have seen, a non-aquatic animal which was originally depicted in the emblematic scene, could be replaced by an aquatic one about which information was

83 The first volume dealing with plants and trees and the second with quadrupeds.

available that matched the described scene. For such anecdotal information Gesner is a rich source. This creativity notwithstanding, it is clear few emblematic examples were available as Camerarius's most important emblematic sources for this volume, Alciato and Luca Contile,[84] provided only a limited number of emblematic representations of aquatic creatures and others provided no more. At the same time semi-emblematic publications featuring aquatic animals, such as the above discussed book of poems by Boussuet[85] and the calendar produced by Gesner and Jakob Ruf,[86] were similarly unsuitable due to their lack of moral anecdotes. What is more, no ichthyological publication of the period comes close to Gesner's in terms on anecdotes and quality of the depictions.[87] The inclusion of sixty-six emblems featuring aquatic animals in Camerarius *Symbola et emblemata* could therefore not have been accomplished without a heavy reliance on Gesner's *Historiae animalium*.

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84 Alciato's *Emblemata* contained eleven emblems featuring aquatic creatures while Contile's *Ragionamento* provided four imprese, however, in terms of species these sets overlap.

85 Boussuet, *De natura aquatilium carmen.*

86 Also see Gregor Mangolt, *Fischbuch.*

87 Guillaume Rondelet's and Pierre Belon's descriptions in *L'histoire entière des poissons* and *De aquatilibus* respectively (providing information on 450 and 187 species) contain significantly fewer anecdotes and are illustrated, in particularly Belon, with depictions of considerably lesser quality.

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CHAPTER 6

The Daphnic Fate of Camerarius: Sweden's First Printed Emblem Book Revealed in Olof Rudbeck the Younger's Botanical Dissertation (1686)*

Bernhard Schirg

Rarely in history has plant propagation been of greater public and economic interest than in the second half of the nineteenth century. Since the late 1860s, grape-vines had been perishing from an unknown cause. A decade later, French wine-culture found itself on the brink of extinction. After years of countless and bizarre attempts to curtail the devastating damages, a team of French botanists led by Jules Émile Planchon (1823–1888) and the British-American entomologist Charles Valentine Riley (1843–1895) finally identified the pest's origin in a microscopic insect. It had travelled clinging to live rootstocks of indigenous American vines when they were imported to France on the first steamships and it later became known as the *Phylloxera vastatrix*. In response, these scientists developed the only effective remedy to this day: By grafting European vines onto phylloxera-resistant American rootstocks, a large number of cultivars were able to be saved. Yet, as some oenophiles still deplore today, this rather invasive intervention may have come at the sacrifice of the original taste of European wines, which may now be lost for good.[1]

* This article originated under the aegis of a Berlin-based project on Rudbeckianism as a scientific paradigm conducted with Bernd Roling and Stefan Bauhaus as part of the SFB 644 "Transformations of Antiquity". I would like to express my thanks to Anna Fredriksson, who on one of the many days spent at Uppsala University Library pointed my attention to the two editions of Rudbeck's dissertation, which first sparked my curiosity for his botanical treatise. My gratitude extends equally to Peter Sjökvist for feeding my hunger for Swedish dissertations, and Vanessa Güldenpfennig and Vivien Lara Bruns, who assisted me with this article. I would also like to thank Han Lamers and Jan Papy for discussions, inspirations and valuable contributions to earlier versions of this paper.

A brief word on the Latin quotations from unpublished material: The text follows the spelling of the originals. Capitalization has been silently modified; abbreviations have been expanded. All translations are my own.

1 My introduction follows Gale G., *Dying on the Vine. How Phylloxera Transformed Wine* (Berkely – London – Los Angeles: 2011), Campbell C. W., *The botanist and the vintner* (Chapel Hill: 2005) and Paul H., *Science, Vine and Wine in Modern France* (Cambridge: 1996) 9–120. From a biological perspective see Granett J. – Walker M.A. – Kocsis L. – Omer A.D.,

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The techniques of plant propagation which saved European viticulture had already been practiced for millennia and were even described by Roman authors like Cato and Pliny the Elder.[2] More than two centuries before the emergence of *Phylloxera vastatrix* in Europe, the foundations and effects of these techniques constituted the subject of the Swedish dissertation that is at the centre of this article. In 1686, the aspiring naturalist Olof Rudbeck the Younger (1660–1740) presented an extensive Latin treatise to the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Uppsala.[3] Rudbeck's dissertation of about 150 pages, which details how plants and trees can be multiplied and modified, can be described as Sweden's central contribution to pre-Linnaean botany.[4] Yet the few studies touching on the dissertation—the work of previous generations of Latinists or historians of art and/or science—so far have not commented on the fact that the same book also marks a watershed in the history of Swedish

"Biology and management of grape phylloxera" in *Annual Review of Entomology* 46 (2001) 387–412. Many other scientists were active in the attempts to save local grape varieties. Adolph Blankenhorn, for example, corresponded extensively with the revolutionist Friedrich Hecker in the United States, who had left Baden after the ill-fated revolution of 1848. Their letters are edited as Blankenhorn A. – Hecker F., *Briefwechsel 1872–1880*, ed. I. Döbele-Carlesso (Brackenheim: 2007).

2 Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and transl. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: 1961) XVII, 80–82.

3 A magisterial monograph on this fascinating scholar remains a *desideratum*. For an introduction see Broberg G., "Olof Rudbeck the Younger and his time", in Löwendahl B. (ed.), *Olof Rudbeck's Book of Birds. A Facsimile of the Original Watercolours* [*c. 1693–1710*] *of Olof Rudbeck the Younger in the Leufsta Collection in Uppsala University Library* (Stockholm: 1986) 1, 21–47. For further references see Roling B., "Zion im Norden. Olaus Rudbeck der Jüngere und die biblische Stilisierung Lapplands", *Orbis terrarum* 13 (2015), 227–250. Stefan Bauhaus is currently working on a study of Rudbeck's linguistic works.

4 On the dissertation's position in the history of botany and Cartesianism in Uppsala see Eriksson G., *Botanikens historia i Sverige intill år 1800* (Uppsala: 1696) 102–117. On a botanical experiment described within it see Gertz O. "Olof Rudbeck och växternas morphaesthesi. Ett växtfysiologiskt försök för mer än 200 år sedan", *Botaniska Notiser* (1916) 67–73. On the theory of spontaneous generation in Rudbeck's treatise see briefly Lindroth, S. "Uralstringen. Ett kapitel ur biologiens äldre historia", *Lychnos* (1939) 159–192 (esp. 177–178). Rudbeck's dissertation still provided a point of reference in botanical treatises written around the middle of the eighteenth century; see e.g. Mennander C.F. – Falander A., *Dissertatio academica de radicibus plantarum, quam suffragante amplissima facultate philosophiae in regia Aboensi academia praeside Carolo Friderico Mennander, scientiarum naturalium professore regio et ordinario, publico bonorum examini submittit Abrahamus Falander, Erici filius, Ostrobotniensis* [...] (Turku: 1748) 13.

emblematics.[5] This comes as a surprise, given the highly unusual features of this dissertation, which the young scholar would dedicate to no lesser person than the Swedish queen Ulrika Eleonora the Elder (1656–1693): In addition to numerous technical diagrams and physiological illustrations, it contains a total of fifteen emblems that are interspersed throughout Rudbeck's botanical elaborations. Until now, their function within this dedicatory context have never been satisfactorily explained.

In this article, I will examine the emblems in Rudbeck's botanical dissertation from various angles, arguing for the status of his treatise as the earliest specimen of a printed Swedish emblem book. Some introductory notes on its author and the general state of botanical scholarship and emblematics in seventeenth-century Sweden may be necessary to understand the dissertation's eminent position in its wider context.

The Scandinavian tradition of emblematics and its Swedish branch in particular have to be considered comparatively young fields of research in this growing discipline. Only since the 2000s have they emerged recognisably on the map of international scholarship: In the footsteps of the pioneering works by Alan Ellenius (1927–2008),[6] Mara R. Wade and Simon McKeown have recently contributed ground-breaking studies towards a comprehensive history of Nordic emblems.[7] Nevertheless, numerous research horizons—comprising,

5 The central contribution on Rudbeck's emblems still remains Bryk F., "Kopparsticken till Olof Rudbeck D. Y:s Propagatio Plantarum", *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 68 (1919) 68–73. The dissertation was subjected to dry philological/lexicographical analysis that paid no attention to its pictorial features; see Erikson A., *En undersökning av Olaus Rudbecks Propagatio plantarum, 1686* (Gothenburg: 1975). In the same vein see Benner M. – Tengström E., *On the interpretation of learned Neo-Latin. An explorative study based on some texts from Sweden (1611 – 1716)* Gothenburg 1977 (Gothenburg: 1977). Ellenius only dedicated a brief paragraph to the emblem; see Ellenius, "The Emblematic Situation" 160–161. The latest (brief) study was presented by Lindell T., "En obeaktad variant av Olof Rudbeck d.y:s Propagatio plantarum", *Biblis* 5 (1999) 30–33.

6 See Ellenius A., "The Emblematic Situation in Sweden in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in Harms W. – Peil D. (eds.), *Polyvalenz und Multifunktionalität der Emblematik. Akten des 5. Internationalen Kongresses der Society for Emblem Studies* (Frankfurt am Main et al.: 2002) vol. 1, 155–171 and the additional overview on Ellenius's work in Wade M.R., "Emblems in Scandinavia", in Harper A.J. – Höpel I. (eds.), *The German-language Emblem in its European Context. Exchange and Transmission* (Glasgow: 2000) 23–39 (esp. 23–24) and the articles mentioned below, in notes 14, 20, 21, 30.

7 For an introduction to this topic see the contributions in McKeown S. – Wade M.R. (eds.), *The Emblem in Scandinavia and the Baltic* (Glasgow: 2006). On the state of research see in particular Wade, "Emblems in Scandinavia" 23–24. See also McKeown S., "Gothic Reformation. Emblematics and Scriptural Authority in Seventeenth-Century Sweden", in McKeown S. (ed.),

for instance, the Latin tradition of the emblem at Swedish universities, its interaction with contemporary natural history, and the sociological factors engendering emblem production—[8] have largely remained blank spaces and still remain to be integrated into the wider framework of national and international emblematics.

For the later trajectory of the discipline of botany in Sweden, it is important to remember that the treatise in question was presented by the scholar who would become the mentor of Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778) in Uppsala.[9] In 1729 Rudbeck, then one of the most renowned naturalists of his time, granted Linnaeus a position in the botanical garden established by his father in 1655. In addition, Linnaeus became the private teacher of Rudbeck's sons and thus a member of his household. Through his numerous travels and the studies he conducted at home and abroad, Linnaeus quickly rose to international fame in the 1730s.

Uppsala's remarkable ascendance under Sweden's most famous botanist to an international centre of the natural sciences tends to eclipse the fact that this trajectory began two generations earlier. Rudbeck the Younger and his 1695 expedition to Lapland represent a milestone in the exploration of Sweden's natural history.[10] Rudbeck's seminal influence on his later student Linnaeus has been repeatedly acknowledged by scholars.[11]

Prior to Rudbeck the Younger's famous journey to Lapland, he and his father Olof Rudbeck the Elder (1630–1702), a pioneer in Swedish botany, embarked on one of the most impressive botanical projects of their time: Together they prepared the *Campus Elysii* (*Elysian Field*), a multi-volume work pursuing no meaner goal than to depict and describe the plants of the world in life-size. Previously, in the first volume of his famous *Atlantica* (4 vols, 1679–1702), Rudbeck the Elder had traced Plato's island and the origin of classical mythology to Sweden, including the idyllic Elysian Fields, to which the title of the father-son botanical work alludes.[12] Unfortunately, only some printed sheets

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The International Emblem. From Incunabula to the Internet. Selected Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of the Society of Emblem Studies, 28th July–1st August, 2008, Winchester College (Newcastle upon Tyne: 2010) 155–169.

8 Cf. Wade, "Emblems in Scandinavia" 39.

9 See Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*.

10 See Fries T.M., "Den första naturvetenskapliga forskningsfärden i Sverige", in: *Nordisk tidskrift för vetenskap, konst och industri* (1898), 481–497, 517–537.

11 See Broberg, "Olof Rudbeck the Younger" 41–42.

12 Only brief introductions to Rudbeck the Elder and his massive *Atlantica* exist in English language; see Eriksson G., *The Atlantic vision. Olaus Rudbeck and Baroque science* (Canton MA: 1994), and King D., *Finding Atlantis. A true story of genius, madness, and an extraordinary quest for a lost world* (New York: 2005). The most substantial monograph has

and several wood-blocks survive, after the Great Fire of Uppsala (1702) destroyed nearly all of the time-intensive and costly preliminary work of the previous two decades.

At the same time as Uppsala first started gaining international academic prestige through the favour of Queen Christina (r. 1632–1654) and through Rudbeck the Elder's rise to worldwide fame as a celebrated physician and polymath, the enthusiasm for emblems began to spread in Sweden. On the continent a century earlier, the publication of Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* engendered a rich tradition of emblem books—Claude Paradin's *Devises heroïques* (1551), Hadrianus Junius's *Emblemata* (1565), or Girolamo Ruscelli's *Le imprese illustri* (ca. 1565), to only name a few. Yet while emblems stormed European courts and academies in droves, Sweden remained comparatively untouched by this flourishing continental fashion.

This, however, changed as the Swedish Empire emerged victoriously from the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and international contact increased. The rise of emblems in Sweden is strongly connected to the nation's involvement on the continent. While serving in Central Europe and France, the Crown's military leaders, generals such as Carl Gustaf Wrangel (1613–1676) and Magnus Gabriel De La Gardie (1622–1686), became acquainted with the rich tradition. In one example, Johann Joachim Zeuner (1647–ca. 1716), a draftsman from Stettin, dedicated a lavish manuscript to Wrangel, who since 1648 held the prestigious position of Governor-General of Pomerania. Entitled *Emblemata arcis regiae Stetinensis delineatio* (*The Royal Castle of Stettin Delineated with Emblems*), it collected panorama-views of Stettin Castle as the *picturae* for emblems.[13] Returning home, figures such as Wrangel and De La Gardie adapted the emblematic tradition to their own use and employed it as a refined form of visual self-representation. As a result, their palaces underwent prominent programmes of decoration inspired by emblem books.[14]

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been provided by Eriksson, G., *Rudbeck 1630–1702. Liv, lärdom, dröm i barockens Sverige* (Stockholm: 2002). On Rudbeck's position in Swedish scholarship see Lindroth S., *Svensk lärdomshistoria* (Stockholm: 1975) 2. I am currently preparing a monograph on Rudbeck's *Atlantica* and its impact on European scholarship.

13 Further devices, which interfoliated the manuscript, clearly had a panegyric purpose. See McKeown S., "Johann Joachim Zeuner's Emblematic Manuscript for Carl Gustaf Wrangel. Swedish-Pomeranian Political Symbology and its Legacy", in McKeown – Wade, *The Emblem* 127–160.

14 Boström H.-O., "Love Emblems at the Swedish Baroque Castles of Ekholmen and Venngarn", in McKeown – Wade, *The Emblem* 103–126. For a previous study on Venngarn see Ellenius A., "Bild och bildspråk på Magnus Gabriel De la Gardies Venngarn", *Lychnos* (1973–1974) 160–192. Emblem books also served in the late 1640s as a source of inspiration

As this trend spread throughout the Swedish nobility, the royal court proved equally fruitful ground for the emblem's cultural development.[15] The poetry of Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672), for example, drew heavily on the emblematic tradition permeating Sweden around the middle of the seventeenth century. Several of his pieces were dedicated to Queen Christina,[16] who proved particularly receptive to these inventions ever since the emblematic spectacles staged for her coronation ceremony.[17] Her interest in emblematic compositions, which frequently adorned the reverses of her numerous medals, is well known.[18]

During Christina's rule, emblems began to grow prevalent among local scholars, as well.[19] As Allan Ellenius put forward in his study of Johannes Scheffer's (1621–1679) *De militia navali veterum libri quattuor* (*Four Books on the Naval Forces of the Ancients*), this book's frontispiece draws on the wider tradition of European emblem books to develop a refined and politically engaged emblematic composition.[20] Scheffer, moreover, also produced his own emblematic medals.[21] During the 1670s and 1680s, emblems additionally became the

for decorating the weapons in Wrangel's armoury; see Rangström L., "Partisans with pictures", in McKeown – Wade, *The Emblem* 161–177.

15 Cf. McKeown S. – Wade M. R., "Introduction", in McKeown – Wade, *The Emblem* XVI.

16 On Stiernhielm's poetry see Friberg A., *Den svenske Herkules. Studier i Stiernhielms diktning* (Stockholm: 1945); Fries W., *Nordische Barocklyrik* (Tübingen: 1999), *ad indicem*. Cf. the overview in Wade, "Emblems in Scandinavia" 31–32.

17 See the objects described in Rangström L., *Riddarlek och Tornerspel. Sverige – Europa* (Stockholm: 1992), no. 160–162. Cf. Wade, "Emblems in Scandinavia" 33.

18 Cf. Schirg B., "Phoenix going bananas. The Swedish Appropriation of a Classical Myth and its Demise in 18th Century Botanical Scholarship (Engelbert Kaempfer, Carl Linnaeus)", in Roling B. – Schirg B. – Bauhaus St. (eds.), *Apotheosis of the North* (Berlin–Boston: 2017) 17–46.

19 On a few earlier incidents see Ellenius, "The Emblematic Situation" 155–159. For example, the *Stammbuch* by professor Laurentius Olai Wallius (1588–1638) is bound together and interfoliated with emblems from Hadrianus Junius and Andrea Alciato; see Gobom N., "Eric Benzelius d. y:s Itineris Eruditi Album i Linköping stiftsbibliotek", in *Bok- och bibliotekshistoriska studier tillägnade Isaak Collijn* (Uppsala: 1925), 385–394 (385). For a wider approach that opens the definition of emblems also for the flourishing tradition of gnomic epigrams see Sjökvist P., *The Early Latin Poetry of Sylvester Johannis Phrygius* (Uppsala: 2007), 59–65.

20 First appeared as Ellenius A., "Johannes Schefferus, Kristina Minerva och Fortuna Audax. En Studie i Politisk Emblematik", *Lychnos* (1954–1955) 165–195. For a recent English translation see Ellenius, A., "Johannes Schefferus, Christina Minerva, and *Fortuna Audax*. A Study in Political Emblematics", in McKeown – Wade, *The Emblem* 75–102.

21 See now Tunefalk M., *Äreminnen. Personmedaljer och social status i Sverige cirka 1650–1900* (Lund: 2015).

subject of public dissertations defended at Uppsala: In 1672, Simon Isogaeus presented a dissertation entitled *De symbolis* (*On symbols*) at the Faculty of Philosophy. Along with a theoretical introduction to the subject and ample references to both contemporary and historical uses of symbols, his treatise also includes a discussion of the emblematic tradition.[22] By the time Daniel Wallenius in 1685 responded to Johannes Bilberg in an Uppsala dissertation entitled *De emblematis* (*On emblems*),[23] emblems were firmly established in Sweden as a medium for self-representation and had become an integral part of royal ceremonies.[24] Around the same time, the court painter David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl (1629–1698) envisioned a combination of portraits and emblems decorating the audience hall of Drottningholm Palace,[25] where he also installed numerous other emblematic compositions.[26] As Wallenius proudly points out in his treatise: 'Nec patria nostra hujuscemodi cultioribus ac ornatioribus destituta est pavimentis, ut nec caetero emblematum decoro, quod in quibusdam magnatum palatiis apparebit' ('Our home country, too, is neither deprived of very refined and decorative pavements of this kind [sc. emblematic ones, B.S.] nor of any other kind of emblematic decoration; a fact that will be obvious to everybody in certain palaces of our elite'.[27] Simultaneously at Stockholm

22 Arrhenius Claudius – Isogaeus Simon, *Dissertatio de symbolis, quam amplissimae facultatis philosophicae permissu praeside viro praeclarissimo, domino Claudio Arrhenio, historiae professore publico et ordinario, placido bonorum examini submittit Simon Isogaeus, Westmannus, in auditorio Gustaviano majori regiae academiae Upsaliensis ad diem 14. Februarii anno MDCLXXII* (Uppsala: [1672]).

23 On this treatise see Ellenius A., *De arte pingendi. Latin Art Literature in Seventeenth-Century Sweden and its International Background* (Uppsala: 1960) 176–186.

24 The use of emblems culminates at Ulrika Eleonora's funeral in 1693, which is particularly well documented. Nicodemus Tessin the Younger devised a complex visual programme for this occasion; see Snickare M., *Enväldets riter. Kungliga fester och ceremonier i gestaltning av Nicodemus Tessin den yngre* (Stockholm: 1999) 83–114. The aforementioned Simon Isogaeus, who in the meantime had advanced to the position of court chaplain, published an emblematic funeral speech in her honour; see Isogaeus S, *Aeternitati sacrum! Swea Pust / Himla Lust* […] (Stockholm: [1695?]). On his speech see McKeown S., "Unrecorded Emblems for Ulrika Eleonora the Elder", in *Emblematica* 16 (2008) 9–30. Similarly, the lector at the German School in Stockholm, Johannes Bernard Steinmejer, devised an emblematic broadsheet showing the Royal Palace and a dark cloud before the sun, framed by a *lemma* reading 'Lucet dum Suecia luget'. See McKeown, "Unrecorded Emblems" 9–10. In addition, Olof Rudbeck the Elder proposed the emblematic motif to her widower Charles XI that was to decorate a commemorative medal. See Schirg, "Phoenix going bananas".

25 Ellenius A., *Karolinska bildidéer* (Uppsala: 1966) 44.

26 Ellenius, *Karolinska bildidéer* 64–75.

27 Bilberg Johannes – Wallenius Daniel, *Ex consensu et adprobatione amplissimi ordinis philosophici in illustri Sveonum, quod Upsaliae est, athenaeo praeside viro celeberrimo,*

Castle, King Charles XI (r. 1660–1697) now turned to the northern sky for an emblem suiting his kingdom's new pretences. As Kurt Johannesson describes in his magisterial monograph, the king employed the device of the Polar Star ('Nescit occasum'—'It knows no decline') all across his palace as Sweden's response to Louis XIV's emblematic use of the sun.[28]

Thus, under the rule of Charles XI and his wife Ulrika Eleonora, the emblem solidified its role as a vital form of communication in Sweden; appreciated, employed and discussed at both court and universities. Despite these developments, the emblem book as it appears in the European tradition is seldom seen in the Swedish context. Of the few local authors in this genre, Schering Rosenhane (1609–1663) may be considered the most eminent. The diplomat dedicated a collection of political emblems known as the *Hortus Regius* (*Royal Garden*) to Queen Christina.[29] Here too, his background on the continent proved formative: When Rosenhane negotiated the Treatise of Münster in 1648, he was in close contact with Saavedra Fajardo. On their first meeting, this Spaniard presented him with a copy of his emblem book *Idea de un principe politico christiano* (*Concept of a Christian political leader*).[30] Later, Rosenhane had his palace on Riddarholmen in Stockholm decorated with emblems he himself had invented.[31] However since this book and a small number of similar

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domino Joanne Bilberg mathematicae professore ordinario, diatribam de emblematis publico candidorum examini exercitationis gratia submittit Daniel A. Wallenius, Westmannus [...] (Stockholm: [1685]) 8. Continuing, he points to the famous wood-intarsia decorating the floor of the sleeping room in Drottningholm Palace (ibidem): 'Memoratu autem maxime dignum est ἀσάρωτον arcis Drotningholmensis in regio ad partem borealem dormitorio, quod certe intuentem quemvis rapiet in maximam admirationem, quippe cujus particulae in varias sectae figuras ex nobilissimo quoque arborum genere, nullis vero coloribus tinctae, sed congenito ac nativo, varias protuberantias, [ut] ascia laevigatae sint, imitantur'.

28 Johannesson K., *I polstjärnans tecken. Studier i svensk barock* (Stockholm–Uppsala: 1968).

29 The manuscript is edited as Rosenhane Sch., *Hortus Regius. En Kunglig Trägård*, ed. S. Hansson (Stockholm: 1978).

30 See Vasquez J., "Schering Rosenhane's Emblematic Programme in the Light of Queen Christina's Political Conduct and Diego de Saavedra Fajardo's *Empresas*", in McKeown – Wade, *The Emblem* 179–203 and Ellenius A., "Emblematisches Denken. Die Bildersprache von Schering Rosenhane. Schwedischer Resident in Münster 1643–1647", in Bußmann K. – Schilling H. (eds.), *1648. Krieg und Frieden in Europa* (Münster: 1998) vol. 1, 397–402. Several other sheets of emblematic inventions by Schering Rosenhane (1609–1663) preserved at Uppsala were published as part of Ellenius, A., "Schering Rosenhane och det emblematiska språket", *Lychnos* (1997) 81–102.

31 See Vasquez J., "Drottning Kristina i Rosenhaneska palatsets bildallegorier", *Kulturvärden* 1 (2003) 20–29 and Vasquez, "Schering Rosenhane's Emblematic Programme".

compositions never appeared in print,[32] Mara R. Wade concludes that 'no emblem books similar to their foreign counterparts were published in Sweden in the seventeenth century'.[33]

This is the cultural background from which Olof Rudbeck the Younger, at the age of twenty-five, wrote his botanical dissertation on the topic of plant propagation. A closer observation of the Latin treatise will challenge Wade's statement, revealing its character as Sweden's first printed emblem book. Rudbeck's dissertation, set in constant dialogue with classical and early modern authorities, discusses first the basic questions of plant physiology and cultivation and then proceeds to propagation techniques. Its appearance complied with the common procedures in Uppsala at the time. It was printed in 1686 about a month before the defence.[34] Copies were then distributed before the event, which according to the title page took place on March 17 under the presidency of Andreas Drossander (1648–1696), the local professor of medicine.[35] A second edition was printed the same year with slight modifications.[36]

Both versions address Queen Ulrika Eleonora and feature lavish illustrations. The treatise's fourteen chapters are interfoliated with a total of fifteen copperplate engravings depicting full-fledged emblems complete with *lemma*, *pictura* and *subscriptio* [see the examples in Figs. 6.1, 6.4, 6.5, 6.7 and 6.8]. Each emblem is printed on a full page with the verso left blank. Printed page numbers on each of these emblem pages refer to the opening pages of new chapters, which are preceded by the emblems.[37] Another full-page emblem is also found at the beginning of the treatise [Fig. 6.9].[38] Furthermore, the dissertation contains technical diagrams in the form of woodcuts illustrating

32 A similar collection of emblems was provided by the bishop Haquin Spegel (1645–1714) in Linköping; see Wade, "Emblems in Scandinavia" 30. On manuscript emblem books kept at Uppsala and Stockholm see Sider S. – Obrist B., *Bibliography of Emblematic Manuscripts* (Montreal et al.: 1997) 143.

33 Wade, "Emblems in Scandinavia" 36.

34 Rudbeck mentions February 12, 1686 as printing date; see Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 67.

35 Drossander Andreas – Rudbeck Olof, *Propagatio plantarum botanico-physica, quam experientia et rationibus stabilitam figuris aeneis exornatam et huic nostro climati adcommodatam cum consensu amplissimae facultatis medicinae academiae Upsaliensis praeside* […] *D. Andrea Drossandro* […] *dissertatione publica evulgat suae regiae majestatis alumnus Olavus Rudbeck, Olavi filius* […] ([Uppsala]: [1686]).

36 See n. 80.

37 Only the final chapter (cap. 14) features two emblems; the last one relating to the concluding paragraph. An overview is provided in the appendix of this article.

38 In a copy kept at Helsinki (Kansalliskirjasto, H Diss. Vet. Ruotsi), a small number of the emblems have been coloured; this appears to have been the work of an amateur. I would

the discussed techniques of plant propagation [see the examples in Fig. 6.2 and 6.6],[39] and six additional engravings of plant physiology modelled after the works of Conrad Gesner (1516–1565) and Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694).[40] These are interfoliated or presented on folded plates, depicting for example close-ups of roots sprouting seeds and other details.[41]

Both this rich use of illustrations and the royal dedication are highly unusual features within the contemporary context of Swedish dissertations.[42] By revisiting the emblems' function in Rudbeck the Younger's botanical dissertation, I will challenge the assumption put forward by its previous interpretator Felix Bryk that 'they [...] do not relate to the disputation' ('De [...] stå icke i sammanhang med disputationen)';[43] a view that appears to have impeded a more detailed study of the strong interrelation between the Latin text and the nearby visual elements.[44] As I will argue, Rudbeck's botanical elaborations, the technical diagrams and the emblems indeed all represent pivotal elements of the dissertation, styling the treatise as an early modern emblem book.

Previous scholarship has already demonstrated the prominent ancestry of the imagery in the fifteen interfoliating emblems. They strongly relate to the *Symbolorum et emblematum centuriae quatuor* (*Four Centuries of Symbols and Emblems*), a work by the German botanist and physician Joachim Camerarius the Younger (1534–1598) published between 1593 and 1604.[45] Each of the

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like to thank Dr. Jenni Kuuliala for describing this copy to me. *Pace* Roling, "Zion im Norden", the partially coloured copy remains a rare exception.

39 Their quality was considered to be poor by previous critics; see Treviranus L.C., *Die Anwendung des Holzschnittes zur bildlichen Darstellung von Pflanzen* (Leipzig: 1855) 59–60. On the wider history see Nissen C., *Die botanische Buchillustration* (Stuttgart: 1951).

40 Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 70.

41 In total, these visual elements amount to twenty-two engravings and thirteen woodcuts; see Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 69–70. Not all extant volumes of Rudbeck's dissertation still contain the interfoliated and highly decorative technical illustrations; most digital copies available are incomplete.

42 Printed dissertations in this context commonly addressed family members, local professors and/or the student's main patrons. Rudbeck's distinguished dedicatee clearly reflects the excellent relationships his father maintained with the court.

43 Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 70.

44 Ellenius's wording in his (very brief; see n. 5) reference to the dissertation does not seem to imply any interaction at all; cf. Ellenius, "The Emblematic Situation" 162: 'In the following text [i.e. after the opening emblem, B.S.], several emblems accompany the scientific discussion by giving moral lessons related to the generation of plants.'

45 Bryk argues (without proof) that Rudbeck used the 1661 edition of Camerarius's work. See Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 71–72. For introductions to Camerarius and with further reference see Papy J., "Joachim Camerarius's *Symbolorum & Emblemata Centuriae Quatuor*: From Natural Sciences to Moral Contemplation", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Visser A.S.Q. (eds.), *Mundus*

Centuriae presents one hundred emblems drawing from a different area of nature (herbs and plants, quadrupeds, birds and insects, aquatic animals and reptiles) and links the characteristics portrayed in these emblems to subsequent moralising meditations. For Camerarius and other authors of early modern emblem books, the knowledge traditions first collected in texts like Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* or the *Physiologus* and then condensed by early modern scholars such as Conrad Gesner provided a treasure trove of curious plant and animal behaviours and alleged properties of the natural world. These undergird the moral claims developed in the emblem books, which with their extensive prose explanations came to represent a cornucopia of contemporary natural history, including also mythological and additional cultural traditions related to plants or animals. This holistic approach, which characterized late Renaissance naturalists' pursuit of harmonic and symbolic cross-references between cultural traditions and nature, was later termed the 'emblematic world view' by William B. Ashworth Jr.[46]

Rudbeck the Younger's recourse to Camerarius, with whom he shared a strong interest in botany,[47] has hitherto been explained as serving merely to decorate an otherwise technical treatise. On his authorship, Rudbeck would claim in a later autobiographical text that he produced all the illustrations of his dissertation on his own.[48] As previous scholars have noted, this statement refers rather to the physical process of their engraving or carving and not to their artistic authorship.

At first sight, the fifteen emblems appear to be mere copies from Camerarius's emblem book: The styles of the *lemma* and *descriptio* are highly similar, even reproducing Camerarius's ligatures.[49] Yet Rudbeck's *picturae* show several differences from the originals. They lack the typical rim and circle of pearls which

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Emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books (Turnhout: 2005) 201–234; Harms W. –Kuecher U.-B., "Einführung" in: *Camerarius J., Symbola et Emblemata* (*Nürnberg 1590 bis 1604*), ed. W. Harms – U.-B. Kuecher, 2 vols. (Graz: 1988) 2,1*–36*. As the research on this central emblematist is considerable, I also point to the contributions in this volume for detailed reference.

46 Ashworth W.B. Jr., "Natural History and the Emblematic World View", in Lindberg D.C. – Westman R.S. (eds.), *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: 1990) 303–332. See also Ashworth W.B. Jr., "Emblematic natural history of the Renaissance", in: Jardine N. – Secord J.A. – Spary E.C. (eds.) *Cultures of natural history* (Cambridge: 1996) 17–37.

47 Papy, "Joachim Camerarius" 202.

48 See Grape A., *Bibliografiska studier tillägnade Frih. Johannes Rudbeck på femtioårsdagen* (Uppsala: 1917) 27: 'med kopparstycken ock träfigurer, *af mig sielf* dels i koppar stuckne, dels i trä uthskurne [my italics, B.S.]'.

49 Rudbeck however expands Camerarius's abbreviations.

adorn the *Centuriae*'s emblems and recall a coined medal [cf. Figs. 6.1, 6.3; 6.7, 6.8]. In addition, the *picturae* differ in minor pictorial details, particularly in the background.[50] These deviations suggest that Rudbeck's emblems were produced by tracing Camerarius's originals onto a new printing plate; a process that explains why all images appear mirrored and lack more subtle details.[51]

In general, reusing illustrations in printed treatises on the natural sciences was a common practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[52] A closer look however reveals that the process of interfoliating the dissertation with emblems by far surpassed a mere copying-and-pasting for decorative purposes. Rudbeck's harking back to Camerarius rather participates in the rich history of reception in which the *Centuriae* were creatively adapted for new contexts.[53] Two central aspects deserve to be emphasised in this regard: First, Rudbeck's uprooting and transplanting emblems from Camerarius's *Centuriae* is not limited to botantial matter. Rudbeck rather draws on three out of four areas described by the German naturalist.[54] Secondly, and more importantly,

50 In cap. 2, subtle details such as the horse and the castle in the background and the blossoms of the tree are missing. In cap. 6 and cap. 7, the swarms of birds in the sky take an entirely different form. In cap. 7, the hunter and an entire mountain in the farther background are missing. In cap. 8, the crowded background is considerably depopulated. In cap. 11, a mountaintop has been cut. In cap. 12, the entire mountain range of the background is missing; in cap. 14 it has been considerably lowered. In the final emblem concluding cap. 14, the entire setting below the rising falcon has been changed from rolling hills to a lake with mountains. Some of these observations are already found in Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 71. In general, Rudbeck's *picturae* lack the subtlety of hatching that Camerarius's engraver applies to enhance plasticity in the *picturae* of Camerarius; an aspect that could not be reproduced by tracing.

51 Cf. Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 70–71.

52 See Hendrix L., "Natural History Illustration at the Court of Rudolf II", in Fučíková E. et al. (eds.), *Rudolf II and Prague. The Imperial Court and Residential City as the Cultural and Spiritual Heart of Central Europe* (Prague–London–Milan 1997) 157–171 (161). Also figures such as Ole Worm reused massively for his *Museum Wormianum* from 1655; see Schepelern H.D., "Natural philosophers and princely collectors. Worm, Paludanus and the Gottorp and Copenhagen collections", in Impey O. – MacGregor A. (eds.) *The Origins of Museums. The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe* (Oxford: 1985), 121–127 (123).

53 See n. 88.

54 Rudbeck may have been inspired by the aforementioned dissertation on emblems presented in Uppsala only half a year earlier by Daniel Wallenius (see notes 23 and 27). Whereas this treatise follows the conventional pattern, its major parts are preceded by emblems that appear to have been designed for this specific occasion. These however do not interact with the subsequent content the same way as in Rudbeck's dissertation. Most of them underline the importance of god's favour, thus being similar in function to

Rudbeck did not merely copy Camerarius's models, but in fact modified about a third of them to produce tailor-made emblems for his chapters on plant propagation, which draw on both historical descriptions and contemporary observations. These interventions were not limited to the *subscriptiones*, which appear to have escaped Bryk a century ago,[55] but extended even to their *picturae*.[56]

In these subtle adjustments Camerarius's emblems of quadrupeds and flying animals are transformed in service of Rudbeck's exclusively botanical treatise, suffering a 'Daphnic' fate—as one may call it in reference to Ovid's famous myth.[57] This practice underlines the author's creative approach to the emblematic tradition. Given the extensive size and complexity of Rudbeck's botanical argument, I must limit myself to describing in detail just four methodically illustrative examples of how the young botanist adapted Camerarius's emblems for his own purpose, i.e. in order to stylise his academic dissertation like an early modern emblem book. The dedicatory context and strategies of representation will be discussed in the following section. A complete overview of the fourteen chapters and the nature of his replications or modifications can be found in the Appendix of this article.

At the beginning of chapter nine, which describes plant propagation by bending branches of live trees into the soil and then cutting them, we find a textual modification of Camerarius III, 56. As an entry in his ornithological *Centuria*, the *pictura* shows a water bird emerging from the water with spread wings [Fig. 6.3]. The corresponding *subscriptio* offers a moral interpretation of the scene, declaring it a symbol of a man who does not sink in the crushing waves of fortune: 'Non raro mediis vir fortis mergitur undis / Adversae sortis, nec tamen obruitur' ('Not infrequently is the brave man submerged in the waves of an adverse fate, and still he is not overwhelmed').[58] By changing the *subscriptio*,

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an invocation to the Muse. Wallenius's dissertation contains an entire chapter (cap. 2) on how to devise proper emblems.

55 Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 71 n. 1: 'Anmärkas kan äfven, att Rudbeck öfverallt bibelhållit originalens inskrifter'.

56 Mason Tung put forward a similar set of terms to describe various forms of reception of the *Centuriae*; cf. Tung M., "From Natural History to Emblem. A Study of Peacham's Use of Camerarius' 'Symbola et emblemata'", *Emblematica* 1 (1986) 53–76 (54–55).

57 In his *Metamorphoses* (1, 425–567) the Roman poet describes how the nymph Daphne was transformed into a laurel tree to escape the amorous advances of Apollo. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. and transl. F.J. Miller (Cambridge, MA: 1984), vol. I, 34–42.

58 Here and in the following I quote from the earliest edition including all three *Centuriae* used by Rudbeck. See Camerarius J., *Symbolorum Et Emblematum Centuriae Tres. I. Ex herbis et stirpibus. II. Ex animalibus quadrupedibus. III. Ex volatilibus & insectis* (Heidelberg: 1605).

FIGURE 6.1 *Rudbeck*, Propagatio plantarum, *chapt. 9. Uppsala University Library* (*Cr 9: 576*).

Rudbeck's emblem relates the bird rising from the water in the *pictura* to the method of plant propagation later described and then illustrated by the corresponding technical diagram [Fig. 6.2]. Its new *subscriptio* thus underlines the parallels between ornithology and botany explicated in the subsequent

chapter: 'Mergitur, ut liquidis emergat fluctibus, anser. / Hic quoque quam subiit, ramulus exit humo' ('The goose dives to emerge again from the limpid waves. Here, too, the tiny branch exits the ground which it entered').[59]

Chapter twelve describes a propagation technique whereby cut plant material is grafted under the bark of a tree. Here, an even smaller textual intervention in the *subscriptio* produces the same effect as before. Rudbeck's opening

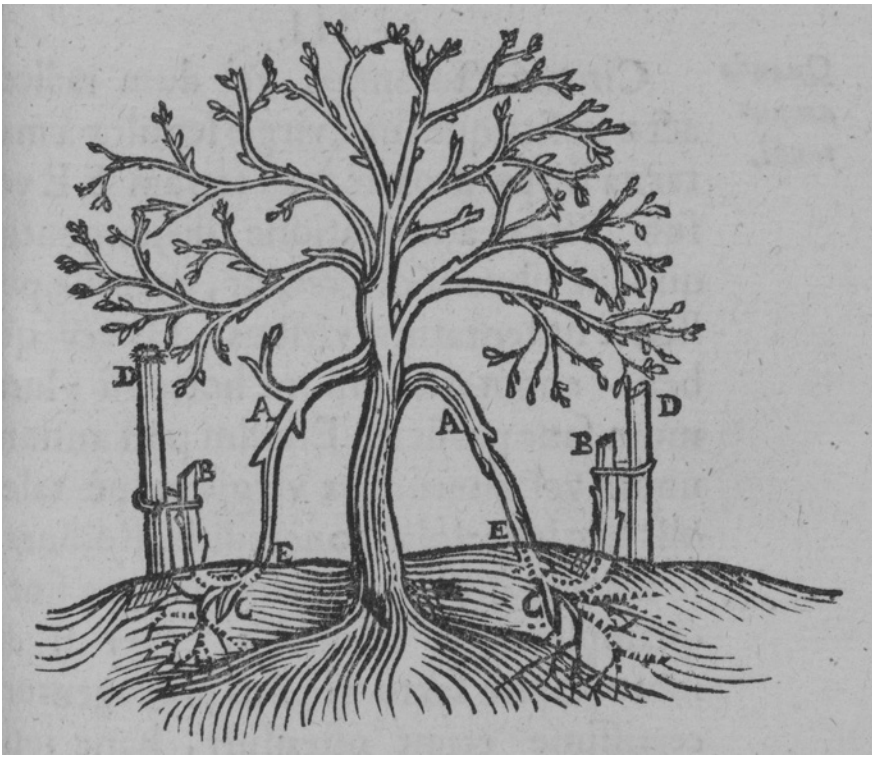

FIGURE 6.2 *Rudbeck*, Propagatio plantarum *109. Uppsala University Library* (*Cr 9: 576*).

59 See Appendix, ad cap. 9. On the original authorship of Camerarius's *subscriptiones* see Papy, "Joachim Camerarius" 212–213. Although Rudbeck the Younger became an ornithologist of great distinction (see Rudbeck, O., *Olof Rudbeck's Book of birds. A facsimile of the original watercolours* [*c. 1693–1710*] *of Olof Rudbeck the Younger in the Leufsta Collection in Uppsala University Library*, ed. B. Löwendahl, 2 vols., (Stockholm: 1986), he refers to Camerarius's diving water bird as a goose.

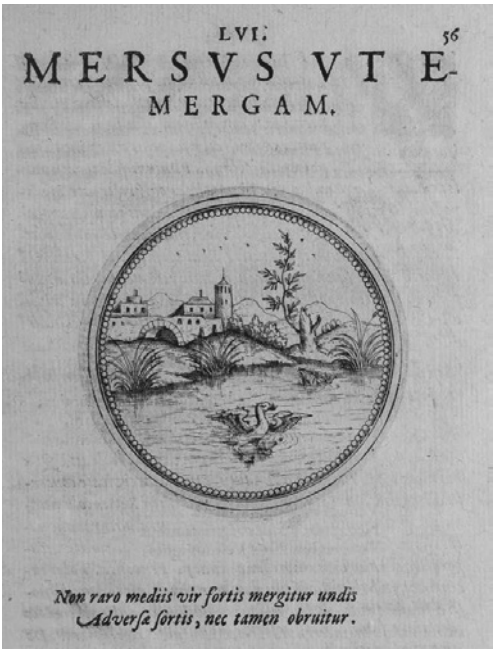

FIGURE 6.3
Joachim Camerarius, Symbolorum et emblematum [...] ex volatilibus et insectis desumtorum centuria tertia (*Nürnberg, Johann Hofmann: 1596*), *emblem no. 56.*
© HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK WOLFENBÜTTEL http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/18-6-eth/start.htm?image=00133

emblem [Fig. 6.4] draws on Camerarius III, 68, which depicts a partridge (*perdix*) brooding over the eggs of other birds. The *subscriptio* in the *Centuriae* reads: 'Quae sunt alterius perdix illa incubat ova, / Quasque alius peperit, possidet alter opes' ('The partridge hatches the eggs of another bird, and the riches produced by one person are owned by someone else'). With a slight change to the second hemistich, Rudbeck compares the partridge's characteristic behavior—at least according to Renaissance naturalists who in turn follow a dictum from the prophet Jeremiah—[60] to a botanical technique that produces a fruit-bearing tree from the base of another plant. Rudbeck's version of the emblem changes the *subscriptio* to read 'Quae sunt alterius perdix illa incubat ova. / In se sic arbor non sua poma gerit' ('The partridge hatches the eggs of another bird. The same way, the tree does not bear its own fruit on itself').[61]

Chapter thirteen is dedicated to propagation by 'weaning' (*ablactatio*), a technique whereby a twig from the mother tree is bound firmly to another tree so that they can grow together. Rudbeck claims that this is the fastest of the

60 Cf. *Jeremiah* 17:11: 'perdix fovit quae non peperit fecit divitias et non in iudicio in dimidio dierum suorum derelinquet eas et in novissimo suo erit insipiens'.

61 See Appendix, ad cap. 12.

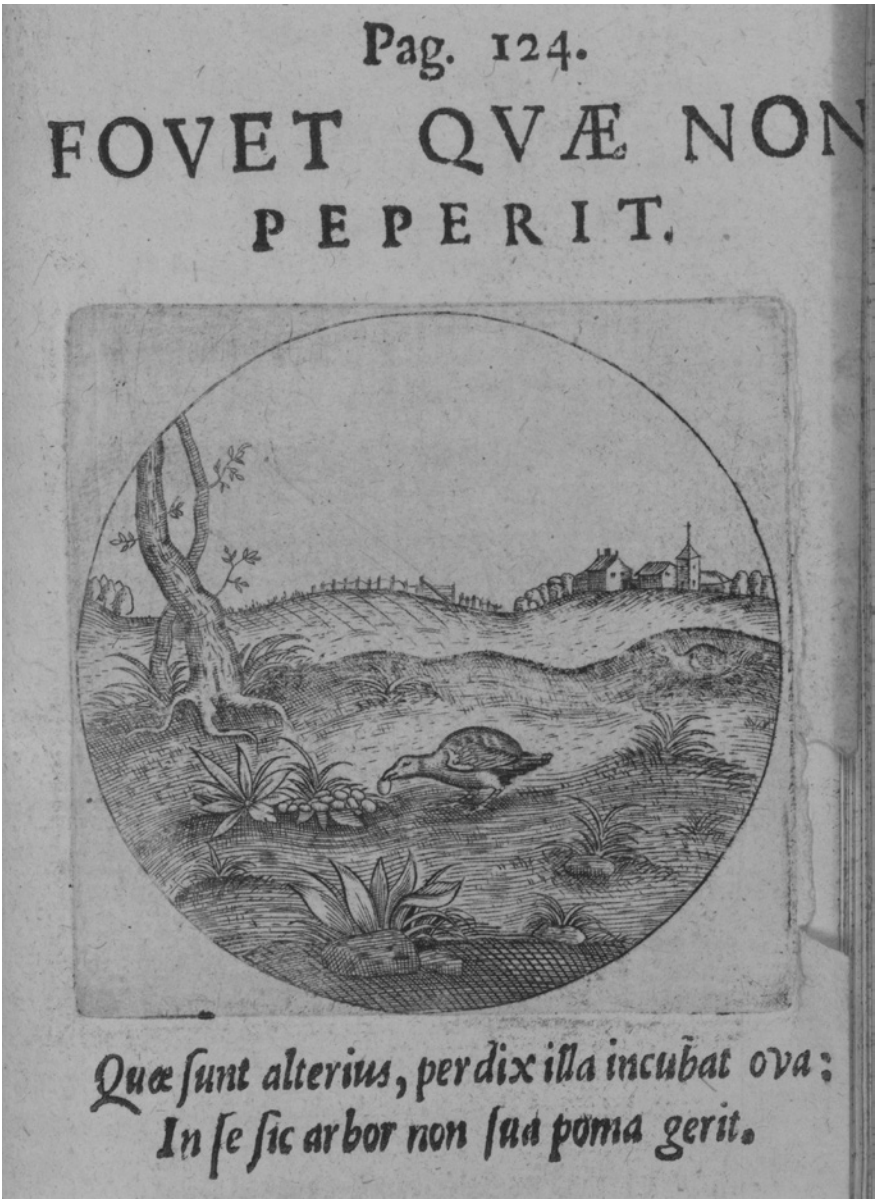

FIGURE 6.4 *Rudbeck*, Propagatio plantarum, *chapt. 12. Uppsala University Library* (*Cr 9: 576*).

methods he describes. To illustrate this, he selects Camerarius III, 17, a depiction of a running ostrich, as his model for the opening emblem [Fig. 6.5]. Camerarius understands the unimposing ostrich's superior footspeed as a symbol for finding outstanding virtue in unexpected places: 'Quantumvis humilis, cursu tamen anteit omnes / Struthio. Sic virtus quolibet alta loco est' ('Although humble, the ostrich precedes all others in the race. The same way, virtue excels in any given place'). Forging a link between the bird's speed and the swift success promised by weaning, Rudbeck alters the emblem's distich, such that it now reads 'Ut superat cunctos celeri pede struthio, ramus / Desuetus fructum sic quoque primus habet' ('Just as the ostrich defeats everybody with his swift foot, so the weaned twig, too, bears fruit first').

By adeptly modifying the models in Camerarius or by merely moving these older emblems into a new context, Rudbeck's botanical dissertation clearly evokes the didactic practices common in these emblem books, where the visual device opens a pathway into the underlying natural history. The first paragraph of chapter thirteen is especially well-suited to illustrate how Rudbeck's botanical explanations and the preceding emblem depend upon one another. The emblem, whose *lemma* "Cursu praetervehatur omnes" (It outdoes all other in running) echoes in the first lines, here serves as a point of departure into the prose text:

> Hoc multiplicandi genus ut est elegantissimum, ita etiam certissimum maximeque praecox. Nam admodum raro ramus vegetus et nitidus juste ablactatus non comprehendet intraque duorum vel trium ad summum annorum spatium fructus non portabit, ita ut istud merito gloriari possit, quod *cursu praetervehatur omnes*.[62]
>
> The same way this kind of propagation excels in elegance, it is also the safest and fastest method. For a green and flourishing twig that has been correctly weaned will fail so rarely to grow in and to bear fruit within a timespan of two or three years at most that this kind of propagation can deservedly be praised to *outdo all other in running*.

A final example illustrates how Rudbeck also effectively intervened at the visual level in adopting Camerarius's model of the emblem book for his dissertation. In chapter ten, he discusses propagation by circumposition (*propagatio per circumpositionem*), an antiquated method described by the Romans which

62 Drossander – Rudbeck, *Propagatio plantarum* 129.

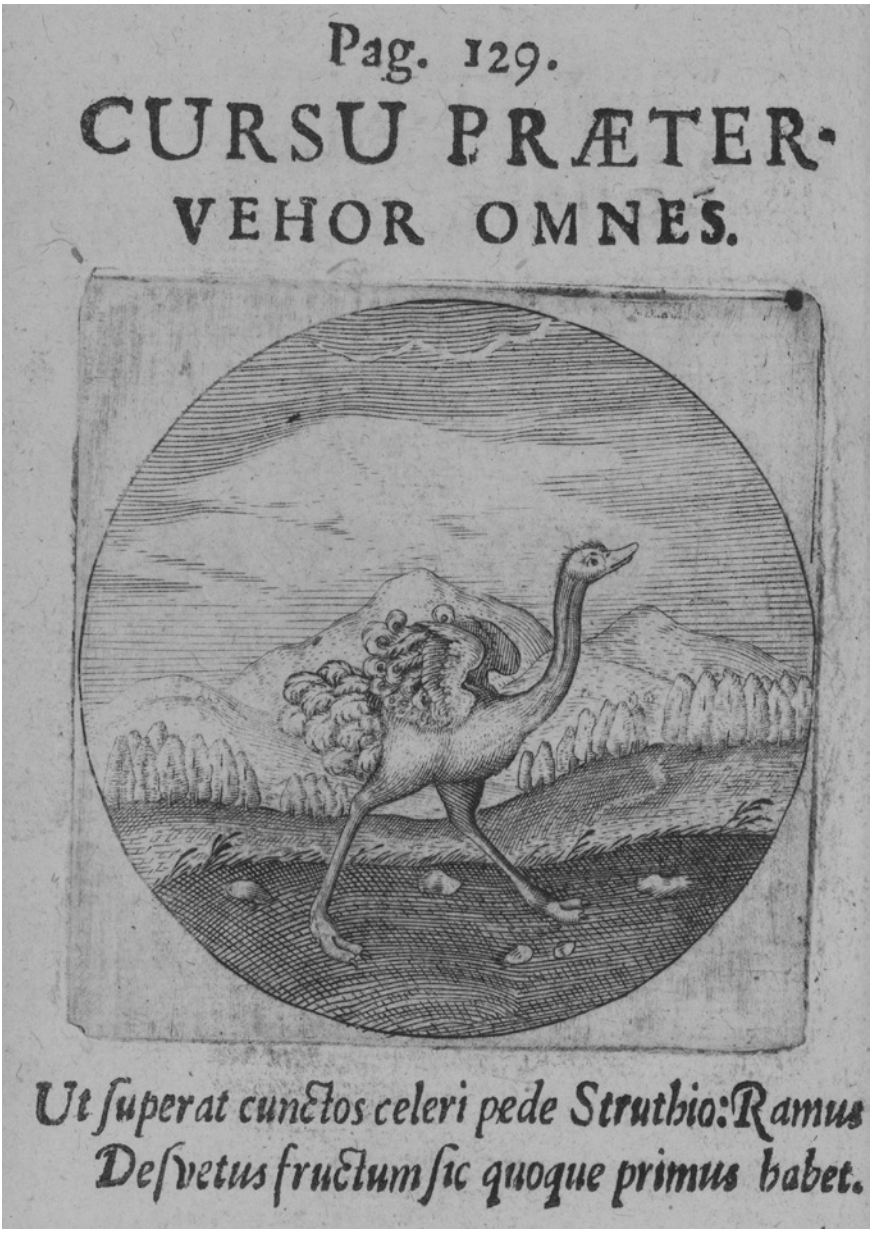

FIGURE 6.5 *Rudbeck*, Propagatio plantarum, *chapt. 13. Uppsala University Library* (*Cr 9: 576*).

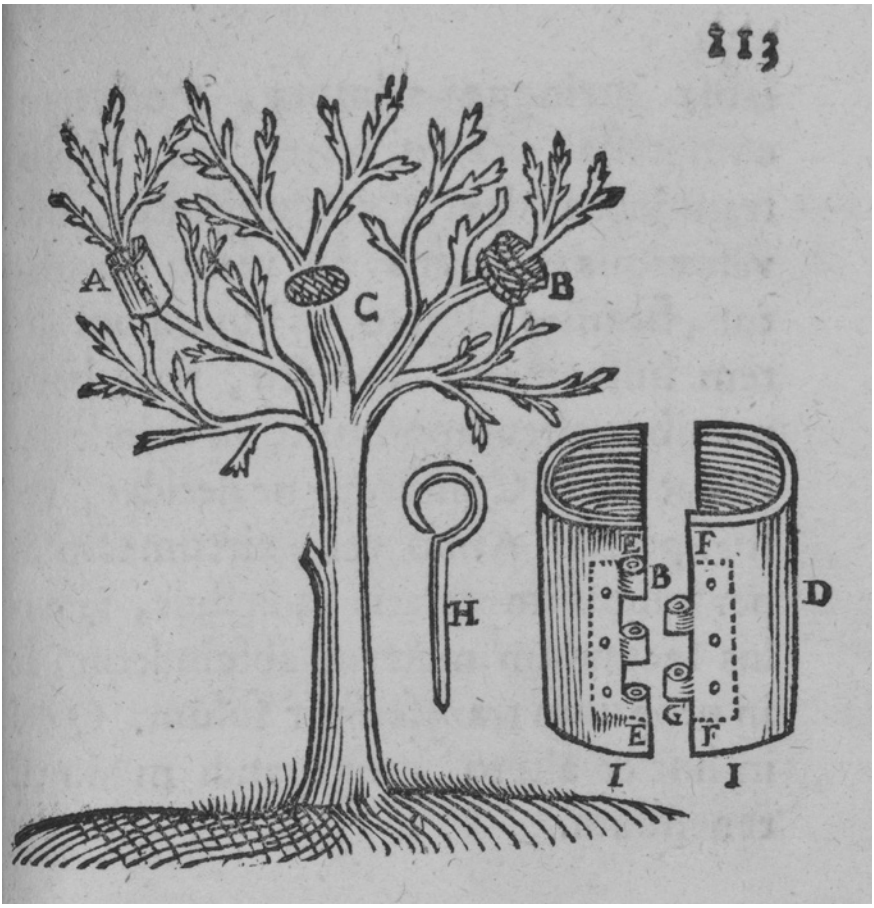

FIGURE 6.6 *Rudbeck*, Propagatio plantarum *113. Uppsala University Library* (*Cr 9: 576*).

Rudbeck calls obsolete.[63] As he explains, it requires the use of a tool, several versions of which are depicted in one of the woodcut diagrams [Fig. 6.6].

This instrument can take the form of a lockable wooden cylinder [A and D in Fig. 6.6], or a similarly shaped basket of wicker-work [B in Fig. 6.6]. After a cut is made into the tree, Rudbeck explains, these items are fastened around the wound and filled with humus to receive the new offshoots. After a year's time, the new sapling can be cut off and transferred to another place.[64] In the

63 Ibidem 111.

64 Ibidem 113–114.

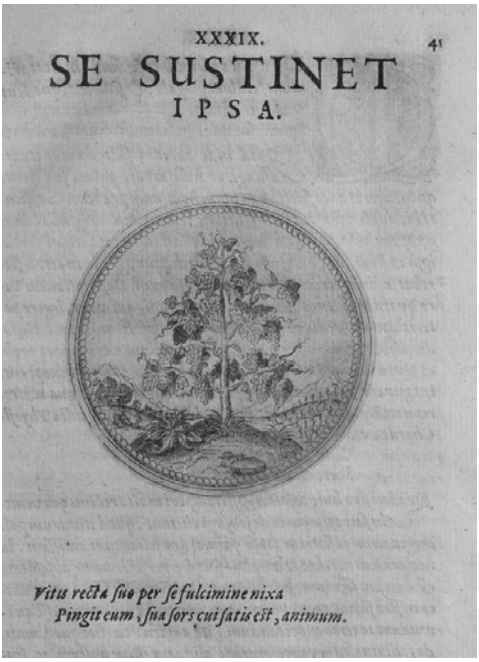

FIGURE 6.7
Joachim Camerarius the younger, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 39*.
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emblem at the opening of this chapter, we encounter the *lemma* of Camerarius's emblem I, 39 "Se sustinet ipsa" ("It sustains itself"). The corresponding *pictura* from Camerarius's botanical *Centuria* shows a healthy grapevine growing vertically without a supporting pole and bearing rich fruit [Fig. 6.7]. The *subscriptio* here reads 'Vitis recta suo per se fulcimine nixa / Pingit eum, sua sors cui satis est, animum' ('The upright grapevine that sustains itself through its own support illustrates that mind for which its own lot is enough'); thus highlighting the moral lesson to be learned from the lonely yet flourishing grapevine.

Comparison with this model reveals that Rudbeck retained both the *lemma* and the moral implications found in Camerarius, but combined them with an entirely new *pictura* and *subscriptio* for opening his chapter on propagation by circumposition. Under the *lemma* of I, 39 (the only remainder of Camerarius's invention) Rudbeck's emblem now shows a *pictura* of two hands emerging from a cloud [Fig. 6.8]. One of them holds the wicker-work cylinder described in the subsequent chapter and diagram [Fig. 6.6] around a branch, while the other one directly below cuts the branch with a sickle to harvest the new offshoot. The improvised *subscriptio* again highlights the moral implications of this botanical technique: 'Quisque a se pendet, proprio moderamine laetus. / Virga olim alterius iam sua facta manet' ('Whoever depends on himself,

FIGURE 6.8 *Rudbeck*, Propagatio plantarum, *chapt. 10. Uppsala University Library* (*Cr 9: 576*).

rejoices in his autonomy. A twig that once belonged to another tree now remains in possession of itself').[65]

Rudbeck's previous interpretor Felix Bryk insisted that the author must have copied this particular emblem from some unknown tradition of the *Centuriae* or rearranged pictorial elements of Camerarius's work.[66] A closer look at the hitherto neglected interaction between this emblem and the chapter's botanical content now reveals that Rudbeck clearly devised a tailor-made *pictura* for this chapter. Continuing to repurpose Camerarius's model to his own end, he produced an emblem perfectly in line with the *Centuriae* both visually (e.g. the hands are are an especially recurrent feature)[67] and with respect to the moral-didactic pattern of this genre. Moreover, the woodcut diagrams illustrating each propagation technique should also be understood for their role in buttressing the connection between each opening emblem and the subsequently described technique.[68]

By dexterously innovating upon Joachim Camerarius's model, Olof Rudbeck the Younger thus produced what has to be considered the first specimen of a printed emblem book in Sweden. A closer look at the social background reveals central factors leading to such a pioneering but also expensive enterprise. As Paula Findlen noted in her study of early modern naturalists in Italy, scholars 'naturally gravitated toward the study of objects with emblematic value' in their 'search of opportunities to communicate with princes'.[69] By emblematizing specific aspects of nature and connecting them to potentates, scholars could underscore the benefits of their studies for the rulers' prestige. Galileo Galilei (1564–1641), for example, named the Jupiter satellites he discovered after the house of Medici.

Rudbeck's dissertation and its dedicatory context provides evidence that similar strategies permeated Sweden in the second half of the seventeenth century. To these ends, Rudbeck's treatise clearly taps into the emblematic potential of his field of research. From his autobiographical account, we learn

65 Ibidem 117.

66 Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 71.

67 For the botanical book see e.g. *Centuria* I, emblems 21, 52, 57, 59, 68, 76, 80, and 84.

68 All chapters following the general introductions to the underlying plant physiology feature woodcut diagrams excluding cap. 7, for which Rudbeck explicitly deemed further illustrations unnecessary (see Drossander – Rudbeck, *Propagatio plantarum* 91).

69 Findlen P., *Possessing nature. Museums, collecting, and scientific culture in early modern Italy* (Berkeley et al.: 1994) 378: 'Princes were not drawn to natural philosophy or natural history for its content alone. Instead, they perceived it as a form of knowledge that magnified their power through its symbolic content'.

that the author paid considerably for the extraordinary pictorial features of his dissertation. The ensuing course of events indicates that this investment was a deliberate move anticipating the dedication of the work to the queen. As Rudbeck's autobiographical writings tell us, choosing the sumptous model of the emblem book would prove highly successful: In return for the lavishly decorated treatise on plant propagation, Ulrika Eleonora awarded Rudbeck the sum of 100 ducats.[70] In this dedicatory context, the dissertation's mechanisms for conveying knowledge must be considered superior to the usual scheme of a Latin dissertation: Its image-based approach to the natural sciences held significant didactic advantages, providing a visual incentive and points of entry into the textual content, as well as bridging critical language barriers.

This strategy not only applies to the various chapters on plant propagation, but can also be observed generally. As mentioned before, at the beginning of the treatise an emblem precedes the letter of dedication to Queen Ulrika Eleonora [Fig. 6.9]. Its function can be compared to that of frontispieces introducing readers and in particular patrons to works of natural history.[71] The emblem displays a column crowned by the queen's monogram and entwined with ivy leaves. Whereas the column's inscription reads 'Te stante' ('With you standing'), the leaves surrounding it form the word 'Virebo' ('I will flourish').

In a signature at the bottom of the page reading 'Olof Rudbeck, son of Olof, invented and engraved it' ('Olaus Rudb:[eckius] Ol:[ai] fil:[ius] / Inven:[it] et sculps:[it]'),[72] Rudbeck claims authorship of the emblem. However Bryk's conclusion—'only this [engraving, B.S.] is truly Rudbeckian' ('och blott detta [sc. kopparstick, B.S.] är äkta rudbeckianskt')—[73] is misleading. Comparison with major emblem books reveals that also in this case, Rudbeck rephrased an existing emblem to frame his treatise for royal dedication.[74] Both the text in the picture and its main pictorial components recall a design dating back more than a century.

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70 Related from Rudbeck's autobiographic text in Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 71.

71 For an introduction see Harms W., "Programmatisches auf Titelblättern naturkundlicher Werke der Barockzeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 12 (1978) 326–355; Harms W., "Zwischen Werk und Leser. Naturkundliche illustrierte Titelblätter des 16. Jahrhunderts als Ort der Vermittlung von Autor- und Leseerwartungen", in: Grenzmann L. – Stackmann K. (eds.), *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit* (Stuttgart: 1984) 427–461. See also Broberg G., "Natural History Frontispieces and Ecology", in Ellenius A. (ed.), *The Natural Sciences and the Arts. Aspects of Interaction from the Renaissance to the 20th Century. An International Symposium* (Uppsala: 1985) 84–97.

72 Drossander – Rudbeck, *Propagatio plantarum* [s.p.].

73 Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 71. Cf. Rudbeck J., *Bibliotheca Rudbeckiana* (Stockholm: 1918), 303.

74 *Pace* Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 71.

FIGURE 6.9 *Drossander – Rudbeck*, Propagatio plantarum [*s.p.*]. *Uppsala University Library* (*Sv. Diss. Ups. Drossander, A.*).

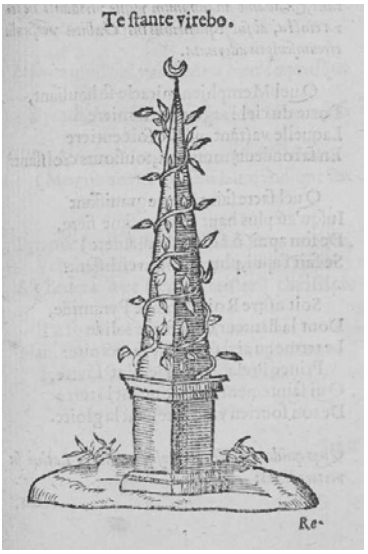


FIGURE 6.10
Claude Paradin, Symbola Heroica (*Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1567*) *75.*
© HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK WOLFENBÜTTEL
http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/p-407-12f-helmst-3s/start.htm?image=00075

An obelisk entwined by ivy leaves is already found in the wide-spread emblem books of Paradin, Ruscelli and others.[75] In Paradin, it is explicitly listed under the *lemma* "Te stante virebo" [Fig. 6.10] as early as the 1557 edition. This author attributed the emblem to Charles de Guise (1524–1574), better known from 1550 onwards as the Cardinal of Lorraine, and comments on its genesis.[76] The device originated as an obelisk featuring this inscription, which was erected in front of Reims Cathedral in homage to Henry II's (r. 1547–1559) coronation on July 25, 1547. This ceremony was officiated by Charles de Guise two days before his appointment as cardinal.[77]

75 Paradin Claude, *Devises heroïques* (Lyons, Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau: 1557) 72; Ruscelli G., *Le imprese illustri* […] (Venice: 1565) 158. For an overview see Henkel A. – Schöne A., *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: 1967) cols. 1222–1223. See also Praz M., *Studies in Seventeenth-century Imagery* (Rome: 1964) 95.

76 For an updated bibliography on this central figure of sixteenth century politics see Balsamo J. – Nicklas Th. – Restif B. (eds.), *Un prélat français de la Renaissance. Le cardinal de Lorraine entre Reims et l'Europe* (Geneva: 2015) 445–449.

77 On the cardinal's emblem and its origin see Karagiannis-Mazeaud E., "Images d'un homme illustre. Charles de Guise, cardinal de Lorraine (1524–1574)", in Dufief P.J. (ed.), *L'Écrivain et le grand homme* (Geneva: 2005) 65–86. On the coronation see de Conihout I., "Les reliures du Cardinal de Lorraine", in Balsamo – Nicklas – Restif (eds.), *Un prélat français* 348–361 (352).

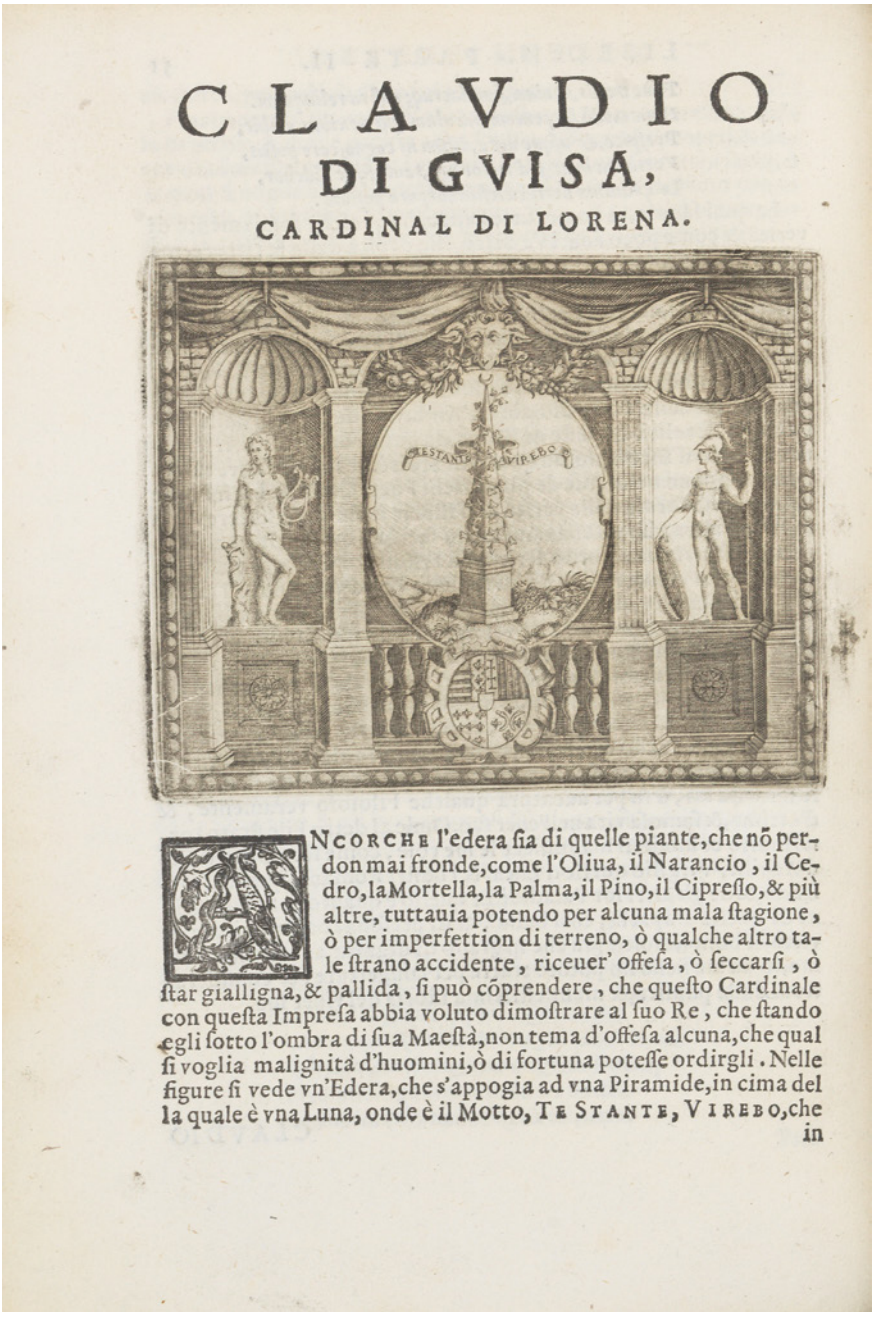
While the column had originally symbolized the king's support of Charles de Guise's career, already poets like Joachim du Bellay (1522–1560) cleverly modified its interpretation to suit their own interests: In compositions dedicated to the powerful prelate, the poet revisited the emblem as a symbol for the cardinal's patronage, explaining the ivy leaves as his own poetic fame prospering thanks to Charles de Guise's support.[78] The cardinal employed the emblem in numerous contexts—portraits, illuminated manuscripts, book-bindings etc.[79] It spread quickly through European emblem books and developed various versions, eventually appearing also in Camerarius's *Centuriae* [Fig. 6.12]. The model closest to Rudbeck's adaptation seems to be the version depicted in Ruscelli's *Imprese illustri*: Here, the *lemma* reading 'Te stante virebo' is included in the picture on a scroll waving around the top of the obelisk [Fig. 6.11].

With creative recourse to this tradition, Rudbeck tailored his dissertation's opening emblem to correspond exactly to the work's content and dedicatory intention. His central repurposing modification was to divide the motto, inscribing 'Te stante' on the column but imprinting the individual letters of 'Virebo' on single ivy leaves. By interchanging the crescent on top of the column (originally the device of Charles de Guise's patron King Henry II) with Ulrika Eleonora's personal monogram, the second person in the inscription 'Te stante' now unmistakably addresses the queen, thus symbolizing her support indeed similarly to the intention of emblem's original context in 1547. In consequence, the first person of 'virebo' turns the ivy growth into a symbol for the budding scholar who authored the treatise.

We may speculate that Rudbeck deliberately modified the emblem for the 'monograph' edition of his treatise to further enhance this symbolic message. In the original version, printed for the defence at Uppsala, the leaves forming the final letters of 'virebo' drop towards the columns pedestal [Fig. 6.9]. Yet in the variant of the emblem that is contained in most copies of treatise's second edition [Fig. 6.13], printed without the mandatory academic title page, these leaves instead continue to rise up towards Ulrika Eleonora's monogram. This intervention seems further to underscore the meaning of the queen's support

78 Du Bellay Joachim, *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. H. Chamard et al. (Paris: 1982–1985) 8, 45, 103–106: 'Quod si hederas inter nostras quoque serpere lauros, / Et me inter vates jusseris esse tuos: / Et nostrae cum hederis laurus te stante virebunt, / Et geminas frondeis Pyramis alta tenet'. Cf. Balsamo J., "'Celui qui rayonna le Concile de Trente de zèle, de vertu, d'industrie sçavante [...] l'Apollon des François'. Le Cardinal de Lorraine et les poètes", in Balsamo – Nicklas – Restif (eds.), *Un prélat français* 385–400 (393).

79 On the bindings see Conihout, "Les reliures", in particular [284], [285], 417 for the illustrations.



CLAVDIO
DI GVISA,
CARDINAL DI LORENA.

ANCORCHE l'edera ſia di quelle piante, che nõ perdon mai fronde, come l'Oliua, il Narancio, il Cedro, la Mortella, la Palma, il Pino, il Cipreſſo, & più altre, tuttauia potendo per alcuna mala ſtagione, ò per imperfettion di terreno, ò qualche altro tale ſtrano accidente, riceuer' offeſa, ò ſeccarſi, ò ſtar gialligna, & pallida, ſi può cõprendere, che queſto Cardinale con queſta Impreſa abbia voluto dimoſtrare al ſuo Re, che ſtando egli ſotto l'ombra di ſua Maeſtà, non tema d'offeſa alcuna, che qual ſi voglia malignità d'huomini, ò di fortuna poteſſe ordirgli. Nelle figure ſi vede vn'Edera, che s'appogia ad vna Piramide, in cima della quale è vna Luna, onde è il Motto, TE STANTE, VIREBO, che in

FIGURE 6.11 *Ruscelli G.*, Le imprese illustri (*Venice: 1572*) *f. 51 v. Uppsala University Library* (*Bokband 1500-t. Frankrike 11*).

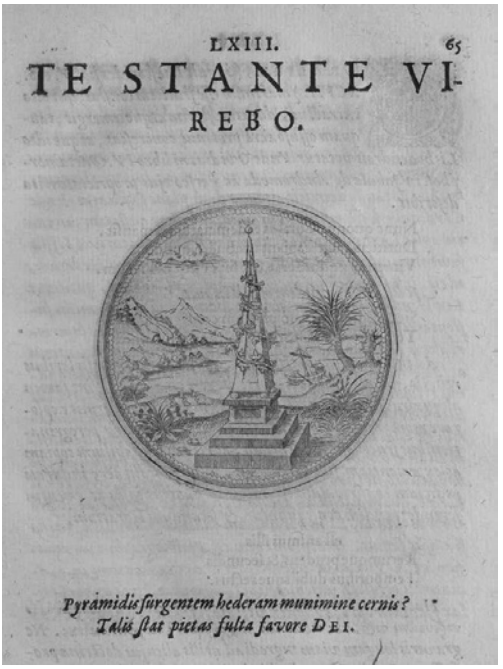


FIGURE 6.12
Joachim Camerarius the younger, Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera [...], *emblem no. 63.*
© HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK WOLFENBÜTTEL http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/18-6-eth/start.htm?image=00133

for the aspiring botanist and thus suggests that Rudbeck revised the opening emblem when preparing his dissertation's second edition, which he probably presented to the queen as well.[80]

Yet just as the programmatic interaction between Rudbeck's chapter emblems and subsequent botanical content has thus far escaped the attention of scholars, the opening emblem's key function as a visual introduction to the work's chief concerns has also gone unnoticed. A closer look at the letter of dedication to Ulrika Eleonora further reveals the programmatic qualities of the opening emblem. Initially, the author points out that a relaxing stroll

80 Rudbeck Olof, *Propagatio plantarum botanico-physica quam experientia et rationibus stabilitam, figuris aeneis exornatam, et huic nostro climati adcommodatam evulgat Olavus Rudbeck Olai filius* ([Uppsala], Henricus Curio: [1686]). Also the opening letter by the *praeses* underwent minor changes. Briefly on the two versions see Lindell, "En obeaktad variant". There exist however editions of the 'monographic' version that nevertheless include the emblem with the dropping ivy leaves; see e.g. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, BE.3.X.19. This may suggest that previously printed emblem sheets were still used in the second edition as long as their stock lasted. It is also noteworthy that the 'dropping ivy leaves' variant was also pasted into the handwritten translation produced on the queen's request after the successful audience (see n. 84).

FIGURE 6.13 *Rudbeck*, Propagatio plantarum [*s.p.*]. *Uppsala University Library* (*Cr 9:576*).

through nature may enable the queen to witness the great variety and delight of plants. These plants, Rudbeck continues, can not only be reproduced, but also changed in their qualities through the various techniques described in his treatise. They enable, for instance, changing the taste of fruit (a concern that would spark polemic discussions during the aforementioned efforts to save viniculture in Europe in the nineteenth century) or turning an edible plant into an emetic or narcotic medicament. Furthermore, nature can be influenced by human skill (*ars*) to a degree that allows bringing forth multiple colours in plants that originally were of a single colour.[81] Continuing in this line of thought, Rudbeck presents a botanical vision to his royal dedicatee that reads like a commentary on his emblematic frontispiece:

> Regarding the variety of their colours, human skill will eventually imitate and emulate nature so perfectly that nothing will be left to be desired. It would even surpass nature, if we were only able to decorate plants with indelible and never perishing signs in the same way as we are able to colour them; because this way, o most clement queen, human skill could forever spread your praise and your virtues with the help of plants and could mark them with the most pleasant and splendid name 'Ulrika'. For what could be more praiseworthy in flowers than to bring forth from the earth this title; this sign as something that bursts forth together with them, and to provide such a splendor to your merits, which have manifested in these flowers as always boundless and continuously regal? What could be more fitting than putting down this name in flowery letters, since you yourself flourish through your tremendous knowledge of literature, and favour the literati through the amazing gifts of your mind? What could thus be more pleasant to the farmer than beholding his queen in a flower, whose face shines through most beautiful flowers, that is by her clemency and every adornment of loveliness?[82]

81 This topic reappears for example in Drossander – Rudbeck, *Propagatio plantarum* cap. 7, § 6–8.

82 Drossander – Rudbeck, *Propagatio plantarum*, [s.p.]: 'In quorum [sc. colorum varietate, B.S.] postremo tam perfecte naturam ars imitabitur aemulabiturque, ut nihil supra; imo superatura esset, si ut eas colorare licet, liceret quoque notis indelibibus ac numquam perituris exornare; quippe tuas tum laudes, regina clementissima, virtutesque tuas aeternum per eas promulgaret et jucundissimo splendidissimoque Udalricae nomine insigniret. Quid namque floribus laudabilius quam hunc titulum, hoc insigne e tellure una secum erumpentia ferre talemque nitorem tuis meritis, quae in ipsos immensa semper et prorsus regia extiterunt, reddere? Quid convenientius, quam hoc nomen floreis literis mandare, cum ipsa insigni floreas literatura et miris animi dotibus foveas literatos? Quid

This kind of visual language continues throughout the remaining part of the letter of dedication. Concluding, Rudbeck asks Ulrika Eleonora to kindly accept his own flowers, i.e. the treatise he places at her feet. Moreover, he asks her to pardon him for gaining support through her royal column, 'juxta quam immobilis ubique TE STANTE stabo, TE SUFFULCIENTE virebo' ('next to which I will always stand firm with you standing; will flourish with you supporting').[83]

In the passage addressing Queen Ulrika Eleonora quoted above, Rudbeck pitches the subject of plant propagation to the queen by illustrating its panegyric potential, i.e. its power to spread her royal fame by producing flowers marked with the queen's first name: By breeding letters into the plants, their leaves or petals would remind all generations to come of her virtue and clemency. This line of thought, which underlies the lettered ivy leaves forming 'Virebo', is the key to the opening emblem of Rudbeck's dissertation. In consequence, the emblem must be described as a didactically, aesthetically and panegyrically effective visual introduction to his Latin treatise.

Eventually, the effort and resources Rudbeck the Younger invested to fashion his dissertation as an emblem book paid off, and not only financially. It appears that the didactic and visual advantages of this genre successfully raised the queen's interest in his botanical subject, as well: Following the presentation, Ulrika Eleonora insisted on a translation of Rudbeck's entire treatise into Swedish.[84] Apart from the frontispiece emblem pasted into the book,[85] the extant manuscript translation of the treatise on plant propagation, further refined for the royal context with ornate scripture and the less awe-inspiring title *Een lijten trägårdzbook* (*A little gardenbook*), abandons the pictorial elements of the Latin copies. We may assume that the dissertation's original character as an emblem book must have been too difficult to uphold and convey in the vernacular.[86]

Nevertheless, we can conclude from the queen's request that the emblematic features of the Latin treatise effectively helped to spark her interest in botanical matters during the short span of the audience. Similar cases can be adduced in which other scholars also relied on emblematic strategies to pitch

praeterea colono jucundius quam reginam in flore conspicere, cujus os floribus pulcherrimis, hoc est clementia et omni gratiarum decore, renidet?'.

83 Drossander – Rudbeck, *Propagatio plantarum*, [s.p.].

84 Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 71.

85 Cf. n. 80.

86 The Swedish translation is conserved at Uppsala, University Library, N 561.

FIGURE 6.14 *Rudbeck the Younger*, Een lijten trägårdzbook, *fols. 1v–2r. Uppsala University Library* (*N 561*).

their Latin treatises to Queen Ulrika Eleonora.[87] By activating the model of the emblem book, Rudbeck facilitated the process of conveying his central ideas, which, as we may assume, the queen would have been highly unlikely to follow if delivered in the usual yet comparatively inaccessible form of an academic dissertation. On such grounds, we may conclude that Rudbeck's dissertation also marks an important waypoint in establishing the emblem in Sweden as a visual intermediary between a royal dedicatee and the world of Latin scholarship. For Rudbeck's subsequent Grand Tour through the centres of European learning—an enterprise for which his father had gained the support of Queen Christina in his own time—it must have been a great advantage that the young botanist had already been successful in kindling the monarch's interest in his scientific aspirations.

87 A study of Ulrika Eleonora as recipient of academic gifts still remains to be written. For a similar case from 1693 involving the Kiel physician and polymath Johann Daniel Major see my forthcoming monograph (see n. 12).

In revisiting Olof Rudbeck the Younger's *On the propagation of plants*, this study has provided new insight into the didactic, panegyric and dedicatory role emblems played in late seventeenth-century Sweden. At the same time, it highlights a new episode in the extensive history of reception and creative modification of Camerarius's *Centuriae*.[88] By close-reading Rudbeck's adaptation of this model, we can pinpoint the comparatively late moment when the emblem book's mode of organising natural history was activated in Sweden to produce its first work of this kind in print. Stylizing his botanical observations according to this model, Rudbeck evoked the 'emblematic world view' so prominent in the earlier works of late Renaissance naturalists at a point in time when this perspective was already waning in the rest of Europe.[89] Yet through both his father's work and his own later publications, this perspective would have a late revival in Sweden, which can be traced as far as the young Carolus Linnaeus.[90]

First and foremost, however, resorting to Camerarius's model must be considered a dedicatory strategy that Rudbeck pursued right from the beginning. By bridging the language barrier, the adeptly transposed and/or modified emblems from the *Centuriae* provided the queen a visual point of access to the dissertation's botanical elaborations. Inventions like these could be—and in Rudbeck's case probably were—decisive for presenting dedicatory gifts to promising patrons. It remains for further studies to demonstrate the degree to which this manoeuvre should be considered a unique case in the Swedish context.[91] As to Rudbeck's continuing biography, his dissertation can doubtlessly be interpreted as a successful start to his academic career. Cultivating his relationships with powerful patrons, the budding scholar would continue to climb the steps towards a full professorship in Uppsala, a post he finally obtained soon after his father's death in 1702. The rising ivy tendril in the opening emblem thus indeed announces the flourishing career that developed from the seeds of 1686, when Rudbeck the Younger successfully dedicated Sweden's first printed emblem book to Ulrika Eleonora.

88 For an introduction to Camerarius's *Nachleben* see with numerous examples Papy, "Joachim Camerarius" 221–224; Harms – Kuecher, "Einführung" 29*–36*

89 Cf. Ashworth, "Natural History".

90 See Schirg, "Phoenix going bananas" 36–42.

91 Later Swedish authors also drew on Camerarius's emblems; see for example the case of Erik Geringius (1707–1747) mentioned in Bryk, "Kopparsticken" 72.

Appendix: Overview Over the Emblems Preceding Rudbeck's Fourteen Chapters on Plant Propagation

cap. 1: "De tempore propagationis" ("On the right time for propagation")

lemma: "Cunctando proficit" ("It advances by hesitating")
pictura: a tree full of leaves at the center, a cut tree on the left
subscriptio: 'Festinare nocet, nocet et cunctatio saepe. / Tempore quaeque suo qui facit, ille sapit' ('It's detrimental to make haste, and hesitation, too, is often detrimental. He is wise who does everything in its time').
Camerarius: replication of *Centuria* I, 2
Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: The emblem visualizes the concept of opportunity, which is described as crucial for successful plant propagation.

cap. 2: "De generatione aequivoca" ("On equivocal generation")

lemma: "Solum a sole" ("The soil [receives its fertility, B.S.] from the sun")[92]
pictura: a citrus tree bearing ripe fruit with the sun in the background
subscriptio: 'Quodque suo locuples est munere pluribus orbum / (Tam varium solis vis facit alma) solum' ('Whatever soil brings forth rich fruit, though destitute of many things—the nourishing power of the sun alters it so profoundly').
Camerarius: replication of *Centuria* I, 29
Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: The emblem alludes to the power of the sun, whose warmth plays a central role in generating life, as is described in this chapter.

cap. 3: "De propagatione per semen" ("On propagation through seeds")

lemma: "Non metentis sed serentis" ("They don't belong to the one harvesting, but to the one sowing")
pictura: bushels of harvested corn on a field
subscriptio: 'Pigra facesse manus plenam ne collige messem! / Commoda frumenti qui petit, ille serat' ('Oh lazy hand, do not steal a full harvest! He who desires the advantages of crops let him sow').
Camerarius: replication of *Centuria* I, 78
Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: The emblem's focus on sowing as a prerequisite for a good harvest is reflected in this extensive chapter on seeding techniques.

92 The brevity of the *lemma* allows the translation 'Only from the sun'. This underscores the crucial importance of this celestial body equally well.

cap. 4: "De vegetatione seminum" ("On the germinating of seeds")

lemma: "Spes altera vitae" ("A second hope for life")[93]

pictura: kernels falling from ripe heads to the bone-littered ground

subscriptio: 'Securus moritur, qui scit se morte renasci. / Non ea mors dici, sed nova vita potest' ('He dies in safety who knows that he is reborn in death. This cannot be called death, but new life').

Camerarius: replication of *Centuria* I, 100

Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: The chapter deals with the development of the germinating seed and with the conditions under which the sprout can rise from the earth to new life.

cap. 5: "De nutrimento plantarum" ("On the nutrition of plants")

lemma: "Nempe arbos unde rigetur" ("For it makes a difference by whom the tree is watered")[94]

pictura: Mercury pouring water into an amphora from which a tree grows

subscriptio: 'Interierit multum quis nostros irriget hortos, / Ac mens nostra dei qua foveatur ope' ('It will make a big difference who waters our gardens and with what kind of support from god our mind is favoured').

Camerarius: replication of *Centuria* I, 2

Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: The chapter elaborates on the impact different kinds and qualities of water have on plants.

cap. 6: "De propagatione per viviradices" ("On propagation through cut roots")

lemma: "Modo vita supersit" ("If life but remains")[95]

pictura: a beaver pursued by two dogs gnaws off its testicles

subscriptio: 'Ut vivat, castor sibi testes amputat ipse. / Quae modo pars nocuit, fertilis arbor erit' ('The beaver amputates his own testicles in order to live. That part that has only done harm will be a fertile tree').

Camerarius: Textual modification of *Centuria* II, 92. The original *subscriptio* reads 'Ut vivat, castor sibi testes amputat ipse. / Tu quoque, si qua nocent, abjice:

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93 Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid VI–XII*, ed. and transl. R. Fairclough / rev. G.P. Goold (Cambridge MA: 2000), 312 (*Aeneid* XII, 168): 'et iuxta Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae'.

94 This translation corresponds more to the picture depicting the person of a god. At the same time, the Latin *unde* can also translate as *whence*, which relates more to the chapter's elaborations on various types of water and their effect.

95 Cf. Virgil, *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid I–VI*, ed. and tr. Fairclough R. / rev. Goold G.P. (Cambridge MA: 1999) 176 (*Georgics* III, 10–11): 'primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit, / Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas'.

tutus eris.' ('The beaver amputates his own testicles in order to live. You, too, get rid of whatever does you harm, and you will be safe').
Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: The chapter describes how unneccessary offshoots developing from the roots, which only divert nourishing liquids away from the main stem, can be cut and used to raise independent plants.

cap. 7: "De propagatione per frusta radicum et appendices bulborum" ("On propagation through root cuttings and offshoots of the bulbs")
lemma: "Nec caesus cedam" ("Even if struck I do not fall")
pictura: a dog attacking the tail of a lion
subscriptio: 'Numquam, caesa licet, linquit canis Inda leonem. / Nec radix vitam linquere caesa solet' ('The Indian bitch, although wounded, never lets go of the lion. Also the root that has been cut usually does not let go of life').
Camerarius: Textual modification of *Centuria* II, 7. The *subscriptio* here reads 'Numquam, caesa licet, linquit canis Inda leonem. / Nec, licet accisus, facta decora bonus' ('The Indian bitch, even if wounded, never lets go of the lion. Also the good man, even if weakened, does not let go of decent deeds')
Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: As the chapter explains, bigger bulbs can be duplicated by cutting them in half (§ 5).

cap. 8: "De propagatione per ramos" ("On propagation through branches")
lemma: "Triumphali e stipite surgens" ("Rising from a triumphal stem")
pictura: cut branches of laurel falling to the ground
subscriptio: 'Hoc monet annoso lauri ortus stipite ramus: / Magnis natus avis non nisi magna paret' ('This is the message to be learned from the twig that originated from an old laurel stem: He who descends from great fathers only brings forth grand things').
Camerarius: replication of *Centuria* I, 28
Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: The laurel counts among the trees that can be propagated using this technique (see § 3).

cap. 9: "De propagatione per submersionem" ("On propagation through submersion")
lemma: "Mersus ut emergam" ("I am submerged to emerge")
pictura: a water bird in a pond emerging from the water with spread wings
subscriptio: 'Mergitur, ut liquidis emergat fluctibus, anser. / Hic quoque quam subiit, ramulus exit humo' ('The goose dives to emerge again from the limpid waves. Here, too, the tiny branch exits the ground which it entered').
Camerarius: Textual modification of *Centuria* III, 56. Here the *subscriptio* reads 'Non raro mediis vir fortis mergitur undis / Adversae sortis, nec tamen obruitur'

('Not infrequently is the brave man submerged in the waves of an adverse fate, and still he is not overwhelmed').

Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: Both the bird of the *pictura* and the plant propagated through this technique re-emerge following submersion.

cap. 10: "De propagatione per circumpositionem" ("On propagation through circumposition")

lemma: "Se sustinet ipsa" ("It sustains itself")

pictura: two hands emerging from a cloud, one of them cutting a branch with a sickle, the other holding a braided ring over it encircling the same branch

subscriptio: 'Quisque a se pendet, proprio moderamine laetus. / Virga olim alterius iam sua facta manet' ('Whoever depends on himself, rejoices over his autonomy. A twig that once belonged to another tree now remains in possession of itself'.

Camerarius: Textual and pictorial modification of *Centuria* I, 39. Here the *subscriptio* reads 'Quisque a se pendet, proprio moderamine laetus. / Virga olim alterius iam sua facta manet' ('Whoever depends on himself, rejoices in his autonomy. A twig that once belonged to another tree now remains in possession of itself'. On the original *pictura* see the preceding article.

Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: The method describes how to produce an independent tree.

cap. 11: 'De propagatione per insitionem' ('On propagation through grafting into incisions in a trunk')

lemma: 'Prospiciente deo' ('With god's provision')

pictura: fresh shoots growing from an old trunk

subscriptio: 'Si faveat coelum, bene surculus arbore crescet. / Si faveat numen, tu quoque magnus eris' ('If favoured by the skies, the sprout will grow well on the tree. If favoured by God, you, too, will be great.').

Camerarius: replication of *Centuria* I, 3

Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: The chapter describes the transfer of shoots onto a new trunk.

cap. 12: "De propagatione per delibrationem" ("On propagation through grafting between the bark")

lemma: "Fovet quae non peperit" ("It fosters what it has not born")[96]

pictura: a partridge arranging eggs on the ground; another one brooding in the background

96 Cf. n. 60.

subscriptio: 'Quae sunt alterius perdix illa incubat ova. / In se sic arbor non sua poma gerit' ('The partridge hatches the eggs of another bird. The same way, the tree does not bear its own fruit on itself')
Camerarius: Textual modification of *Centuria* III, 68. Here the subscriptio reads 'Quae sunt alterius perdix illa incubat ova, / Quasque alius peperit, possidet alter opes' ('The partridge hatches the eggs of another bird, and the riches produced by one person are owned by someone else').
Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: The described method involves an alien branch that is sustained by another tree.

cap. 13: "De propagatione per ablactationem" ("On propagation through weaning")
lemma: "Cursu praetervehor omnia" ("I surpass everything in the race")
pictura: a running ostrich
subscriptio: 'Ut superat cunctos celeri pede struthio, ramus / Desuetus fructum sic quoque primus habet' ('Just as the ostrich defeats everybody with his swift foot, so the weaned twig, too, bears fruit first').
Camerarius: Textual modification of *Centuria* III, 17. Here the *subscriptio* reads 'Quantumvis humilis, cursu tamen anteit omnes / Struthio. Sic virtus quolibet alta loco est' ('Although humble, the ostrich precedes all others in the race. The same way, virtue excels in any given place').
Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: The speed with which this method leads to success is emphasised.

cap. 14: "De propagatione per inoculationem" ("On propagation through ingrafting of a bud")
lemma: "Et parvis sua vis" ("Also the small things have their strength")[97]
pictura: a small bird pecking the back of the donkey trampling its home
subscriptio: 'Parvula, quae de asino vindictam sumit, acanthis / Vim magnam et parvis rebus inesse monet' ('The small goldfinch that takes vengeance on the donkey teaches that there is great strength inherent to small things').
Camerarius: replication of *Centuria* II, 75
Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: A comparatively small intervention leads to great success with this method.

97 The printed word appears closer to *suavis* than *sua vis* in Rudbeck's treatise. Note that Camerarius has *suavius* in the 1661 edition, while the first edition of this *Centuria* (1595) clearly has *sua vis*. As Rudbeck never alters the *lemma* of Camerarius and *suavis* is a problematic reading, we may conclude that *sua vis* is indeed the intended spelling.

concluding emblem (cap. 14, § 5)

lemma: "Et voluisse sat est" ("It is also enough to have wanted")[98]
pictura: a falcon with covered head rising to the sky
subscriptio: 'Saepius excelsis tenuis res officit ausis, / Et tamen attollit mens generosa caput' ('Quite often a small matter opposes bold ventures, and still the generous mind rises its head above').
Camerarius: replication of *Centuria* III, 31
Interrelation with Rudbeck's text: The final paragraph ends with an apostrope to the author 'I felix: Nam voluisse sat est' ('Leave happily, for it is enough to have wanted').

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98 Cf. Propertius, *Elegies*, ed. and transl. George P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: 2006) 150, eleg. II, 10, 6: 'In magnis et voluisse sat est'.

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CHAPTER 7

Tradition and Empirical Observation—Nature in Giovio's and Symeoni's *Dialogo Dell' Imprese* from 1574*

Maren C. Biederbick

Impresa, Device, Emblem

The Italian word *impresa*—'device' in English, 'devise' in French—represents a certain type of emblem.[1] After the first publications of Andrea Alciato's groundbreaking *Emblematum libellus* (1531 ff.), emblems were generally conceived as 'symmedial' compositions of images and texts[2] which apply symbolical meanings to the images, and often have a tripartite structure comprising an *inscriptio*, *lemma*, or *motto*; a *pictura* or icon; and a *subscriptio*.[3] Before Alciato, the term 'emblema' was used for nearly two centuries in the context of princely disguises, alongside coats of arms, and in the form of a figural sign, a motto, a certain colour, or the initial of a name.[4] Since the mid-14th century, devices—*devises* in French—had been figural signs summarizing, as a genus,

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1 Scholz B.F., *Emblem und Emblempoetik. Historische und systematische Studien*, Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft—Wuppertaler Schriften 3 (Berlin: 2002) 170: 'Ausdrücklich wird aber in einer *divisio emblematum* unterschieden zwischen dem Emblem im allgemeinen Sinn, d.h. *‚emblema'* als *generalissimum nomen*, und einer ebenfalls '*emblema*' genannten besonderen *species.*' ('In a *divisio emblematum* an explicit differentiation is accomplished between an emblem in the general way of thinking, i.e. '*emblema*' as *generalissimum nomen*, and a certain *species* equally named *'emblema*'.').

2 Scholz, *Emblem und Emblempoetik* 37, 40 and 289.

3 Heckscher W.S. – Wirth K.-A., "Emblem – Emblembuch", in Heydenreich L.H. – Wirth K.-A. (eds.), *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 10 vols. (Stuttgart: 1967) vol. v, 95. Scholz, *Emblem und Emblempoetik* 30–32 and 34–35.

4 Erffa H.M. von, "Kommentar", in Monroy E.F.v., *Embleme und Emblembücher in den Niederlanden 1560–1630. Eine Geschichte der Wandlungen ihres Illustrationsstils*, Bibliotheca Emblematica 2, ed. H.M.v. Erffa (Utrecht: 1964) 71. Scholz, *Emblem und Emblempoetik* 289. Giordano L., *Il Borgo e il Castello*, Costruire la città. La dinastia visconteo-sforzesca e Vigevano 4 (Vigevano: 2013) 105.

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what appeared ephemeral on occasional festivities, or persistent on the shirts of liveries, the supporters of coats of arms, the collar necklaces of orders, and the pin buttons of badges.[5] Such devices served as markers of talismanic properties and to distinguish identity in military formations.[6] As a sign of an order, for instance, the *Order of the Garter* or the *Ordre des Chevaliers de l'Estoile*, royals wore them to represent the 'fraternal bonds between themselves and the members of these orders, upon whose financial and political support they depended'.[7] By the mid-15th century, the word 'device' received a second meaning: it became a synonym for *emprise—impresa* in Italian—one of the subcategories of the genus.[8]

In the 12th century, the word *emprise* originally meant a chivalric enterprise or project, like a votive action in courtly culture dedicated, e.g., to a king or a lady. However, in the process of the vulgarization of princely devices during the 15th century, the device's original function as a sign of personal identity was attenuated and was subsequently replaced to serve as an expression for a state of mind or virtue.[9] This new *impresa* consisted of allegoric compositions of metaphors, which were charged with the common knowledge of bestiaries and humanist ideals stemming from sources from antiquity. The new sign elucidated the character of a person on the reverse side of medal portraits, which were minted in honour of certain occasions or in commemoration.[10] An

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5 Slanička S., *Krieg der Zeichen. Die visuelle Politik Johanns ohne Furcht und der armagnakisch-burgundische Bürgerkrieg*, Veröffentlichung des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 182 (Göttingen: 2002) 33. Hablot L., "La devise, un nouvel emblème pour les princes du XV^{e} siècle", in Taburet-Delahaye E. (ed.), *La création artistique en France autour de 1400*, Rencontres de l'École du Louvre 19 (Paris: 2006) 179.

In 1366, Louis de Bourbon first mentioned the term, when he said: 'je porterai pour devise une seinture ou il y aura escript ung jouyeulx mot: Espérance'—('I will take as a device a belt, upon which will be written a delightful word: Hope'); Oronville Jean 'Cabaret' d', *Chronique du bon duc Loy de Bourbon*, ed. A.-M. Chazaud (Paris: 1876) 8, quoted after: Hablot L., *La devise, mise en signe du prince, mise en scène du pouvoir. Les devises et l'emblématique des princes en France et en Europe à la fin du Moyen Age,* vol. 1, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Poitiers: 2001) 18.

6 Russell D.S., *The Emblem and the Device in France*, French Forum Monographs 59 (Lexington: 1985), 24 and 26. Lippincott K., "The Genesis and Significance of the Fifteenth-Century Italian *Impresa*", in Anglo S. (ed.), *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge: 1990) 55.

7 Russell, *The Emblem and the Device* 26. Lippincott, "Genesis and Significance" 60.

8 Russell D.S., "The Device and the Mirror", in Bolzoni L. – Volterrani S. (eds.), *Con parola brieve e con figura. Emblemi e imprese fra antico e moderno* (Pisa: 2008) 5.

9 Russell, *The Emblem and the Device* 27–28. Hablot, *La devise* vol. 1, 34 and 38.

10 Russell, *The Emblem and the Device* 26 and 30. The first of these medals was created by Pisanello in 1438; Paravicini W., *Die ritterlich-höfische Kultur des Mittelalters*, Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte 32 (Munich: 2011) 15–16.

impresa was thereby used by whoever needed to promote himself or herself in the convention of what it signified.[11]

The discovery of Horapollo's hieroglyphs in 1419 and, in particular, the publication of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* in 1499 enhanced the popularity of riddle imagery, which could be read in the same way as one would read a canting arms. Inventing *imprese* became a game in the early 16th century; however, these signs would still often convey serious messages, which demonstrates that these signs were not simply for amusement.[12]

Alciato himself, at least as he wanted to have it in the preface to his *Emblematum libellus*, maintained that his emblems could be used for the production of hat jewellery, i.e. device-like badges or brooches, designed not only for noble men, but for patricians as well.[13] Later collections of devices, such as Guillaume de La Perrière's *Le theatre des bons engin*s from 1535 or Claude Paradin's *Devises Heroiques* from 1551, were very much influenced by Alciato's emblem book. However, Paradin, unlike Alciato, did not invent fresh motives because he described the emblem's use and purposes as devices in accordance with already existing motives of famous personalities. In general, composers of emblems or devices did not suppose that a certain image could only have one symbolic meaning.[14] The meaning of a certain image may vary from emblem to emblem,[15] a feature that contributed to the enigmatic character of emblems and *imprese*. Because of this and other reasons 'emblem', 'impresa', and 'device' were used as synonyms. Emblem books in the proper sense of the word, such as the 1549 Italian translation of Alciato's *Emblematum libellus* work, were published under the title of *imprese* (Alciato, 1549: *Diverse imprese*), and the *imprese* and devices, collected e.g. by Paolo Giovio (1483–1552) in his *Dialogo* or by Gabriele Symeoni (1509–1575), were occasionally called 'personal emblems' and 'emblematic symbols'.[16]

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11 Klein R., *La théorie de l'expression figurée dans les traités italiens sur les 'Imprese' 1555–1612* (1957), reprint in Klein R., *La forme est l'intelligible. Écrits sur la Renaissance et l'art moderne*, ed. A. Chastel (Paris: 1970; reprint, Paris: 1983) 126 and 133.

12 Russell, *The Emblem and the Device* 70.

13 Scholz, *Emblem und Emblempoetik* 20, 28–30, 34. Hablot, "La devise, un nouvel emblème" 186.

14 Gombrich E., "Icones Symbolicae. The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948) 163.

15 Russell D.S., *Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture* (Toronto: 1995) 238. Scholz, *Emblem und Emblempoetik* 26–27.

16 Drysdall D.L., "Devices as 'Emblems' before 1531", in *Emblematica. An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies* 16 (2008) 264.

The *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose*—Printing History and Content Structure

Giovio's *Dialogo* of 1551 may be regarded as a kind of courtly appendix to his historiographical works, the *Historiae* and *Vitae*.[17] For this work, he chose the vernacular, and the dialogue as literary form.[18] In reference to the competitive discourse between France and Italy, and concerning the origin of common cultural achievements, Giovio first sketched the historical development of *impresa*, from the crests in the war of Thebes to emperor medals in Roman antiquity, and to Arthurian literature.[19] He acknowledged the English-French influence but similarly pointed out Italy's independent *imprese* tradition.[20] As a basis for further judgement of their quality, he then set up five conditions in his *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* that needed to be fulfilled by an *impresa*:

> Prima, giusta proportione d'anima & di corpo; Seconda, ch'ella non sia oscura, di sorte, c' habbia mistero della Sibilla per interprete a volerla intendere; ne tanto chiara, ch'ogni plebeo l'intenda; Terza, che sopra tutto habbia bella vista, laqual si fa riuscire molto allegra, entrandoui stelle, Soli, Lune, fuoco, acqua, arbori verdeggianti, instrumenti mecanici, animali bizzarri, & uccelli fantastichi. Quarta non ricerca alcuna forma humana. Quinta richiede il motto, che è l'anima del corpo, & vuole essere communemente d'una lingua diuersa dall'Idioma di colui, che fa l'impresa, perche il sentimento sia alquanto più coperto: vuole anco essere breue: ma non tanto, che si faccia dubbioso; di sorte che di due ò tre parole quadra benißimo, eccetto se fusse in forma di verso, ò intero, ò spezzato.[21]

17 Doglio M.L., "Introduction", in Giovio Paolo, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose*, ed. M.L. Doglio, Biblioteca del Cinquecento 4 (Rome: 1978) 9. Caldwell D., "The 'Paragone' between Word and Image in 'Impresa' Literature", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000) 279. Maffei S., "'Iucundissimi emblemi di pitture'. Le imprese del Museo di Paolo Giovio a Como", in Bolzoni L. – Volterrani S. (eds.), *Con parola brieve e con figura. Emblemi e imprese fra antico e moderno* (Pisa: 2008) 172.

18 Caldwell D., *The Sixteenth-Century Italian 'Impresa' in Theory and Practice* (New York: 2004) 6–7.

19 Giovio Paolo, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* (Lyons, Guillaume Rouille: 1574) 9–10.

20 In his youth, Giovio had a fondness, which was common at the time, for medieval chivalric romances; Zimmermann T.C.P., *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crises of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton: 1995) 6.

21 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 12.

> First, fair proportion of soul and body. Second, that it should not be so cryptic, in a way that a Sybil's riddle needs an interpreter to be understood, nor should it be so plain that common folk could understand it. Third, above all, it should be nice to look at, which can be achieved easily by incorporating stars, suns, moons, fire, water, green trees, mechanical instruments, bizarre animals, and fabulous birds. Fourth, it should never have a human figure. Fifth, it requires a motto, which is the soul of the body and which should usually be written in a language that is different from that of the person who is creating the *impresa*, as the thought behind it would be more concealed this way.[22] In addition, the motto should be short, but not so short that it is unclear. In the way that two or three words convey the message very well, except if the motto is given in one verse line, or part of it.

Giovio differentiates *imprese* from other types of device. To him *insignia*, like single mottos, initials, and figures, are not to be taken as *imprese*. He claims that *imprese* must rather consist of both *corpo* and *anima*.[23] Giovio continuously applies this idea in two different ways: on one hand, in order to convey the body as *causa materialis* or *res significans* and the soul as *causa formalis* or *res significata* of an *impresa*; on the other hand, to convey the body in the form of a picture and the soul in the form of a text part within one *impresa*.[24] Even after having set five conditions to be fulfilled by an *impresa* in his preliminary theory, this did not stop him from including default *impresa* versions in his semantic analysis of over 120 examples.[25] In further discussion, it becomes

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22 Given that the creation of an *impresa* was sometimes done by an artist or scholar, and given that pursuing an *impresa* can mean both a) accomplishing the votive action, and b) inventing such a text-icon-symbol, there are thus two options of interpreting this condition. Very likely the choice of a motto in a foreign language regards the owner respectively the user of an *impresa*, not its inventor.

23 'Et per dichiarare queste conditioni, diremo, che la sopradetta anima & corpo s'intende per il motto, ò per il soggetto; & si stima che mancando ò il soggetto all'anima, ò l'anima al soggetto, l'impresa non riesca perfetta' ('And for rendering these conditions clearer, we will say that the above-mentioned soul and body are intended for either motto or the image. Furthermore, it will be evaluated that the *impresa* does not come out perfect if the image is missing from the soul or the soul from the image'); Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 12–13.

24 That is, Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 12, 50. Scholz, *Emblem und Emblempoetik* 55–56, 218, and 229.

25 That is, Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 25 and 28. Scholz, *Emblem und Emblempoetik* 207. Arbizzoni G., *'Un nodo di parole e di cose'. Storia e fortuna delle imprese*, Studi e saggi 26 (Rome: 2002) 22–23.

apparent the extent to which Giovio dislikes canting imagery, which does not include metaphors: 'che son comparse à questo Secolo, composte da sciocchi, & portate da ceruelli busi'—('which appeared in this century, and which were created by silly people and worn by obscure minds').[26] Having set the five conditions, Giovio supplies in his *Dialogo* the criteria but without a defining approach to *imprese*. Nevertheless, among his five conditions the fourth one—not to depict humans—provides *differentia specifica* from the *genus proximum* of Alciato's emblems.[27] This starting point of dissimilation initiated a long row of similar publications in the following decades, during which authors such as Stefano Guazzo would refer to Giovio as *arcimaestro*, showing him the same respect conceded to Andrea Alciato, the 'Father of emblems'.[28] Giovio actually was not the first to focus on the bipartite combinations of motto and image.[29] Nevertheless, his work earned him eminent success. He had accomplished two transcriptions of his manuscript and had them illustrated with coloured drawings: one copy was for Cosimo I de' Medici and one for Giovio himself; fragments of the latter are preserved in Como.[30]

Several editors, all claiming to rely on the lost original, published Giovio's work posthumously.[31] The first print run (200 copies) was produced by Antonio Barre in 1555 in Rome.[32] More significant and influential were the editions from

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26 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 20. For examples of speaking imagery, see Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 21–22 and 33. Arbizzoni, *Un nodo di parole* 26–27. In 1556, Girolamo Ruscelli made the non-illustrative character of the *pictura* and the non-descriptive character of the motto an explicit rule in his treatise; Klein, *La théorie de l'expression figurée* 128. Arnaud S., "Prise et déprise de l'impresa", in Lopez P.S. (ed.), *Florilegio de Estudias de Emblemática* (Ferrol: 2004) 151.

27 Scholz, *Emblem und Emblempoetik* 35, 66, and 188.

28 Ibidem 22–23.

29 Praz M., *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, Sussidi eruditi 16 (Rome: 1964) 74.

30 Giovio Paolo, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* (Como, n.p.: [1551]). Como, Società Storica Comense, c/o Fondazione-centro studi "Nicolò Rusca"; (fondo Aliati, b. 28, f. 24). Nova A., "Dialogo dell'imprese: la storia editoriale e le immagini", in *Atti del Convegno Paolo Giovio. Il rinascimento e la memoria, Como 3.–5.6.1983*, Raccolta Storica, Pubblicata dalla Società Storica Comense 17 (Como: 1985) 76.

31 Among others, the edition Giovio Paolo – Domenichi Lodovico, *Ragionamento sopra I motti & disegni d'arme & d'amore, che comunemente chiamano imprese* (Milan, Giovanni Antonio degli Antoni: 1559). Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* 352–354. Pavoni R. – Nova A., "Dialogo delle imprese amorose e militari", in Pavoni R. (ed.), *Paolo Giovio 1483–1983 quinto centenario della nascita. Collezione Giovio, le immagini e la storia*. Como, Musei civici. Piazza Medagli d'oro, 3.6.–15.12.1983 (Como: 1983) 54.

32 Giovio Paolo, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* (Rome, Antonio Barre: 1555). Nova, "Dialogo dell'imprese" 74.

1556 in Venice that were published by Giordano Ziletti and Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari.[33] Two years later, Ferrari issued the first translation of the work into Spanish.[34] Giovio's dialogue-interlocutor Lodovico Domenichi (1515–1564) presumably transcribed Giovio's manuscript. In 1555 Domenichi sent an illustrated copy of his own via Simon and Francesco Mazzei to Guillaume Rouille (1518–1589), who was a famous printer in Lyons.[35] This city was one of the hot spots of European print technology, where Paradin's *Devises* and Maurice de Scève's *Délie* had appeared.[36] In 1556, Gabriele Symeoni, cousin of the Mazzei brothers, translated[37] Giovio's *Dialogo* into French. He sketched the illustrations and added some of his own fictive *impresa* inventions. The work was to be dedicated to Caterina de' Medici, yet it remained a draft.[38]

From 1559 onwards, Guillaume Rouille published several editions of the *Dialogo dell'imprese* in small octavo. They were adorned with 102 oval woodcuts in frames with delicate tendrils and cartouches of different mythological scenes, which had been designed by the Master à la Capeline.[39] An Italian edition, dedicated by Rouille to Domenichi, contained the *Dialogo dell'imprese* by Giovio, half of the *impresa* inventions created by Symeoni, and Domenichi's *imprese* treatise.[40] Its French translation (*Dialogue des devises d'armes et d'amour*) was dedicated to Queen Caterina de' Medici. In 1560, the work was

33 Giovio Paolo, *Ragionamento sopra I motti, & disegni d'arme & d'amore, che comunemente chiamano Imprese* (Venice, Giordano Ziletti: 1556). Giovio Paolo, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* (Venice, Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari: 1556). Caldwell, "Paragone" 278.

34 Giovio Paolo, *Dialogo de las Empresas Militares y amorosas* (Venice, Giolito de Ferrari: 1558).

35 Rouille Guillaume, *Al molto virtuoso et honorato M. Lodovico Domenichi* [...] *salute* (Lyons, Guillaume Rouille: 1559; reprint, ibidem, idem: 1574) 3 and 5; Renucci T., *Un aventurier des lettres au XVI^e siècle. Gabriel Symeoni. Florentin. ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑΣ. 1509–1570?* (Paris: 1943) 87–89.

36 Renucci, *Un aventurier des lettres* 77–79.

37 Actually, Symeoni did not provide an *ipsis verbis* translation of Giovio's *Dialogo*, due to the presence of Symeoni's own explanations and opinions.

38 Symeoni Gabriele, *Discours Francois, Toscan, et Latin sur la cognaissance des esprits et desseings des hommes, suivant un Dialogue Italien imparfaict des Devises amoureuses et militaires de Monsieur Paul Iovio* (Lyons, n.p.: 1556). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, (Manuscript Ashburnam 1376). Shortly before the *Dialogo*, Symeoni had already accomplished other literature translations for the printing house of Rouille; Renucci, *Un aventurier des lettres* 87 and 107. Klein, *La théorie de l'expression figurée* 125.

39 Renucci, *Un aventurier des lettres* xi and 208.

40 Rouille, *Al molto virtvoso* 3 and 5.

transformed into a poetic version.[41] Further translations into other languages as well as new editions followed.[42] In 1574, Rouille published a new edition of the 1559 combination of the *Dialogo dell'imprese* by Giovio, *impresa* inventions by Symeoni, and a non-illustrated *imprese* treaty by Domenichi. This edition became very popular and will be the starting point of the analysis below.[43]

To sum up, in accordance with the number of different editors, the *Dialogo dell'imprese* exists in six different text versions. In some of them the *imprese* described by Giovio were omitted by the editor. In others the *impresa*-presentation was rearranged. The 1574 edition cohesively follows the order[44] which is preserved in the manuscript in Como, although due to serious damage to this manuscript, this statement can be only a rough estimation. Pages and the coloured drawings were ripped and cut out arbitrarily. Only a few pages, containing 20 illustrations, are left. This fragmented manuscript might have been a part of a clean copy coeval to the one Giovio sent to Cosimo in September 1551.[45] The manuscript by Symeoni starts as Giovio's did; however, it also provides greater organization by supplying an index of the personalities whose *imprese* are discussed, and it also tries to structure the material from higher social status to the lower.[46] Giovio's *Dialogo* is also characterized by proceeding from one social status to the next, but it additionally tries to pay tribute to family bonds. He always begins with the *pater familias*. He discusses not only the semantics of the signs, but also evaluates their quality with regard to the Giovio's five conditions. Concerning the *causa materialis* or the *causa formalis,* Giovio intermingles subject-related counterexamples so often that his dialogue can be regarded as associative telling of anecdotes.[47]

By no means are any of the *Dialogo* versions structured according to the *res pictae*, which can be seen in later books of the emblem genre. Likewise, structures of historic organization within this subjective *imprese* selection cannot be found. Although Giovio mentioned first the helmets and the shields

41 Symeoni Gabriele, *Tetrastiques faicts sur les Devises du Seigneur Paulo Giovio et de Messire Gabriel Simeon. Pour servir en Verrieres, Chassis, Galeries, et Tableaux, ainsi qu' il plaira au Lecteur de les accomoder* (Lyons, Guillaume Rouille: 1560); Scholz, *Emblem und Emblempoetik* 22–23.

42 Landwehr J., *French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese Books of Devices and Emblems 1534–1827: A Bibliography*, Bibliotheca Emblematica 6 (Utrecht: 1976) 95–98.

43 Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* 353.

44 With the exception of the *impresa* of Andrea Gritti, which, in the manuscript of Como, is presented before that of Luigi Gonzaga.

45 Nova, "Dialogo dell'imprese" 77.

46 Renucci, *Un aventurier des lettres* xix.

47 Arbizzoni, *Un nodo di parole* 17.

of the Paladins, the chronology within his *Dialogo* is continuously disrupted: the transformation of late medieval heraldic devices towards *concetti* compositions of the Renaissance starts fresh with each family bond Giovio handles.[48]

A critical reading of Symeoni's collection in the 1574 edition, which follows the Giovian *Dialogo*, reveals a shift from these two categories of device and *concetto-impresa* towards a mixture of the *concetti* and more sophisticated compositions with didactic scope.[49] The *imprese* inventions from Symeoni's collection that Rouille chose to print start off by referring to the signs of the omitted and younger members of the French reign, coming after the signs of the members that had been described by Giovio.[50] The second half of Symeoni's *imprese* is dominated by inventions of his own, which are merely hypothetical. These inventions lost their specific *impresa* character through more emblem-like generalized messages and moralized commentaries. That is why Rouille titled the simultaneous French translation of Symeoni's collection *Devises ou emblemes*.[51]

Throughout the entire book from 1574, subtle changes concerning the functional qualities of the *imprese* can be found. Whether an *impresa* is beyond the intended expressions of politics or personal affairs—for example, if it is satirical or not—remains open to the reader's knowledge of historical facts.[52] Many of his *imprese* protagonists were already dead by the time Giovio wrote his *Dialogo*; thus, his reliability as a *symbolorum pater* must be inspected carefully. His comments and the illustrative representations of the *res pictae*, which were mostly posthumously designed, and the motto in the two manuscripts and the Lyons woodcuts, must be closely compared with the remaining artistic records of the *impresa* application on objects.[53]

Birds, Trees, and Quadrupeds

Of the 139 illustrations of the 1574 edition there are several dedicated to living nature: 12 to birds (not counting the phoenix), 7 to trees, and 24 to four-legged

48 That is, Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 41 and 46.

49 Scholz, *Emblem und Emblempoetik* 22.

50 Thereby, Symeoni also pays a greater tribute to the female members of the court.

51 Russell, *The Emblem and the Device* 142.

52 Functional qualities should be understood on two different levels. On a primary level it concerns the literal scope of its interpretation: political, loving, and sacral. On a secondary level it concerns the connotation-scope of its production: moral, heroic, and satirical.

53 As Tesauro critically saw him; Doglio, "Introduction" 16.

animals. The knowledge of nature is mostly based on traditional knowledge, which tries to explain the curious behaviour and properties of the described plants and animals. Among these plants and animals I have chosen the most interesting cases, which show Giovio's sources and how he made use of them for the creation of his *imprese*. Among the birds, the ostrich, the crane, and the heron are the most interesting: the ostrich because Giovio used various aspects of this bird's behaviour for his *imprese*—these aspects prove to be connected—and the crane and heron because here the themed aspects melt into one another. Among the trees, the palm tree, the fig tree, and the peach tree were chosen. These trees are interesting because here the source text is either misunderstood (the palm), interpreted in a very specific way (fig), or plainly discussed (peach). Among the four-legged animals, the three most renowned were chosen, namely the salamander, the porcupine, and the ermine. These *imprese* were worn by the French royal house—one would expect a great consistency to be here, but the opposite appears to be true. As a counterexample, I have also chosen the beaver, Giovio's personal *impresa* by Giovio.

Birds

The Ostrich

The ostrich is the largest of all birds, and as such Giovio gives much attention to this bird. The three *imprese* dedicated to the ostrich highlight three curious properties: the bird's astonishing running speed (which counterbalances its incapacity to fly), its curious eating habits (it is able to devour iron objects), and its purported capacity to hatch its eggs by the force of its stare.

Let us start with the least curious property of the bird, its running speed. The *impresa* of Alfonso d'Avalos (1502–1546) used the image of a running ostrich with outstretched wings in order to stress the similarity between the outstanding achievement of an ostrich's running speed and Avalos's own military virtue: 'SI SVRSVM NON EFFERORAL IS, CVRSV SALTEM PRAETERVEHOR OMNES' ('though I do not soar high on my wings, I outstrip all in running').[54] Looking closely at the background story of Avalos, Giovio explains that during the sack of Rome in 1527, Avalos refused to be one of the captains damaging the city, and he left. Three years later, he was offended that Pope Clement VII did not choose him but Antonio de Leyva (1480–1536) as a new captain. When he told this situation to Giovio, the latter created the ostrich impresa for him.

54 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 94–95. For the figure, see: http://dibiki.ub.uni-kiel.de/viewer/image/PPN668469730/98/.

Symeoni evaluated the background story of this *impresa* differently. He interpreted Giovio's text critically, which reveals how Symeoni, as a member of the next generation, already strongly disregarded this example as being not only too long but also too boastful.[55]

What is the relationship with the zoological reality? In itself, the image of the racing ostrich with wings spread wide is entirely in line with the natural behaviour of the animal: the ostrich stretches its wings while running because this provides the bird with greater balance on uneven ground.[56]

The second ostrich *impresa* is related to a certain Girolamo Mattei, who avenged the murder of his brother.[57] The way he planned this revenge was praised *ad posteriorem* by Giovio, who designed an *impresa* of an ostrich eating a nail, with the motto 'SPIRITVS DVRISSIMA COQVIT' ('the spirit digests the hardest').[58] A similar picture, with the inscription 'IHC ANW ORDA N ·EN· GROSS [...]'—(IH CAN WORDA[WE]N ·EN· GROSSO[?]) ('I can digest a big, [...]'), was placed for a time in the study of the ducal palace in Gubbio. Between 1478 and 1482 it was installed there, referring to Antonio da Montefeltro's (1348–1404) deeds in reconquering Urbino after his long exile.[59]

This is also based on empirical observation, which can be found in, among other sources, Pliny, who reports that this bird would eat and digest anything.[60] Aelian noted that pebbles were found in the stomachs of slaughtered

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55 Symeoni, *Discours Francois*, fol. XXVIIv. While exaggerated panegyric conceptions were not uncommon in the 15th and early 16th centuries, the self-confident choice of sign was more open to satirical attacks later on; Russell, *The Emblem and the Device* 70.

56 Jost R., *Über den Strauß* (*Struthio camelus*) *und seine kommerzielle Nutzung. Erfahrungen und eigene Untersuchungen auf einer Straußenfarm in Namibia* (Gießen: 1994) 4.

57 No further records about his life (around 1523–1534) are known, other than what Giovio furnished; Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 93.

58 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 93–94. For the figure, see: http://dibiki.ub.uni-kiel.de/viewer/image/PPN668469730/97/.

59 The ostrich here is holding an object similar to an iron bolt of a late medieval crossbow, or similar to a medieval arrowhead. The interpretation of the German motto 'IH CAN WORDA[WE]N ·EN· GROSSO'—'Ich kann verdauen ein großes [Eisen]' would rather implement 'ein großes [Huf-]eisen' ('a big horseshoe') than 'einen großen Eisennagel' ('a big iron nail'), 'einen großen Eisenbolzen' ('a big iron bolt'), or 'eine große Pfeilspitze' ('a big arrowhead'). In general, this motto's orthography and the interpretation vary a lot through the diverse places of application around the court of Federico III da Montefeltro. Hablot L., "Autruche", *Devise—CESCM—Maison de Montefeltro. Federico III da Montefeltro. Les familles*, http://base-devise.edel.univ-poitiers.fr/index.php?id=1087, published 14 September 2013, consulted 27 January 2016. The contraction of the first letters 'IHC' in the intarsia might, for instance, refer to the Greek name of Jesus.

60 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* X, 2.

ostriches.[61] Indeed, marble-sized stones play an important role in the digestion of these birds. Inside the stomach, the stones are worked by contraction to grind food.[62] Ostriches painlessly swallow similar-sized iron pads, which were used in ancient times to protect hooves. But the story quickly became exaggerated: the bird would even swallow up entire horseshoes. That this idea was wrong had already been demonstrated by the 13th-century encyclopaedist Albertus Magnus, who stated 'ferrum saepius a me pluribus strutionibus obiectum comedere noluerunt' ('several ostriches to which I frequently served iron did not want to eat it').[63] However, an ostrich feeding itself with a mixture of nails and horseshoes was still depicted between 1310 and 1320 in the Queen Mary Psalter.[64] And from the Middle Ages on, the ostrich is standardly depicted with a nail in its bill.[65]

A brief notice of Leonardo da Vinci can serve as a transition from the second to the third curious feature of the ostrich. Leonardo scribbled in 1494: 'Struzzo. / Per l'arme, nutrimento de' capitani. Questo converte il ferro in suo nutrimento. Cova l'ova colla vista' ('Ostrich. For the troops, the food of captains. This converts iron in its nutrients, it breeds the eggs using its sight').[66] In the second sentence of this quotation Leonardo refers to the iron-eating habits of the ostrich. In the third sentence Leonardo refers to a miraculous property ascribed to the ostrich: that it is able to hatch its eggs with the power of its eyes. This property is used by Giovio: in exchange for a service, Giovio made for the engineer Pedro di Val de Roncale di Navarra (1446–1528) in 1514 a sign with two

61 Aelian, *De natura animalium* XIV, 7.

62 Kreibich A. – Sommer M., *Straußenhaltung* (Münster-Hiltrup: 1993; reprint, ibidem: 1994) 46.

63 Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus* XXIII, i, 24, fol. CDIVv, 102/139, quoted from: Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus Libri XXVI nach der Cölner Urschrift,* ed. H. Stadler, 2 vols., Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen 15–16 (Münster: 1916–1921) vol. II, 1510.

64 London, British Library, (Ms. Royal 2. B. VII) fol. CXIVr. Detail, bas-de-page scene. For the figure, see: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_2_b_vii_fo84r.

65 Dittrich S. – Dittrich L., *Lexikon der Tiersymbole. Tiere als Sinnbilder in der Malerei des 14.–17. Jahrhunderts* (Petersberg: 2004; reprint, Petersberg: 2005) 520.

66 Leonardo da Vinci, [pamphlets], 3 vols. ([Milan], n.p.: [1494]) vol. I, fol. XIIIv. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Codice 2179, quoted from: Leonardo da Vinci, *Scritti*, ed. C. Vecce (Italy/France, n.p.: 1469–1519; reprint, Milan: 1992) 79. This notice is interesting because it shows Leonardo's inclusion among the *imprese* inventors. Russell, *The Emblem and the Device* 28. See, for example, Schirg B., "Decoding da Vinci's *Impresa*: Leonardo's Gift to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este and Mario Equicola's *De Opportunitate* (1507)", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 78 (2015) 142–143.

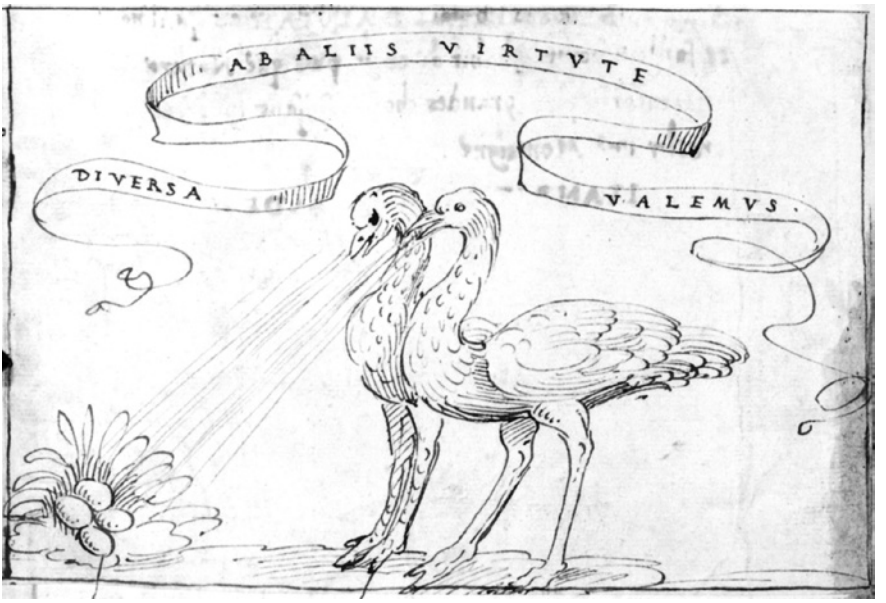

FIGURE 7.1 *Gabriele Symeoni, "CONTE PIERRE NAVARRE", impresa illustration from:* Discours Francois, Toscan, et Latin sur la cognaissance des esprits et desseings des hommes, suibant un Dialogue Italien i, parfaict des Devises amoreuses et militaires de Monsieur Paul Iouio, *fol. XLIVv (1556). Pen drawing. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Manuscript Ashburnam 1376, fol. 43v). Detail, lower half of the page.*
IMAGE © WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO (MIBACT). FURTHER REPRODUCTION OR DUPLICATION BY ANY MEANS IS PROHIBITED.

ostriches looking at their eggs with the motto 'DIVERSA AB ALIIS VIRTVTE VALEMVS' ('we are strong because of a virtue different from the others') [Fig. 7.1].[67]

Concerning the source of Giovio's invention, besides Leonardo's notice, only in Alexander Neckam is an explicit statement found regarding these birds breeding through sight.[68] About the breeding behaviour of the ostrich stories circulate that are more plausible. The common belief (see, for instance, Job 39:13) was that 'forgetful' ostriches would closely watch the Pleiades to wait for the hottest season. They would then lay eggs, cover them with sand, and leave

67 Giovio Paolo, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose*, ed. M.L. Doglio, Biblioteca del Cinquecento 4 (Rome: 1978) 99.

68 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 96–97; Alexander Neckam 1, 50.

the rest of the work to the sun, as *Physiologus* noted.[69] Empirical observation could, to some extent, have been at the basis of this belief. Ostriches indeed have very good eyesight: they can spot movement 3.5 km away, and they can also see objects underneath their beak.[70] However, unlike in Job's characterization, ostriches do not abandon their eggs. The male sits on them for more than 12 hours at night. The female protects the eggs from overheating during the daytime.[71] Being herself exposed to the sun, she sometimes covers the eggs with sand in order to take a short break, unless the male forces her to return to the eggs.[72] At the beginning of each shift, the ostrich turns the eggs with its beak for good acclimatization.[73] This behaviour could have led to the beliefs found in the bestiaries (the ostrich looking at the Pleiades in order to lay its eggs, hatched by the sun), and in Alexander Neckam and Leonardo da Vinci (the bird hatching its eggs by the force of its eyes).

The first sentence in Leonardo's notice shows something else of importance: the ostrich is linked to the status of captain. Avalos wanted to be a captain, and in the series of events Girolamo Mattei was made a captain by the pope.[74] Giving him the *impresa* of the iron-eating ostrich, Giovio just followed tradition. By also giving the ostrich to Avalos, he lifted him symbolically into the same social position of a captain. The abuse of ostrich *imprese* by people aspiring to become a captain might have led Claude Paradin to stop interpreting the bird according to that tradition. In his *Devises heroïques* (1557) he underlines the flapping-but-not-flying aspect of an ostrich as a sign of hypocrisy.[75]

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69 Physiologus Graecus, 49. See also Anonymous, *Latin Bestiary* (12th century). Cambridge University Library (11.4.26); White T.H., *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (New York: 1960) 121. Pseudo-Pierre de Beauvais, *Bestiaire* (13th century), fol. CCIIIv; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Arsenal 3516); http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore&O=55000507&E=412&I=145981&M=imageseule.

70 Kreibich – Sommer, *Straußenhaltung* 16.

71 Jost, *Über den Strauß* 43.

72 Behring A., *Der Afrikanische Strauß* (*Struthio camelus*) *und seine Haltung—untersucht in Straußenfarmen und Zoologischen Gärten Deutschlands*, Staatsexamen (University of Kiel: 1999) 36.

73 Kreibich – Sommer, *Straußenhaltung* 98.

74 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 94.

75 Paradin Claude, *Devises Heroïques*, intro. A. Saunders (Lyons: 1557; reprint, Brookfield: 1989) 49. For the figure, see: http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/facsimile.php?id=sm816_p049. Looveren L.H.D.v., "Strauss", in Kirschbaum E. (ed.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols. (Freiburg: 1968; reprint, Darmstadt: 2015) vol. IV, 218.

Whereas the first two ostrich *imprese* served as a symbol for captains, it was clear this was an inappropriate personal emblem for an engineer. Therefore, unlike the first two *imprese*, the focus in the Navarra impresa is not on the bird but on its miraculous hatching of the eggs—which is compared to the engineer's ingenuity 'mirabile & stupendo' ('miraculous and wonderful').[76]

The Crane and the Heron

Giovio's *imprese* which are devoted to the crane and the heron show some curious forms of semantic shifting, both on the level of properties (from stone-clutching to predicting rain) and bird species (from crane to heron). Let us start with the stone-clutching property of the crane. Giovio created an *impresa* with a stone-holding crane for Alfonso II Piccolomini, third duke of Amalfi, with the motto 'OFFICIVM NATVRA DOCET' ('nature teaches duty') [Fig. 7.2].[77] He explains that it is a sign of prudent anticipation and refers to Pliny: '[grues] excubias habent nocturnis temporibus lapillum pede sustinentes, qui laxatus somno et decidens indiligentiam coarguat […]' ('At nighttime they have sentries who hold a stone in their claws; if drowsiness makes them drop it, it falls and convicts them of slackness, […]').[78] Since many have copied this idea, it became typified as *grus vigilans* in 1556.[79] Symeoni—having sketched the bird in 1556—actually asks the artist to 'cherche[…][r] le naturel'—look for the natural.[80] In this case, Giovio might again have been inspired by the intarsia *imprese* in the study of the ducal palace in Gubbio (1478–1482) or by one of the applications in the palace of Urbino. The image of the bird's virtue became a conventional *impresa* for politicians and warlords in connection with

76 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 96–97.

77 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 107. For the illustration in the manuscript in Como, see: Maffei, "Iucundissimi emblemi di pitture" 163, fig. 8. For the woodcut, see: http://dibiki.ub.uni-kiel.de/viewer/image/PPN668469730/109/.

78 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, X, 59, quoted from: Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham – W.H.S. Jones – D.E. Eichholz, 10 vols., The Loeb Classical Library 330, 352, 353, 370, 371, 392, 393, 394, 418, 419 (Cambridge, MA – London: 1940–1944; reprint, Cambridge, MA – London: 1956–1966) vol. III, 328–331.

79 Scholz, *Emblem und Emblempoetik* 250. The term in the form of '*Gruem vigilem*' was first used by Valerian; Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris aegyptiorum literis commentarii* XVII, 28, "De Grue". "Custodia", D-E, quoted from: Valeriano Pierio, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii*, afterword by D. Peil (Basel: 1556; reprint, Hildesheim: 2005) 128v. For the role played by Valerian in the process of *impresa* creation, see Erffa H.M. von, "'Grus Vigilans'. Bemerkungen zur Emblematik", *Philobiblion. Eine Vierteljahresschrift für Buch- und Graphiksammler* 1, 4 (1957) 300.

80 Symeoni, *Discours Francois*, fol. XXVIv.

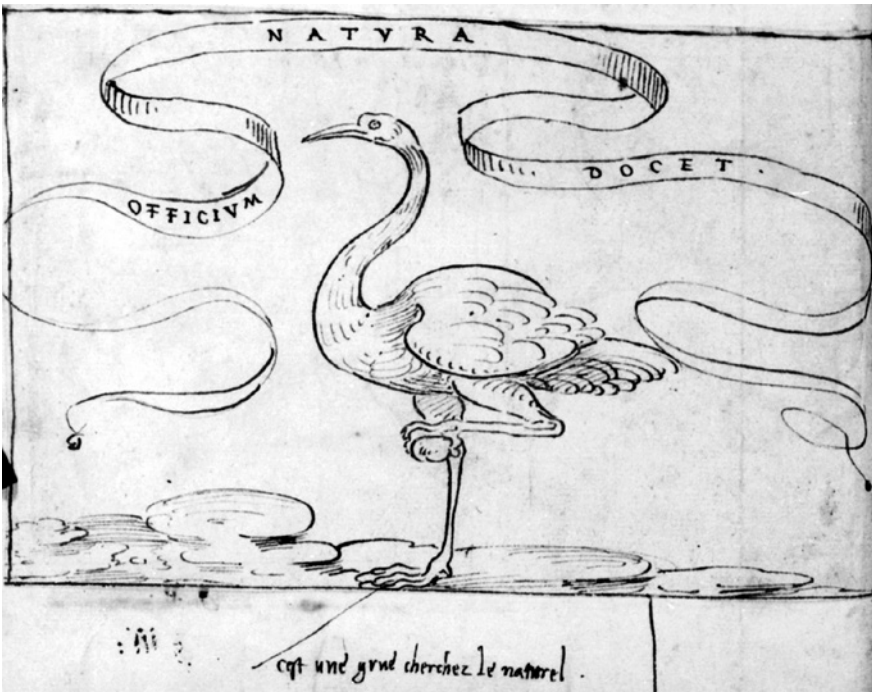

FIGURE 7.2 *Gabriele Symeoni, "DVC DE MALFI. Gouuerneur dè Sienè"*, impresa *illustration from*: Discours Francois, Toscan, et Latin sur la cognaissance des esprits et desseings des hommes, suibant un Dialogue Italien i, parfaict des Devises amoreuses et militaires de Monsieur Paul Iouio, *fol. XXVIv* (*1556*). *Pen drawing. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (*Manuscript Ashburnam 1376, fol. 25v*). *Detail, lower half of the page.*
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Federico III da Montefeltro.[81] This was reinforced by Horapollo's comparison of the bird to someone who protects himself from hostile stalking.[82]

In symbolic images the transition from one connotation to another often shifts gradually: next to the standing crane we find among Alciato's emblems a stone-clutching crane in flight, which does not want to go off course.[83] A

81 Hablot L., "Grue", *Devise—CESCM. Les familles. Maison de Montefeltro. Federico III da Montefeltro*, http://base-devise.edel.univ-poitiers.fr/index.php?id=1103, published 23 May 2013, consulted 27 January 2016.

82 Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* II, 94.

83 Alciato Andrea, *Emblematum libellus* (Venice, Aldus Manutius: 1546) 29.

high-flying (but not stone-clutching) crane was also compared by Horapollo to a human knowing about the demonic.[84] Aristotle noted that cranes would be the first to notice weather changes when flying high above the clouds. If there is a rainstorm approaching, they land on the ground.[85]

When it comes to this kind of weather prediction, cranes are similar to herons, as Aelian wrote in the beginning of the 3rd century.[86] Which leads us to the next *impresa*: in 1510–1511, during the war of the League of Cambrai, one of the papal *condottieri*, Marc' Antonio Colonna (1470/80–1522), wanted to distinguish himself from the hardline regime of the pontifical legate Cardinal Francesco Alidosi (around 1455–1511).[87] He wore the image of a heron flying above the swamp between the clouds and the sun as an *impresa* to show his independence. The motto 'NATVRA DICTANTE FEROR' ('I am carried by natural disposition') was wrapped around the bird's neck. Giovio explains:

> dell' Aerone, che in tempo di pioggia vola tant'alto sopra le nuvole, che schifa l'acqua, che non gli venga addosso, & altrimenti è usato di starsi sguazzando nelle paludi per natura, amando l'acqua da basso; ma non quella che gli potesse cader sopra.[88]
>
> of the Heron, which in times of rain flies so high above the clouds, to avoid water falling upon him, but otherwise the heron is used to wading in the swamps, because by his own nature the heron loves the water on his feet, but not that which could fall upon his head.

This closely follows Ambrosius:

> Ipsa ardea, quae paludibus inhaerere consueuit, notas deserit sedes imbresque formidans supra nubes uolat, ut procellas nubium sentire non possit.[89]

84 Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* II, 98.

85 Aristotle, *De historia animalium* IX, x, 614 b.

86 Aelian, *De natura animalium* VII, 7.

87 '[…] il Cardinal di Pavia; che essendo di natura alle volte troppo strano & imperioso […] usava inconvenienti modi […]'—('The Cardinal of Pavia, who at times had an exaggerated eccentric and imperious character, used improper means'); Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 69.

88 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 69–70. For the figure, see http://dibiki.ub.uni-kiel.de/viewer/image/PPN668469730/73/.

89 Ambrosius, *Hexameron* V, 13, 43, quoted from: Isidore de Séville, *Des animaux*, Étymologies 12, ed. and trans. J. André (Paris: 1986) 239.

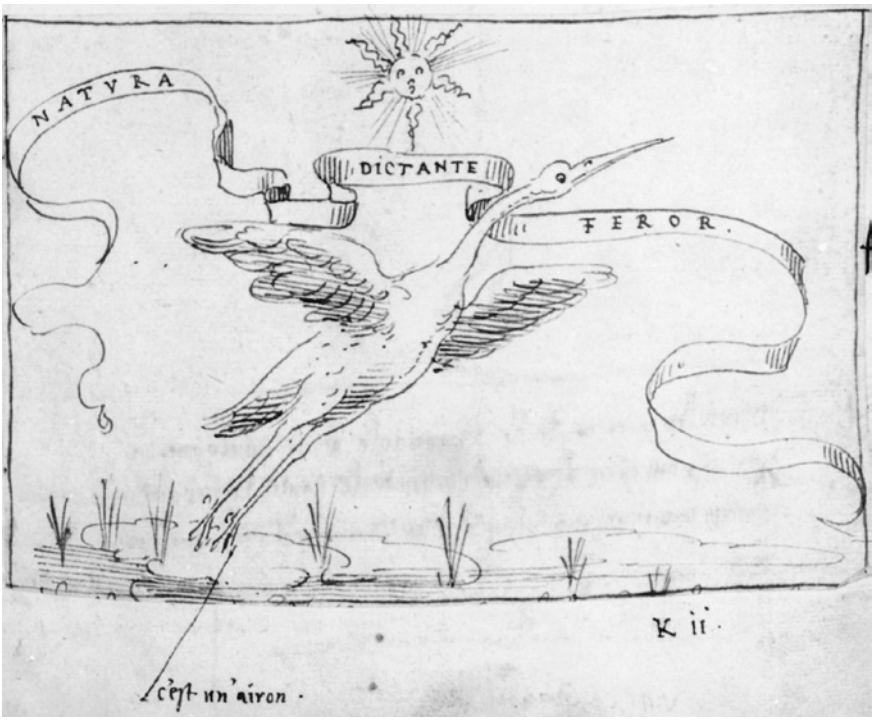

FIGURE 7.3 *Gabriele Symeoni, "LE MESME SEIGNEUR* [*Marc Antoine Colonne*]*",* impresa *illustration from*: Discours Francois, Toscan, et Latin sur la cognaissance des esprits et desseings des hommes, suibant un Dialogue Italien i, parfaict des Devises amoreuses et militaires de Monsieur Paul Iouio, *fol. XXXVIIIr* (*1556*). *Pen drawing. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (*Manuscript Ashburnam 1376, fol. 37r*). *Detail, lower half of the page.*
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> the heron itself, which normally lives in swamps, leaves the familiar home and, terrified of rain, it flies above the clouds, as it cannot stand the storms of clouds.

Observation of nature, however, reveals that herons do not mind rain. They continue their fish hunting while standing in swamps, regardless of the weather conditions. That the true nature of this bird was not of enough importance to be empirically studied is also testified by the two preserved illustrations of this *impresa*. Neither the 1574 woodcut, which shows a heavy rain cloud, nor the cloud-omitting sketch of 1556, in which Symeoni remarked that he was not very familiar with the bird, depict the characteristic 'Z' shape of the heron's neck in flight [Fig. 7.3].

Giovio stated that Colonna 'non intendeva d'esser commandato, ma voleva fare ogni debito di fattion militare da se stesso' ('did not intend to be commanded, but wanted to accomplish every duty of the military faction on his own'). The 'Ardea ardua'[90] serves in this perspective as a comparison to the 'sublime Roman' Colonna[91] who, although being used to giving orders as a military leader, was, in the case of the wars concerning Bologna and Mirandola, too proud to listen. There is no further trace of this *impresa* apart from Giovio, who said that Colonna obtained this *impresa* through the help of the 'ingeni eruditi, de' quali egli faceua molto conto, & honoraua: e fra quegli fui anchor'io un tempo, e de' famigliarißimi' ('erudite intellectuals, of whom he [Colonna] made a lot of use and whom he honoured: and among whom also I [Giovio] was once one of the most well acquainted').[92]

Trees

The Palm Tree

In 1521 a new medal was made for Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere (1490–1538). A palm tree with a large rectangular stone on top is displayed on its reverse. The motto is 'INCLINATA RESVRGIT' ('bent it rises again').[93] In his *Dialogo*, Giovio explains that the ambassador of this duke had demanded an *impresa* for his flags, and Giovio gave him a palm tree with the top bending down due to the weight of a marble stone tied to its leaves [Fig. 7.4].[94] He was inspired by Pliny, who wrote: 'in diversum enim curvatur, cetera omnia in inferiora pandantur, palma ex contrario fornicatim' ('it curves namely in the opposite direction, all others bend down, the palm tree, on the contrary, bows up').[95] However, Giovio misinterpreted Pliny's description, which was about the flexibility of palm wood, not about the whole tree: 'pondus sustinere

90 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XII, vii, 21, quoted from: Isidore de Séville, *Des animaux* 239.

91 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 69.

92 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 70.

93 Museo Nazionale del Bargello (6676, 6677, and Dep. 3174); Vannel F. – Toderi G., *Medaglie italiane del Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, 4 vols., *Secoli XV–XVI* (Florence: 2003) vol. 1, 154, pl. 257, nn. 1412–1414.

94 This is slightly different from what we see on the medal; however, they both contain the same motto. See Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 81–82. Symeoni does not mention Giovio's engagement; Symeoni, *Discours Francois*, fol. XXVv.

95 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* XVI, 223, quoted from: Pliny, *Natural History*, eds. T.E. Page et al., trans. H. Rackham, 10 vols., The Loeb Classical Library 370 (London: 1945/1960) vol. IV, 532–533.

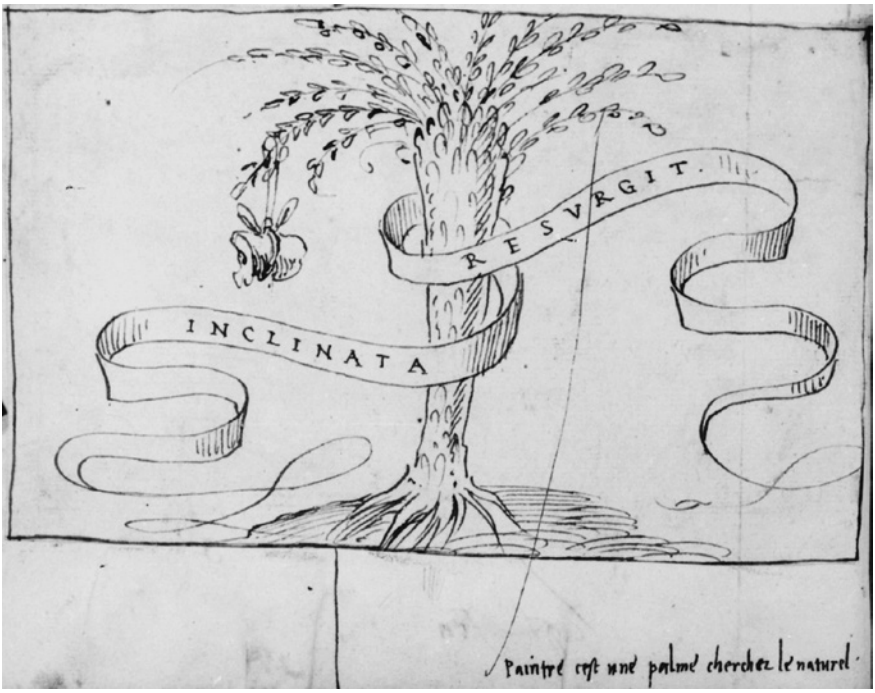

FIGURE 7.4 *Gabriele Symeoni, "DVC D' VRBIN",* impresa *illustration from*: Discours Francois, Toscan, et Latin sur la cognaissance des esprits et desseings des hommes, suibant un Dialogue Italien i, parfaict des Devises amoreuses et militaires de Monsieur Paul Iouio, *fol. XXVv* (*1556*). *Pen drawing. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (*Manuscript Ashburnam 1376, fol. 24v*). *Detail, lower half of the page.*
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validate abies, larix, etiam in traversum positae. Robur, olea incurvantur ceduntque ponderi. Illae renituntur nec temere rumpuntur, priusque carie quam viribus defeciunt. Et palmae arbor valida […]' ('Fir and larch are strong weight-carriers, even when placed horizontally, and whereas hard oak and olive bend and yield to a weight, the woods named resist it and are not readily broken, and they fail owing to rot before they fail in strength. The palm tree also is strong, […])'.[96]

96 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* XVI, 222, quoted from: Pliny, *Natural History* vol. IV, 532–533.

The Wild Fig

The *impresa* of Nicola di Monforte, 'Conte Cola' (1415–1478), bears the motto 'INGENTIA MARMORA FINDIT CAPRIFICVS' ('the wild fig tree splits huge blocks of marble'). Giovio indicates Martial as the source of this *impresa*, and indeed in Martial we find an epigram: 'Marmora Messallae findit caprificus' ('the wild fig tree splits Messalla's marble'), which explains the word 'M. MESSALAE' carved into the block in the illustrations of the two manuscripts and the Lyons woodcut [Figs. 7.5–7.6].[97]

FIGURE 7.5 *Anonymous, "INGENTIA MARMORA FINDIT CAPRIFICVS"*, impresa *illustration from* Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose. Monsignor Pavlo Iovio, Vescovo di Nocera, Al Magnanimo Signore Cosmo de Medici Duca di Fiorenza. Interlocutori detto mons Iovio et M. Lvdovico Domenichi, *fol. XXVv* (*post August 1551*). *Coloured pen drawing. Como, Società Storica Comense, c/o Fondazione-centro studi "Nicolò Rusca"* (*fondo Aliati, b. 28, fol. 24*). *Detail, upper half of the page.* IMAGE © MAREN C. BIEDERBICK WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE SOCIETÀ STORICA COMENSE.

97 Martial, *Epigrammata* X, 11, 9, quoted from Giovio Paolo, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose*, ed. M.L. Doglio, Biblioteca del Cinquecento 4 (Rome: 1978) 133, note 242.

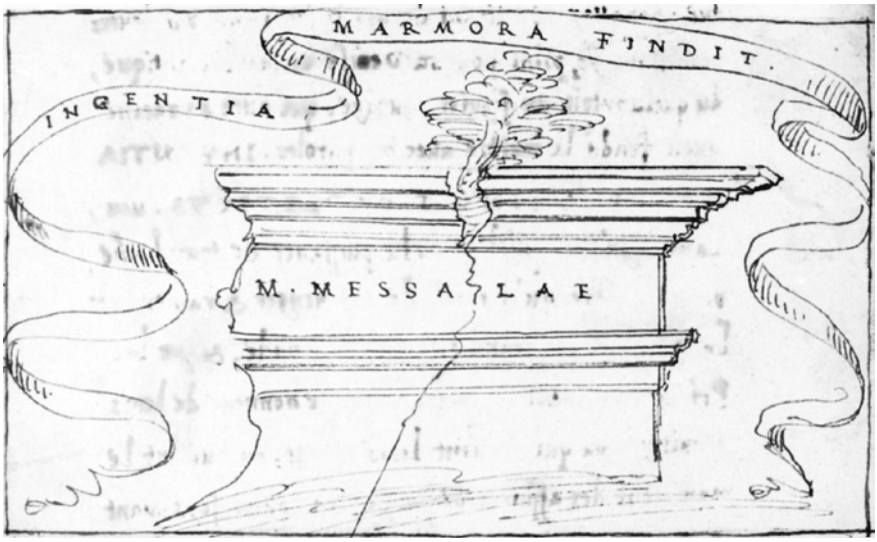

FIGURE 7.6 *Gabriele Symeoni, "CONTE DE CAMPO BASSO",* impresa *illustration from:* Discours Francois, Toscan, et Latin sur la cognaissance des esprits et desseings des hommes, suibant un Dialogue Italien i, parfaict des Devises amoreuses et militaires de Monsieur Paul Iouio, *fol. Lv* (*1556*). *Pen drawing. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (*Manuscript Ashburnam 1376, fol. 49v*). *Detail, lower half of the page.*
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Several symbolic meanings can be assigned to the fig tree. In Greek Orthodox belief it is considered the *arbor mala* mentioned in Genesis 3:7.[98] As Eden's Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil it has also become a symbol for Solomon's wisdom and justice as well as Judas's treachery.[99] In Martial's epigrams and, later on, in Dante's *Divina Comedia*, the tree acquires a sexual connotation (*Inferno* XXV, 1–3).[100]

The symbolism given to Monforte's fig tree is explained by Giovio's account of his character and his possible role in the events that led to the death of Charles the Bold, the duke of Burgundy. Given his portrayal as an avenging traitor, this image should be considered as being satirically attributed to 'Conte Cola'. Therefore, the attribution of the fig tree to Monforte is a *damnatio*

98 Condit I.J., *The Fig* (Waltham: 1947) 5.

99 Goetz O., *Der Feigenbaum in der religiösen Kunst des Abendlandes* (Berlin: 1965) 12–13, 25, 49, 55–56.

100 Condit, *The Fig* 5.

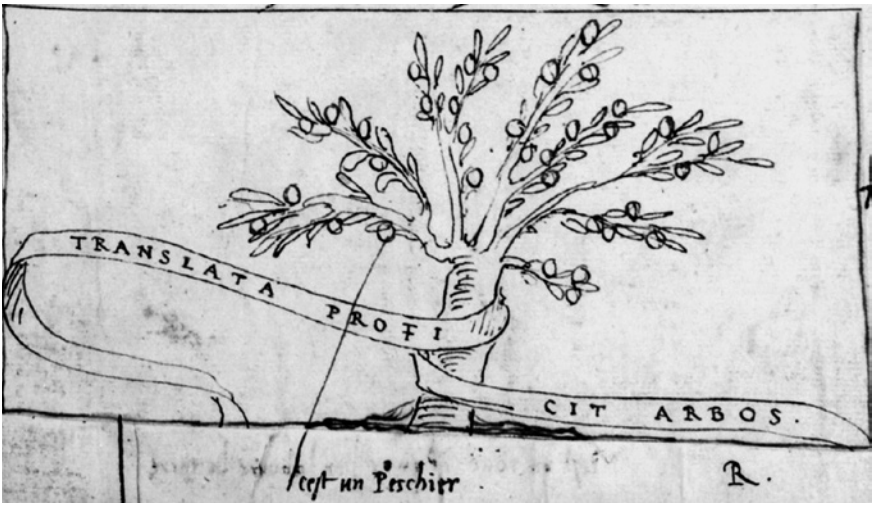

FIGURE 7.7 *Gabriele Symeoni, "M· LOVIS DOMINIQVE",* impresa *illustration from*: Discours Francois, Toscan, et Latin sur la cognaissance des esprits et desseings des hommes, suibant un Dialogue Italien i, parfaict des Devises amoreuses et militaires de Monsieur Paul Iouio, *fol. LXIIr* (*1556*). *Pen drawing. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (*Manuscript Ashburnam 1376, fol. 61r*). *Detail, lower half of the page.* IMAGE © WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE MIBACT. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OR DUPLICATION BY ANY MEANS IS PROHIBITED.

memoriae, given how, in Martial's epigram, we see the fig's capacity to destroy stone.[101] This *damnatio memoriae* takes place twice, as it were: through the tree on the monument and through this *impresa* on its bearer.

The Peach Tree

At a certain moment, Domenichi, Giovio's interlocutor, could not resist discussing his own *impresa* of a peach tree, 'TRANSLATA PROFICIT ARBOS' ('the transplanted tree flourishes') [Fig. 7.7]. Domenichi would become more successful in his new home than in his town of origin.[102] Basically, Domenichi is referring to the tough living conditions of an independent sprouting plant as it fights other full-grown trees over resources. Why does he apply this reasoning specifically to peach trees? Aristotle states that some plants should be transferred to more fertile soil, and that the location in general has an impact on

101 Fitzgerald W., *Martial: The World of the Epigram* (Chicago – London: 2007) 158.

102 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 160. http://dibiki.ub.uni-kiel.de/viewer/image/PPN668469730/164.

fruit development.[103] Pliny confirms that peach trees remain fruitless on Rhodes. Explicitly he says,

> Falsum est venenata cum cruciatu in Persis gigni et poenarum causa ab regibus translata in Aegyptum terra mitigata.
>
> It is not true that the peach grown in Persia is poisonous and causes torturous pain, and that, when it had been transplanted into Egypt by the kings to use as a punishment, the nature of the soil caused it to lose its dangerous properties.[104]

Giovio criticized Domenichi for having chosen this *impresa*, because of the toxic properties of the tree. Furthermore, he pointed out that this *impresa* had already been used by Alciato.[105] In Alciato's authorized publication, however, the focus is not so much on the tree, but on a human who carries the peaches away.[106]

Quadrupeds

The Salamander

'MI NVTRISCO' ('I nourish myself') is the motto alongside a salamander on fire, which is shown in the Dialogo manuscript from 1551.[107] 'NVTRISCO ET EXTINGVO' ('I nourish and extinguish') is written as a motto in Symeoni's sketch from 1556 [Fig. 7.8] and in the prints in Lyons.[108] There is a third motto, 'NOTRISCO · AL BVONO · STINGO · EL REO' ('I nourish the good and extinguish the bad'). This *impresa* was made in remembrance of Jean de Valois, the father-in-law of Louise de Savoie, who ordered a medal with that sign for

103 Aristotle, Περι φυτων 99, quoted from: Goedings P., *Aristoteles und die Pflanzen* (Berlin: 2007) 76.

104 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* XV, 44, quoted from: Pliny, *Natural History* vol. IV, 318–319.

105 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 160. Alciato, *Emblematum libellus* XXX. To copy 'unblushingly' from predecessors was common; Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* 50.

106 Alciato Andrea, *Emblematum libellus* (Paris, Christian Wechel: 1534) 34. http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/facsimile.php?.

107 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese*, fol. Xr.

108 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 28–29. Renucci, *Un aventurier des lettres* 206. Nova, "Dialogo dell'imprese" 85, figs. 7–8.

FIGURE 7.8 *Gabriele Symeoni, "FRANCOYS. I· ROY DE FRANCE",* impresa *illustration from*: Discours Francois, Toscan, et Latin sur la cognaissance des esprits et desseings des hommes, suibant un Dialogue Italien i, parfaict des Devises amoreuses et militaires de Monsieur Paul Iouio, *fol. XIv* (*1556*). *Pen drawing. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (*Manuscript Ashburnam 1376, fol. 11v*). *Detail, lower half of the page.*
IMAGE © WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE MIBACT. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OR DUPLICATION BY ANY MEANS IS PROHIBITED.

the tenth birthday of her son, the future King Francis I, in 1504.[109] An explanation also was given of the symbolic meaning of certain attributive details of the depicted animal, such as the 'S'-shaped line of spinal bones stood for Savoie the dragon-serpent appearance for the Visconti heritage, the tail's knot

109 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques (Série royale 63); Lecoq, A.-M., "La Salamandre royale dans les Entrées de François Ier", in Jacquot J. (ed.), *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* vol. III (Paris: 1975) 95, fig. 1. Fourrier T. – Parot F., "Qu'est-ce que Chambord? Etude du décor sculpté et nouvelles interpretations", in Beaune C. (ed.), *Comprendre Chambord à travers de son décor sculpté*, Mémoires de la Société des Sciences & Lettres de Loir-et-Cher 65 (Blois: 2010) 32. Gabriele M., "La tempérante salamandre. Aux origines de la devise de François Ier", in Petey-Girard B. – Vène M. (eds.), *François Ier, pouvoir et image*, exh. cat., Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris: 2015) 84–85.

to indicate the Franciscans, and the spitting of flames and of water drops.[110] Furthermore, another element of political significance concerns the progressive transformation of the French crown above the animal. When the *impresa*-bearer Francis I de Valois-Angoulême (1494–1547) was crowned in 1515, the salamander was also first depicted with a crown. Subsequently, this crown's shape was changed to resemble the imperial crown of Charlemagne, with the sole difference that the surmounting cross was replaced by a lily.[111]

The variety of salamander applications throughout the kingdom of Francis I is quite fascinating: brachiosaurus-salamanders on the *Tour de cygne* in Auxonne and on the castle roof of Chambord; a crocodile-salamander on the chimney in the manor house of *La Possonnière*; a rat-tailed–salamander on the chimney in the castle of Grignan and in the Scibec decoration of the castle in Fontainebleau; dog-eared salamanders on the loggia portal and chapel vault of the castle in Blois, on the clock tower in Riom, and on a medal from 1537; salamanders with turtle-feet in the vault cassettes in the castle of Chambord; Dracula-fingered salamanders in vault cassettes of the stairway in the castle of Villers-Cotterêts; salamanders with stars on their body in the castle of Azay-le-Rideau; winged salamanders on the chimneys of the former castle in Boulogne-Bilancourt;[112] salamanders with a collar on the facades of the church Saint-Louis in Rome and on the fragment of the former castle of Sarcus, where the tail additionally ends in a fin;[113] salamanders with horn-pointed noses in the choir of the church in Oiron, in the *Dialogo* manuscripts, and on the abovementioned birthday medal; coloured salamanders in green in the illuminations made at the occasion of the *Entrée de François Ier à Lyon* of 1515; coloured salamanders in gold on the dedication page of the *Fausto Andrelini* manuscript from 1515; and coloured salamanders in blue in Hugues Salel's translation of Homer, to name just some examples.[114]

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110 Lecoq, "La Salamandre royale" 96. Lecoq A.-M., *François Ier imaginaire. Symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris: 1987) 48–50. Sawkins A., "Royal and Imperial Emblematics in the Architecture of François I", in Böker H.J. – Daly P.M. (eds.), *The Emblem and Architecture: Studies in Applied Emblematics from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*, Imago Figurata 2 (Turnhout: 1999) 183.

111 Fourrier – Parot, "Qu'est-ce que Chambord?" 27.

112 Chatenet M., *Le Château de Madrid au Bois de Boulogne. Sa place dans les rapports franco-italiens autour de 1530* (Paris: 1987) 201, figs. 24–25.

113 The fragment is translocated. It is situated today in the Parc Hébert in Nogent-sur-Oise.

114 See the manuscripts Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Extravagantes (Codex Guelf. 86.4), and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (Latin 8397 and Français 2497) on: http://expositions.bnf.fr/francoisIer/albums/salamandre/index.htm.

How can one explain this variety of forms? Is this because of the variety and multitude of artisans involved, both those in royal service and the peripheral ones[115]? Is it because of the fluctuating mood of the employees, who had to accomplish hundreds of depictions of the same animal for the egomaniacal sovereign[116]? And where are the fire salamanders (*Salamandra salamandra*) with their characteristic black and yellow design, especially since these colours were those of this king?

In the castle gardens of the Loire region, one can find a specimen of *Podarcis muralis*, which through their colour and foot shape might have inspired the artists. Salamanders were considered to be reptiles.[117] Today, one knows that this is not true: salamanders are amphibians. They breed in water, where the offspring, once they enter adolescence, develop external gills.[118] These form a collar around the neck similar to the depictions of the animal found in Rome and Sarcus. The upper jaw of a fire salamander happens to be larger than the lower jaw. Maybe this detail is where the horn-pointed nose of some of the depicted salamanders comes from. The colour design of the black skin varies in the quantity and surface-scale of yellow spots. In the Alps, the male *Ichthyosaura alpestris* is blue. The *Salamandra atra* has very pronounced glands, and in southern France another salamander species with green skin exists: the *Speleomantes strinatii*.[119] Yet, neither the reptile *Podarcis muralis*—'lézard' in French, 'lucertola' in Italian—nor, for example, this cave salamander—'triton(e)'—is called 'salamandra', which was, by the way, the nickname of Francis I.[120] The first zoological opus of early modern times, the *Historia animalium* by Conrad Gesner, shows the 'Italian *salamandra*' in fact as an animal similar to the *Salamandra salamandra* and lists a number of French names for it: 'Sourd, Blande, Alebreñe, Arrassade, That, et Normannis (ni fallor) Muron'.[121]

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115 More about the traveling artists in charge for the royal projects in: Lelièvre P., "Entrées Royales à Nantes à l'Époque de la Renaissance 1500–1551", in Jacquot, *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* vol. III, 90–91.

116 Girault P.-G. (ed.), *François Ier, images d'un roi, de l'histoire à la légende*, exh. cat., Château royal de Blois (Paris – Blois: 2006).

117 Konstantinowa A., *Ein englisches Bestiar des 12. Jahrhunderts in der Staatsbibliothek zu Leningrad* (Berlin: 1929) 24.

118 See the generic drawing in: Thiesmeier B., *Ökologie des Feuersalamanders*, Ökologie 6 (Essen: 1992) 47, fig. 24.

119 Sparreboom M., *Salamanders of the Old World: The Salamanders of Europe, Asia and Northern Africa* (Zeist: 2014) 162, 213, and 315–316.

120 Caldwell, *Sixteenth-Century Italian 'Impresa'* 9–10.

121 Quotations are from Gesner Conrad, *Icones animalium quadrupedum viviparorum et oviparorum* (Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1560) 119. http://www.e-rara.ch/doi/10.3931/e-rara-1668.

Furthermore, Gesner also gives a '*Salamandra figura falsa*', presenting a picture of the *Stellio* (Ovid, *Metamorphosis* v, 458–461), which has a feathered body in this depiction, which make it look like it is engulfed in little flames, Dracula-like fingers, a very distinct nose and ears, a spinal line of stars, and a bi-forked tail-tip.[122] It seems that in doing so, Gesner summarized in his work what he saw produced during a long time span through François's pictorial propaganda.

For the artists who had to accomplish the visual campaign of the salamander *impresa* without ever having come across a specimen of the *Salamandra salamandra*, the lizard and other salamander species mentioned *supra* could nevertheless have served as substitutes. When it comes to the exotic colouring of the salamander in the *impresa* representations, it is possible that one of the reasons for the colour choice is aesthetic: they wanted it to fit nicely into the composition of its context. In accordance with their function as recognizable signs of identity and with their use as decorative motifs, *imprese* should first be composed as colourless models, which then could 'easily be integrated into any color scheme'.[123] In fact, some of the unnaturally coloured salamander representations could be due to a shift in the king's personal preferences. François and his court appeared in white, yellow, and black garments, matching the natural colours of the *Salamandra salamandra*, during important foreign meetings from 1520 to 1531, for example at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, when he wanted to impress Henry VIII of England.[124] Later, for instance at royal entries in 1532–1541, Francis dressed in yellow, red, and violet. The salamander in the respective accounts was portrayed in the same colours, which made it more closely resemble an *Ichthyosaura alpestris*.[125]

There is much to say about the physical appearance of the animal, but what about the fire? In the 16th century, Cellini (1500–1571) reports in his autobiography that when he was five years old he saw a salamander sitting in the fire. His father had discovered the animal and wanted him never to forget this rare

122 Gesner, *Icones animalium quadrupedum viviparorum* 119.

123 Russell, *The Emblem and the Device* 50.

124 Another important example, where he caused an impression with the yellow-black-white colour combination, was his forced wedding to the emperor's sister, Eleonore of Habsburg, in 1530. During the time of his coronation, however, 1515–1520, he wore his predecessor's colours—white, red, and yellow. Finally, white and black were his colours from 1541 to 1547 in memory of his first wife; Hablot, *La devise* vol. II, 576.

125 See the equivalent colouration of his salamander *impresa* in Salel's opus as mentioned *supra*.

event.[126] Leonardo da Vinci interpreted the salamander, which was nourished by fire, as a virtuous way of gaining power.[127] He took some notes about the animal's behaviour, which he, as an 'omo sanza lettere' ('an illiterate'), could not have read in Latin and Greek literature,[128] whereas other *imprese* inventors could refer to Aristotle, who claimed that salamanders would not burn while crossing a fire.[129] Aristotle's *History of Animals* was printed in 1497 by Aldus Manutius, which made that information even more readily available. Although the *Aldines* had no influence on Francis's grandfather, who had chosen this animal for his symbol three decades before their invention, the reprints reinforced common beliefs. After Aristotle's *History of Animals*, the salamander was also a subject of interest in the books of Nicander, Pliny, the *Physiologus*, Isidore of Seville, Richard de Fournival, and several other medieval bestiaries.[130] All of them tell the same tale, and ignore the detail in which salamanders 'extinguish fire only while crossing', thus increasing their power even further.

Albertus Magnus observed nature more closely. He critically referred to Galenus: 'ignis impressionem non efficit in ea: sed si diu moratur, aduritur', that 'the salamander is able to extinguish a fire, given the quality of its skin, but only for short periods of time, and it dies when it is exposed for too long'.[131]

The idea of fire probably is based on a misunderstanding of the word 'fire'. 'Fire' probably indicated the contact reaction or 'burning' skin irritation that occurs when one comes too close to the *Salamandra salamandra*.[132] If the animal feels threatened, it discharges a white substance, *Samandaron* ($C_{19}H_{29}NO_2$), from the glands on its back, of which 0.1 mg is sufficient to kill a mouse.[133]

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126 Cellini Benvenuto, *Mein Leben. Die Autobiographie eines Künstlers aus der Renaissance*, trans. J. Laager (Florence: 1558; reprint, Zürich: 2000) 15.

127 Leonardo da Vinci, [pamphlets] vol. I, fol. XIII, quoted from: Leonardo da Vinci, *Scritti* 78.

128 Leonardo da Vinci, [miscellaneo] (n.p.), fol. CCCXXVII. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Codice Atlanticus, quoted from: Leonardo da Vinci, *Scritti* 191 and 206.

129 Aristotle, *De historia animalium* V, xix, 552 b 15–17.

130 Nicander Colophonius, *Theriaca* 818–821. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* X, 188. Physiologus Graecus, 31. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XII, 4, 36–37. Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour* 15, 41–43. Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire Divin.* Konstantinowa, *Ein englisches Bestiar des 12. Jahrhunderts* 24.

131 Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus libri XXVI* XXV, 46 salamandra, 36, fol. CCCCXIXr–v, *quot*ed from: Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus* vol. II, 1571.

132 Dittrich – Dittrich, *Lexikon der Tiersymbole* 424. Human reaction at the sight of live salamanders in nature nowadays varies between startled response and active protection.

133 Thiesmeier, *Ökologie des Feuersalamanders* 23. Also of interest concerning the defensive strategy of this animal: a salamander, while attacking, lowers its head. However, the male raises his head to impress females. Sparreboom, *Salamanders of the Old World* 325

The belief in an animal belonging to the element of fire was so strong that salamander skin was burned to white powder and regarded as a substance with the positive quality of asbestos. The fire salamander was considered to be superior to the phoenix because it would not even die in a fire. In the symbolic competition between devices, also played by other royal houses in Europe, the salamander proved to be a suitable instrument for pictorial propaganda on several occasions. Francis's second wife, Eleonore of Austria, for instance, whom he had to marry by command of the emperor—his greatest political rival—happened to have as her symbol that legendary bird the phoenix, which was otherwise very popular for its reinterpreted symbolism of Christian life.

Giovio described Francis's salamander as an example in which the quality of an *impresa* changes from the function of talisman (giving protection to the bearer in the battlefield, and making the others believe in his strength) to a sign in which sweetness and joy in love become apparent. Perfectly fitting into this picture are illuminations painted shortly after Francis's crowning, in which the salamander supports a lily alongside the ermine, an animal which is connected to his first wife—Claude de France. Through its huge size the flower represents a French 'tree of life'. As Claude's father, the former king, had failed to produce a male heir, this was an important propagandistic element for the dynasty, which had to face more threats than mere political ones. The same goes for the salamanders, which after the death of Claude are portrayed as nourishing their offspring in a pelican-like manner with their own flesh, in Francis's private oratory in the castle of Chambord. They demonstrate the shift from a juvenile type of love to a paternal type. Despite their aggressive dragon-like features, the salamander representations portray Christian love. The curled-up position in which the *impresa* animal of the *rex cristianissimus* was shaped into many applications might be alluding to the *Agnus Dei*.[134]

Since the beginning of the 15th century with medals for several Italians, the fire salamander had become a metaphor for a virtuous man, one who is not tempted by luxury.[135] In his explanation, Giovio states that Francis created

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and 332. It is highly unlikely that this ethological detail was known in the 16th century. However, given these zoological considerations, it is possible to interpret the lowered head and raised head variants of the salamander *impresa* as expressing either military or romantic purposes.

134 Fourrier – Parot, "Qu'est-ce que Chambord?" 25.

135 This ideal, which swept from Italy to France, shows the influence of the Italian Renaissance on French culture. If not through the medal of Antonio Spannocchi (1474–1530), and the similar one of Federico II Gonzaga (1500–1540), the success of the salamander would have been reinforced through the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptorum literis commentarii* XVI, 21, and Scève's *Délie, object de plus haulte vertu*

the *impresa* himself, and he does not mention these inherited connotations of justice.[136] Giovio neglects the sophisticated development of both senses—the literal and the spiritual, *corpo* and *anima*—of this *impresa*.[137] In fact, in contrast to an ever more elaborate representation of a spitting salamander, the motto became more elliptical. The substitution of the full motto's length saying what to extinguish and what to nourish, by either spitting water drops or fire flames, reveals a transformation towards a more discrete composition.[138] At the same time, the depicted animal itself became more artificial. In the applications at the Castle of Fontainebleau, for example, we find many zoological deformations: salamanders with excessive neck lengths and twisted postures, such as ones turning their head 180 degrees, dancing on one foot, or curling their unknotted tail in intriguing ways around their legs. Ultimately, the animal represents, as we have seen, a variety of meanings for the king.

From illuminations in bestiaries to prominent relief sculptures on facades, stair vaults, and, of course, chimneys, applications on books, tapestries, garments, and weapons, and visual representations in contemporary written sources, such as the books by Horapollo[139] and Paradin,[140] the woodcut in Giovio most closely follows the relief of the *Coulevrines moyennes* from 1520 [Fig. 7.9].[141] This informs us that empirical observation of nature, traditional knowledge derived from books, and ambitious applications on prestigious

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CCIX. Hill G.F., *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini* (London: 1930; reprint, London: 1984) vol. I, no. 314. Hablot, *La devise* vol. II, 574. Signorini R., "Imprese gonzaghesche", in Bugli M.S. (ed.), *Monete e medaglie di Mantova e dei Gonzaga dal XII al XIX secolo*, 7 vols. (Milan: 1996) vol. II, 117.

136 Unlike him, Paradin and Symeoni were more familiar with the original motto: 'Nudrisco il buono, & Spegno il reo'; Paradin, *Devises Heroïques* 16. 'Pour nourrir la vertu et esteindre le vice'; Symeoni, *Discours Francois*, fol. XIv.

137 Giovio's remark about the salamander *impresa* can, however, be seen as a sign of awareness—after brief mentions of the device of Charles VIII, based on his initial, and the porcupine of Louis XII, based on the homonymous order, Giovio indicates how François's salamander is slightly more complex.

138 Even if interpreted solely for love, François was not the first to have his *impresa* dedicated to it; Russell, *The Emblem and the Device* 28. Whereas the political sign of a *persona publica* needed to be distinguishable and comprehensible to the majority, the ones for matters of love were obscure by discretion; Lippincott, "Genesis and Significance" 62.

139 Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* II, 62. Though Horapollo's book is not contemporary to Valerian and Paradin, its rediscovery and edited translations, as well as the metaphorical character of its sign explanation, place it closer to the *aetas emblematica* than to the late antiquities.

140 Paradin, *Devises Heroïques* 16–17.

141 In the battle of Pavia in 1525, François had lost some of his cannons. They were taken by his adversary, Emperor Charles V, who made further use of them in subsequent wars.

FIGURE 7.9 *G.* [*Anonymous French*], *"Coulevrines moyenne"* (*1520*). *French caliber, length 2.95 m, weight 617 kg, ammunition 1.5-kg iron ball. Paris, Musée de l'Armée,* (*N. 84*). *Detail on the upper stock.*
IMAGE © MAREN C. BIEDERBICK WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE MUSÉE DE L'ARMÉE – HÔTEL NATIONAL DES INVALIDES PARIS.

objects did not have an impact on the more common perception of the salamander *impresa*, whereas decoration on utilitarian items actually had.

The Porcupine

Francis's predecessor, Louis XII de Valois (1462–1515), had a porcupine for his *impresa*.[142] At first glance, this seems to be a very peculiar choice for a king, given this animal has borne a negative connotation during his time and today.[143] Nonetheless, the example serves as a perfect model to prove the effect of the complementarity of picture and motto, which Giovio registered in his five *impresa* conditions. Through the motto 'COMINVS ET EMINVS' ('near and far'), this *impresa* served as a positive syllogism—meaning the readiness to fight 'near and far'. Emanuele Tesauro pointed out that this readiness to fight could have also been symbolized by a spear.[144]

Originally, the porcupine was created as a device. In 1394, after the birth of his son Charles (the future father of Louis XII), Louis, duke of Orléans, had acquired the sign of the porcupine as a talisman with the same motto, which was associated with the Order of Camail. This was in response to the mad behaviour of his brother, King Charles VI, as well as the assassination attempts that were ordered by the duke of Burgundy, Jean sans Peur.[145] When in 1440 Charles, then the duke of Orléans, celebrated his engagement to Mary of Cleves, Charles would not wear the offered collar of the order of her uncle unless Philippe le Bon, successor of the duke of Burgundy, first accepted the collar of the order of the porcupine.[146] Shortly before 1482, when Louis XII claimed Milan as an offspring of Valentina Visconti, he revived the family totem of his forefathers.[147]

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142 For more detailed information, see: Hablot, *La devise* vol. II, 563–565.

143 Hochner N., "Louis XII and the Porcupine: Transformations of a Royal Emblem", *Renaissance Studies* 15, 1 (2001) 17. The answer as to whether the animal had been a symbol for avarice and gourmandise before, due to its iconographic similarity to hedgehogs, or had become such due to the point of view of the adversaries of the dukes of Orléans, must remain open; Hablot, *La devise* vol. II, 549. Dittrich – Dittrich, *Lexikon der Tiersymbole* 506.

144 Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* 64–65.

145 Luyt Robert, *Le plus illustre ornement de la noblesse. Les ordres de chevallerie, institués par les roys et princes souverains*, ed. A. Matton (Troyes: 1661; facsimile, Dannemoine: 1987) 34. Hablot, *La devise* vol. II, 548.

146 Champollion-Figeac A., *Documents paléographiques relatifs à l'histoire des beaux-arts et belles-lettres pendant le Moyen Age, tirés des Archives départementales de France et des bibliothèques publiques* (Paris: 1868) 364.

147 Thibault P. (ed.), *Louis XII. Images d'un roi. De l'imperator au père du peuple*, exh. cat., Château de Blois (Blois: 1987), no. I.1.

Although unforeseen, he nevertheless became king sixteen years later, and thereby, holding the chair of the Order of Saint-Michel, he kept the animal as his *impresa*.[148]

Claudian had described porcupines as having a snout similar to that of a pig, with little flocci to imitate horns on its head, an intimidating forest of thorns on its back, and a body with the shape of a puppy.[149] In 1551 Giovio tried to separate the king's alter ego from the common expression 'porco spinoso'—spined pig—by clarifying that the proper word, rather, would be 'istrice'. His explanation of the animal's behaviour—bumping on purpose into whoever annoys it, or shooting spines—still does not give a dignified impression.[150]

Aristotle briefly mentions the porcupine's pelage as a comparison while reporting on spiders shooting their webs to create a net.[151] Pliny wrote that porcupines

> spinea contectas cute irenaceorum genere, sed hystrici longiores aculei et, cum intendit cutem, missiles ora urguentium figit canum et paulo longius iaculatur.[152]
>
> It is covered with a prickly skin of the hedgehogs' kind, but the spines of the porcupine are longer and they dart out when it draws the skin tight: it pierces the mouths of hounds when they close on it, and shoots out at them when further off.

Indeed, porcupines (*Hystrix cristata*) have modified hairs: their quills are coated with thick plates of keratin, rendering them similar to spines. The whole body is covered, as if with a dense armour, including: 2–4.5 cm of short, flattened quills and bristles on the head, neck, feet, and belly; 30- to 40-cm–long inflexible circular quills on the back and sides; a 50-cm–long, erectile crest of coarse hair from the top of the head to the shoulders; fuzzy bristles in the lumbar region; and 5- to 8-cm-long rattle-quills that enlarge the tail. Embedded in

148 Hochner N., "Louis XII et le porc-épic des ducs d'Orléans (1394–1515)", *Les amis du château et des monuments de Blois* 32 (2001) 17–18. His grandson Charles d'Angoulême chose the same animal for his *impresa* when he became duke of Orléans in 1540; Hablot, *La devise* vol. II, 578.

149 Claudian, *Carmina Minora* IX, 43 ff.

150 Giovio, *Dialogo dell' imprese*, fol. IXr.

151 Aristotle, *Historia animalium* IX, xxxix, 623 a.

152 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* VIII, 125, quoted from: Pliny, *Natural History* vol. III, 88–89.

the skin musculature, these large-sized rodents can raise their quills through contraction when a defence response against possible predators is triggered. As the quills are loosely rooted, they may simply drop out when the animal shakes its body, or they can be released by mere contact. Porcupines cannot shoot out spines. A harpoon effect is obtained by microscopic spiny bristles on the surface of each quill, which point nearly in the opposite direction from the quill itself. Removing them from the wounded 'aggressor' is difficult. The erection of their quills and crest is just the initial of four categories in the porcupine's offensive defence strategy. The porcupine's ultimate defence is to run in this mode sideways or backwards into the threatening enemy, causing lethal wounds.[153]

This nocturnal animal is difficult to study. The porcupine has always been seen as a very interesting animal, but domesticating this animal was not easy. At the end of the 15th century, travelling carnies displayed them in their shows.[154] Judging from the device visualizations, only a few artists had actually seen this animal. Pig-snouted and cloven-hooved porcupines were sculpted on the Porte de Comté in Auxonne in 1503,[155] and illuminated in Pierre Gringore's 1509 manuscript *Abuz du monde*.[156] Long, prickled hedgehogs became popular due to the model of the gold medal that Michel Colombe and Jean Chapillon had created for Louis XII in 1499.[157] After having added a collar of camail to the porcupine, later relief presentations were made in which this martial attribute was enlarged.[158] The quills on the head of the animal were thereby more isolated in order to form horn-like tufts. The Pliny-Claudian porcupine hybrid became the most applied version in the Loire Valley and on garment representations.

Both Giovio in 1551 and Symeoni in 1556 were more familiar with the porcupine's diverse quill length, displaying in their work a skin/musculature-contracting porcupine with a catlike snout on the one hand, and a relaxed exemplar with a badger's snout on the other hand [Figs. 7.10–7.11]. Greater respect to the actual zoology of the animal was given by Conrad Gesner's *Historia*

153 Mori E. – Maggini I. – Menchetti M., "When Quills Kill: The Defense Strategy of the Crested Porcupine 'Hystrix cristata' L., 1758", *Mammalia* 78, 2 (2014) 229–230.

154 Dittrich – Dittrich, *Lexikon der Tiersymbole* 505.

155 Speranza M., "La porte de Comté 1503", *Bulletin de la Communauté de communes Auxonne—Val de Saône 15* (2012) 6–7.

156 Fol. XLIX. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, (MS. 42); Lecoq, *François Ier imaginaire* 134.

157 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles; G.F. Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance* (Oxford: 1920), fig. 25, 3.

158 Curiously, we see a flip, from members of the Order of Camail wearing a porcupine necklace to a representation of a porcupine wearing a camail around its neck. Hablot, *La devise* vol. II, 550.

FIGURE 7.10 *Anonymous, "COMINVS ET EMINVS",* impresa *illustration from*: Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose. Monsignor Pavlo Iovio, Vescovo di Nocera, Al Magnanimo Signore Cosmo de Medici Duca di Fiorenza. Interlocutori detto mons Iovio et M. Lvdovico Domenichi, *fol. IXv* (*post August 1551*). *Coloured pen drawing. Como, Società Storica Comense, c/o Fondazione-centro studi "Nicolò Rusca"* (*fondo Aliati, b. 28, fol. 24*). *Detail, upper half of the page.*
IMAGE © MAREN C. BIEDERBICK WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE SOCIETÀ STORICA COMENSE.

animalium in 1551. Gesner stated that this animal has 'pedes anteriores melis, posteriores ursi pedibus' ('the front feet of a badger and hind feet of a bear'). Furthermore, the illustration in his book presents the animal with three different types of quills on its head, back, and tail.[159] Despite this new zoological knowledge, the Lyons edition of Paradin's *Devises* contains an illustration of a hedgehog shooting its spines. This new knowledge was also ignored by the engraver of Giovio's *Dialogo*. In the same impressive manner by which a peacock displays its tail, in the woodcut the porcupine raises its quills in a similar circular arrangement.[160] Its wing-like tufts on the back and diagonally crossing

159 Gesner, *Icones animalium quadrupedum viviparorum* 87–88.

160 Giovio, *Dialogo dell' imprese* 26. http://dibiki.ub.uni-kiel.de/viewer/image/PPN668469730/30/.

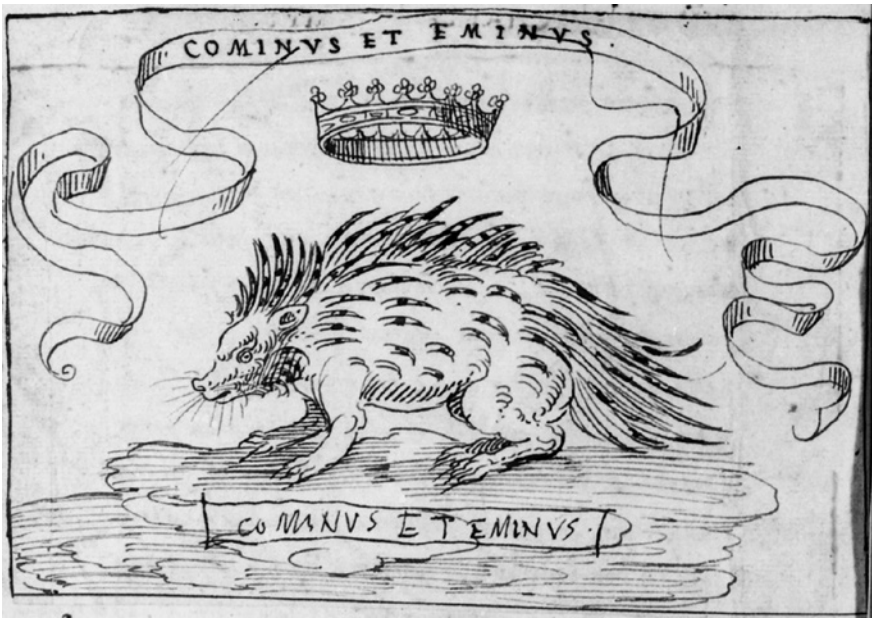

FIGURE 7.11 *Gabriele Symeoni, "LOVIS · XII· ROY DE FRANCE",* impresa *illustration from*: Discours Francois, Toscan, et Latin sur la cognaissance des esprits et desseings des hommes, suibant un Dialogue Italien i, parfaict des Devises amoreuses et militaires de Monsieur Paul Iouio, *fol. Xv* (*1556*). *Pen drawing. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (*Manuscript Ashburnam 1376, fol. 10v*). *Detail, lower half of the page.*
IMAGE © WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE MIBACT. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OR DUPLICATION BY ANY MEANS IS PROHIBITED.

tufts on the head are unprecedented among Louis XII's *impresa* applications. It is reminiscent of the porcupine in Bishop Baillet's tapestry, which was produced nearly sixty years earlier and which was to be hung in the choir of the Cathedral in Auxerre.[161]

161 'La tenture de Saint Etienne. Le corps du martyr exposé aux bêtes' (around 1500); Paris, Musée de Cluny—musée national du Moyen Âge (CL9932); Taburet-Delahaye É., "La Tapisserie: un remarquable ensemble profane et religieux", *Dossier de l'Art 152, Le musée national du Moyen Âge: sculpture—orfèvrerie—vitrail—tapisserie—peinture—céramique—mobilier* (2007) 59. As the city is over 330 km from Lyons, it is unlikely that the woodcuts were directly inspired by the tapestry. It is peculiar that out of more than 40 different porcupine representations throughout France and Italy, from the early 15th century until the second half of the 16th century, these two share the same unique particularities.

Thus, in medieval devices the porcupine is just roughly sketched. Later, it was scrupulously illustrated after details from texts from antiquity. Subsequently, representations of the porcupine started relying on Gesner's *Historia animalium*. However, in the mid-16th century there was a turn towards completely artificialized representations, in which the porcupine is aestheticized by depicting its quills through a perfect fan- arrangement.

The Ermine

The daughter of Louis carried an ermine (*Mustela erminea*) as an *impresa* to follow family tradition. Like her mother, Anne de Bretagne, she was a member of the *Ordre de l'Hermine*, which was founded by François I de Bretagne, who had been inspired by the device of Jean V de Bretagne (1399–1442), and which contained the motto 'A MA VIE' ('for my life').[162]

The animal was admired not only for its fur which during winter was that snowy white that it was seen as a symbol of purity but also for some of its other properties. Around 1490, Leonardo da Vinci sketched the capture of an ermine. He was probably inspired by a book of virtue, which he might have seen earlier during his stay in Florence: the belief was that this animal preferred to starve rather than come into contact with disgusting dirt.[163] This is why representations of the ermine were used to demonstrate Christian attitudes and chivalry. Accordingly, the aristocracy had coats made of ermine fur, or parts of clothing which contained it.

Decades after François I de Bretagne, King Ferdinand I of Naples-Sicily (1431–1494) founded another order in 1465 with the name of that animal. From his collar chain, on the bust created by Mazzoni, an ermine is hanging as a centrepiece.[164] One of the minor reliefs in the small circles at the intersections of the lines framing the major reliefs with battlefield scenery on the bronze door of the Castel Nuovo in Naples shows a dachshund-shaped animal with a motto 'PRO BAN DA' ('determined') [Fig. 7.12].[165] In the 12th century, we find in a Latin bestiary what resembles the features of a 'mustela' (weasel), within fram-

162 Luyt Robert, *Le plus illustre ornement* 98–99.

163 Leonardo da Vinci, Hermine (ca. 1490). Pen and ink. Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum, (PD.120–1961); Zöllner F. – Nathan J., *Leonardo da Vinci. 1452–1519. Das zeichnerische Werk* (Cologne: 2011) vol. II, 496. Anonymous, *Fior di virtù* (n.p.: mid-15th century) fol. LXIIv. The book belonged to the possessions of Pietro 'il Gottoso' de' Medici. Florence, Biblioteca Ricardiana (Codice 1711); Lehmann-Brockhaus O., "Tierdarstellungen der Fiori di Virtù", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts zu Florenz* 6, 1–2 (1940) 25.

164 Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, Collezione Borbone (AM 10527).

165 Hablot, *La devise* vol. II, 32–34. Besides Latin, the motto can also be read in Italian as 'Pro banda' ('for the group/family'), which in Ferdinand's context would also make sense.

FIGURE 7.12 *Guglielmo Monaco, "Triumphal doors", inner arc of the castle portal of the* Castel Nuovo *in Naples (approx. 1475). Bronze. Naples, Castel Nuovo—Maschio Angiono, Museo Civico.*
IMAGE © MAREN C. BIEDERBICK WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE SERVIZIO PATRIMONIO ARTISTICO E BENI CULTURALI DEL COMUNE DI NAPOLI.

ing double circles.[166] In 1447, Pisanello created a medal for Belloto Cumano. On its reverse, an ermine in a mud circle is displayed.[167] 'POTIVS MORI QVAM FOEDARI' ('rather die than be blemished') is said to have been the (posthumous) motto of Cardinal Jaime de Portugal (1434–1459).[168] 'NO · MAI' ('no, never') is the motto of an inlaid ermine encircled by flowers that was the device of Federico III da Montefeltro (1422–1482), a member of the Neapolitan order; the device in this composition was located in the study (1478–1482) of

166 Cambridge University Library II.4. 26; White, *The Bestiary* 92.

167 Wittkower R., *Allegory and Migration of Symbols* (New York: 1987) 121–122.

168 Fumagalli G., *Chi l' hai detto? Tesoro di citazioni italiane e straniere, di origine letteraria e storica, ordinate e annotate* (Milan: 1989; reprint, Milan: 1995) 545.

the ducal palace in Gubbio.[169] An ermine—or weasel—is also pictured at the feet of a man being threatened by a snake in the Florentine countryside on a painting by Filippino Lippi from 1498. In the painting, after having fallen to the snake, this man reports to Jove 'NVLLA DETERIOR PESTIS QUAM FAMILIARIS INIMICVS' ('nothing is a greater calamity than the intimate enemy') concerning the snake, whereas the weasel was regarded as a remedy.[170] In 1510, Carpaccio painted a tiny ermine in a circle of lilies at the feet of Marco Gabriel, who had been decapitated by the Turks in 1501.[171] In the painting, a note sticking among the flowers just above a toad, which crawls towards it, contains the words 'MALO MORI QVAM FOEDARI' ('I prefer to die than to be disfigured'). Giovio mentions precisely this motto when he speaks about Ferdinand's decision to not sentence to death a relative who had tried to assassinate him.[172]

Giovio's Own Impresa—*the Beaver*

The subject of Giovio's own *impresa*, the beaver, is also present in Alciato. Furthermore, it appeared as an analogy in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, which was first published in 1516.[173] However, Giovio preferred to direct the reader to Juvenal's satires[174] for reference. Giovio claimed that when he was in Pavia, many years earlier, he had an *impresa* that featured a beaver biting off its castor sacs, which were thought to be testicles.[175]

The focus on castor sacs is relevant because beavers (*Castor fiber*) were hunted for their *castoreum*, which is found inside the sacs. The hunting declined

169 Francesco di Giorgio Martini – Giuliano and Benedetto da Maiano, *Studiolo from the Ducal Palace in Gubbio* (ca. 1478–1482). Walnut, beech, rosewood, oak, and fruitwoods in walnut base. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Rogers Fund, 1939 (39.153). Hablot, *La devise* vol. II, 300–301.

170 Filippino Lippi: *Allegory* (ca. 1498). Oil, 30 × 23 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (1890, 8378). Dittrich – Dittrich, *Lexikon der Tiersymbole* 207.

171 Vittore Carpaccio, *Young Knight in a Landscape* (1510). Oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza (82.1935.3). http://www.artemagazine.it/uncategorized/32220/scoperto-chi-e-il-cavaliere-thyssen-di-carpaccio/ (4 January 2014).

172 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 37. For the woodcut, see: http://dibiki.ub.uni-kiel.de/viewer/image/PPN668469730/40/.

173 Ariost, *Orlando Furioso* XXVII, 57, 1–4. Nova, "Dialogo dell'imprese" 81. Caldwell, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian 'Impresa'* 15.

174 Juvenal, *Satirae* XII, 34–36.

175 Giovio, *Dialogo dell' imprese* 156–157. http://dibiki.ub.uni-kiel.de/viewer/image/PPN668469730/160/.

when *salicin* started to be produced synthetically.[176] However, beavers were hunted for more than *castoreum*; in fact, all parts of the animal were used—in human medicine, nutrition, clothing, and superstitious practices. Even though beavers were fully exploited, only in exceptional cases could the beaver be kept in long-term captivity.

In Aesop's tale, we find the first record of the prudently self-castrating beaver, which served as source for many epigones.[177] Centuries after Aesop, Albertus Magnus pointed out that 'non quod seipsum castret'[178] ('for it does not castrate itself'). Nevertheless, the beaver became a moral animal throughout the fables of the writers from antiquity and in all the medieval bestiaries, not only for its prudence and chastity but also in the *Books of Virtue* for its peacefulness.[179] However, in Horapollo this animal simply symbolizes a human harming himself.[180]

Giovio claims to have fallen in love while in Pavia and to have suffered because of it, and he felt constrained to act against his own self-interest.[181] What loss did Giovio suffer? There are no details about his love affairs save his one true love: philosophy. He had always loved it, but in order to make a living he had to study medicine in Pavia from 1507 until 1512. Thereafter, Giovio had been a physician before becoming, to his relief, a bishop in 1527.[182] Whether or not his juvenile *amore* was of a mundane or a more 'sacred' nature, and whether or not Giovio really had used this *impresa* in Pavia or just exploited it here to boast, the beaver was traditionally an allegory for a scholar. The motto ΑΝΑΓΚΙ ('constrained'), being written in Greek, reinforces this statement, as contemporaries regarded this language to be suitable for a 'Maestro'.[183]

176 Mertin B., "Castoreum—das Aspirin des Mittelalters", in Sieber J. (ed.), *Biber—Die erfolgreiche Rückkehr* (Linz: 2003) 49.

177 Dittrich – Dittrich, *Lexikon der Tiersymbole* 48. Aesop, *Fabeln*, ed. R. Nickel (Düsseldorf: 2004) 71. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* VIII, 109. Dioscurides, *De materia medica* II, 24. Physiologus Graecus, 23. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XII, 2, 21. Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour* 21, 3. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* XIII, 20, "De Fibro", "Petulantiae supplicium", D-E.

178 Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus* XXII, ii, 1, fol. CCCLXVr, 39, quoted from: Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus* vol. II, 1370.

179 Delcorno C., *Exemplum e letteratura tra medioevo e rinascimento* (Bologna: 1989) 317–319.

180 Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* II, 65.

181 Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese* 156–157.

182 Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio* 6–7.

183 Arbizzoni, *Un nodo di parole* 141.

Following the usual conventions of depiction in the bestiaries, this *impresa* lacks the characteristic texture of the beaver's tail in Symeoni's sketch.[184] However, in the woodcut the animal is very realistic. It sits on the west shore of the *Lario*, close to where Giovio's villa once stood, and behind it is a view of Como.

Tradition versus Observation—Conclusion

Giovio stipulated that *imprese* must consist of a *corpo* and an *anima*. In this, they differ from the tripartite emblem structure of *inscriptio*, *pictura*, and *subscriptio*. Furthermore, *imprese* also had another purpose: rather than morally educating the general reader as emblems did, they communicated the bearer's intention. Belonging to historical personalities of the 15th and the early 16th century, many of the *imprese* described in the *Dialogo dell'imprese* predate Alciato's *emblemata,* which was published from 1530s onward. Therefore, both *imprese* and emblems impact one another. Often, they relied on older books, from which they obtained an understanding of nature, which was of central importance in the *Dialogo dell'imprese* of 1574.

The *imprese* discussed here differ most in their understanding of nature from the perspective of today's scientific knowledge. An examination of their concepts reveals connotations deriving from image conventions that go beyond the message propagated in the motto, the picture, or Giovio's and Symeoni's explanations.

Thus, tradition had a large impact on the process of creating individual *imprese*. Firstly, traditional knowledge about nature was copied from books from antiquity or medieval manuscripts. It was demonstrated here that besides the often explicitly named Pliny, references were also made to Aristotle, Dioscorides, Aelian, Ambrosius, Claudian, Isidore of Seville, Neckam, the *Books of Virtue*, and Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*. Secondly, earlier famous device-bearers unconsciously set new conventions: Their sign choices subsequently became standard for the social status they inhabitated. Furthermore, the higher the social status, the more likely the chosen sign originated from an order or votive action of a respected ancestor. Thereby, often the *imprese*, which are supposedly 'individually' created, are actually a combination of copied mottos or icons.

184 See i.e.: Maerlant, *Der Naturen Bloeme* (1270) fol. XLIXv.; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, (MS KA 16).

By close examination of the most curious appearances of nature in the 1574 *Dialogo* edition, which in fact represents nearly half of the bird, tree, and quadruped *imprese* illustrated in total in that book, it can be concluded that among the depicted ostrich, crane, heron, salamander, porcupine, ermine, and beaver, the tropical and subtropical animals were empirically better studied by the early modern emblematists than native fauna. This can be partly due to the difference in range of exotic court collections and European wildlife animals, partly due to the animals' sizes, and partly due to their daytime or nighttime activity. Concerning the botanical species—palm, fig, and peach tree—the influence of tradition and observation is more balanced because trees were easier to study.

The majority of the *imprese* are based on observation and literature. It is hard to find an *impresa* whose properties cannot be explained by an appeal to either one or the other. It is significant that this was the case for one of the most famous and, in France, seemingly ubiquitous salamander *imprese*. However, its steady presence and numerous recreations over fifty years have provided nearly perfect conditions in which to study its persistent elements and subtle differences. It can thus be concluded that only rare applications of the salamander as a pelican-like parent can be judged to be of no deductive justification.

For the lesser-known *imprese* of Pedro di Val de Roncale di Navarra and Marc' Antonio Colonna, the meanings proved to be more sophistical, hidden in allusions behind the superficial conventions, which presuppose political education and historic knowledge. In contrast, the function of the *imprese* of Alfonso d'Avalos and Nicola di Monforte could only be inferred as, respectively, panegyric, which turned out to be satiric, and didactic.

Finally, it could be shown how the massive application of traditional knowledge has led to the explicit distinction of specific creatures in Gesner's *Historia animalium*, as in the case of the salamander. It was also shown how Gesner's new zoological studies were disregarded in further representations of the animals for symbolic purposes, as in the case of the porcupine.

While mid-century nature aroused a new interest in early modern science, the major tone of the 1574 *Dialogo* edition is still a product of the spirit of the traditional conventions. However, it must be clarified that the two manuscripts, especially the one by Symeoni from 1556, made a greater effort to respect the new ideal of actually seeking and portraying the natural model. Thus, the different shades of traditional knowledge and observation show the slow but progressive infiltration of a new understanding of nature throughout the *imprese* applications and their manifestations in the *Dialogo dell'imprese*.

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PART 2

Emblem Books on Physical Phenomena

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CHAPTER 8

Comets—Celestial Objects in the Emblem Tradition of the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century

Sabine Kalff

Celestial objects have received less attention in emblem studies than other elements of the natural world. Joachim Camerarius' *Symbolorum et Emblematum Centuriae Quattuor* (1590–1604), although concerned with a wide range of natural phenomena such as plants and animals, did not take the stars, sun or moon particularly into consideration. These were only discussed insofar as he attributed to some birds, such as the eagle and the peacock, a particular relationship with celestial objects. The same holds true for plants—since the heliotrope and the sunflower were supposed to possess mythological or natural relationships to the sun, the latter was also briefly considered. On the whole, the sun, moon and stars seem to make only scattered appearances in emblem books.

A remarkable exception is the *Meteorologia philosophico-politica* (1698), composed by the Linz Jesuit theologian Franz Reinzer, in which, being both an emblem book and a traditional meteorological treatise, celestial objects were an important issue in the text as well as in the illustrations. A second edition of this noteworthy publication was printed in 1709 and translated into German three years later; a testimony to its apparent success. The publication has been described as a 'compendium of meteorology, a didactic emblem book, a moralising mirror of princes and an academic disputation'.[1] This mixture of genres results partly from the book's difficult publication history. Originally published as a disputation in the name of Count Johann Bernhard Coelestin von Rödern, for whom Reinzer served as a supervisor, it contained a dedication to Joseph I., the son of the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I. In the second edition of 1709 only Reinzer was named as author and the dedication had disappeared. This is somewhat astonishing, since the author had died the year before and von

1 Meinel C., "Natur als moralische Anstalt. Die Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica des Franz Reinzer S.J., ein naturwissenschaftliches Emblembuch aus dem Jahre 1698", *Nuncius: Annali di Storia della Scienza* 2 (1987) 37–94, 46.

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Rödern, being the younger of both, very probably was still alive.[2] Christoph Meinel, who until today has published the most comprehensive account on Reinzer, suggests that the initial function of the work—particularly with regard to its dedication—was to smooth the way for the young count to the Viennese court. But Meinel also considers Reinzer to be the principal author. This raises the question as to why he did not appear as such in the first edition. It was still a common practice that the supervisor was regarded as the author of the work to be defended, so why should the author explicitly have wished not to appear as such?[3] Let us exclude the notion that Jeremias Wolff, the Augsburg printer, was a good businessman, who might have profited from the fact that the author was dead and would not claim any copyright. There might be reasons why an early modern Jesuit author would labour for years on a very comprehensive and erudite text on natural philosophy and nonetheless wish not to be named as its evident author.

Seemingly, many Jesuit scholars who taught a wide range of subjects in Jesuit colleges were rather too frequently inclined to research and publish extensively on secular subjects such as natural science, which was far removed from religion. While it was generally agreed upon that the erudition of Jesuit scholars enhanced the prestige of the Order, it became increasingly difficult for the members of the Order to publish secular works during the 17th century, not least because prohibited opinions were codified in 1651.[4] Censorship and self-censorship led to an absence of specialised treatises and gave rise to a vast production of reference books such as textbooks and compendia written by Jesuits.[5] Hence, Reinzer's *Meteorologia* is apparently such a mixture of different genres because the author resorted to an emblem book as camouflage for a specialised treatise on meteorology. This strategy explains why the name of von Rödern was dropped from the edition as soon as Reinzer was dead—the author no longer having to fear any conflicts with his Order over scientific publications. The famous Jesuit Athanasius Kircher who equally preferred not to publish his appreciative view on Galileo Galilei's *Sidereus Nuncius* under his own name adopted a similar strategy. It was finally issued under the name of his student Gioseffo Petrucci Romano as *Fisiologia nuova della natura delle comete*

2 The exact dates are unknown. Meinel, "Natur als moralische Anstalt" 50–51.

3 Cf. Daly P.M., "Jesuit Emblems: In the Service of God, Man, or the Society of Jesus?", in Daly P.M., *The Emblem in Early Modern Europe. Contributions to the Theory of the Emblem* (Farnham – Burlington, VT: 2014) 185–219, 192.

4 Feingold M., "Jesuits: Savants", in Feingold M. (ed.), *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA – London: 2003) 1–45, 21.

5 Feingold, "Jesuits: Savants" 16.

(Rome: 1665).[6] In the second edition of the *Meteorologia*, the dedication was dropped, although the dedicatee was still alive in 1709. This shows, together with the fact that the Habsburg emperors are rarely addressed in the treatise, that the praise of the ruler was hardly an essential part of the publication.[7]

This paper will demonstrate that Reinzer's publication was scientifically well informed with regard to astronomy and natural philosophy on the whole. The paper concentrates on comets, because they were a highly controversial phenomenon in the late 17th and early 18th century, which is reflected in the *Meteorologia*. Reinzer's debate on comets will be contextualised with other emblem books and scientific debates concerning comets. Finally, the influence of the *Meteorologia* on other emblematic publications of the 18th century will be discussed.

Reinzer's Concept of Meteorology

Reinzer's *Meteorologia* follows the structure of a dissertation thesis, dividing the whole material into 12 *dissertationes* or sections. Each dissertation is subdivided into *quaestiones* and *conclusiones*. While the questions are dedicated to the scientific discussion of meteorological phenomena, which are presented similarly to traditional meteorologies such as Aristotle's *Meteorologicum libri IV*, the same subjects are treated symbolically in the conclusion, and a moral or political lesson is deduced. The political conclusions finish with an epigram and both parts are illustrated by an emblem. The book contains 83 fine copperplates which were produced by different engravers, among them the Linz painter Wolfgang Joseph Kadoriza, Andreas Matthäus Wolfgang and Johanna Sybilla Krausen.[8] It is not clear to which part of the *dissertationes* the illustrations belong to in particular.[9] In many instances the scientific discussion has little relation to the political conclusion. Sometimes the political

6 Bauer B., commentary of 1. 199a "Iter cometae anni 1664 […] Romae observatum", in Harms W. (ed.): *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 7 vols. (Tübingen: 1980–1997) vol. 1, 408.

7 The author infrequently advocated the Habsburg monarchy, for instance while discussing the Battle of Vienna. But this patriotic stance was very probably shared by many inhabitants of the Habsburg-ruled countries. Reinzer Franz, *Meteorologia philosophico-politica* (Augsburg, Jeremias Wolff: 1712) 88–90.

8 Meinel, "Natur als moralische Anstalt" 87–88.

9 Meinel assumes that the emblems hold together the scientific and the political parts. This is not convincing since they do not refer to both parts equally. Cf. Meiner, "Natur als moralische Anstalt" 86.

derivations even contradict the scientific propositions. The emblem is often more closely linked to the political part.

The scientific part seems to be the most substantial one. Reinzer's *Meteorologia* may be described as a traditional meteorological treatise interspersed with symbolical interpretations of atmospheric phenomena. Reinzer might have chosen to publish an emblem book because it made his tract look less like a specialised scientific treatise. But systematically relating natural phenomena to their assumed political and moral significance was not accidental. It was a common practice, also found for instance in the works on natural philosophy by natural philosopher Ulisse Aldrovandi, who in his *Ornithologia* (1599–1603) systematically included sections on the birds' meteorological, moral, iconographical and literary significance.[10] The systematic reflection on the symbolic significance of natural phenomena seems to have been a less widely propagated practice in the context of meteorology; however, it already formed an integral part of natural philosophy.

In the scientific sections the *Meteorologia* presents itself as a traditional meteorological treatise, dealing with a wide range of natural phenomena that were considered atmospheric. According to the high esteem that was placed on Aristotle—by the Jesuit order as well as by natural philosophers and learned physicians[11]—Reinzer takes the Aristotelian *Meteorologicum libri IV* as a starting point. He defines meteorology as 'die Betrachtung hoher oder in der Höhe schwebender Dinge' ('the observation of things in high places or hovering in the heights'), according to the meaning of the Greek word *meteoron*.[12] He also attacks Paracelsus, who had described *meteora* as 'Früchte der Gestirne' ('fruits of the stars').[13] This stance is taken deliberately in a prominent place on the first page, obviously in order to prove that the author adhered to traditional scientific views, since Paracelsism was one of the prohibited opinions for Jesuit scientists.[14] According to Reinzer, there are two species of *meteora*, 'Dampf und Ausdünstungen' ('steams and vapours'), which were all mixed bodies.[15] Like Aristotle he supposed that *meteora* could occur anywhere in the sublunar

10 Aldrovandi Ulisse, *Ornithologiae*, 3 vols. (Bologna, Giovan Battista Bellagamba: 1599–1603) vol. III, 324–365.

11 Cf. Bylebyl J., "The School of Padua: Humanistic Medicine in the Sixteenth Century", in Webster C. (ed), *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: 1979) 335–370.

12 Reinzer Franz, *Meteorologia* 1.

13 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 1.

14 Cf. e.g. Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 105.

15 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 4.

region: heavens, air, water and earth. Hence atmospheric, oceanographic, geological, mineralogical and many more questions were treated equally in the *Meteorologia*. This was the usual thematic scope of meteorological treatises of the late Early Modern Period.[16]

Reinzer differentiated between fiery, airy, watery and earthly *meteora*. They occurred in different regions. The reason that comets, which Reinzer defined as fiery meteors, were an issue at all in his treatise resulted from the fact that the author at first glance adopted the traditional Aristotelian view that comets were a sub-lunar phenomenon. Aristotle's *Meteorology* did not deal with celestial phenomena at all, as it was limited to phenomena that occurred in the upper regions of the atmosphere, just below the moon. But since Aristotle presumed that not only thunder, lightning, rain or snow were sub-lunar phenomena, but also comets and the Milky Way, these were also dealt with in his text.[17] Although Reinzer did not agree with the opinion that these were truly atmospheric occurrences, he resorted to the Aristotelian structure. Hence, the Aristotelian approach was the reason—and perhaps also an excuse—to discuss celestial objects lengthily.

Following the Aristotelian scheme, Reinzer divides the so-called upper zone, the region between moon and earth, in which atmospheric phenomena were supposed to occur, into three zones: a lower region of moderate temperature; a middle region, that of the clouds which was very cold; and an upper region which was characterised by intense heat. The heat of the third zone was the cause enabling comets to emerge:

> Die Dritte/ welche da den höchsten Ort beziehet/
> Die lechzet von der Hitz'/ der keine Kühlung steuret/
> Dann sie ist immerdar von steter Flamm' geglüet;
> So daß Cometen offt dort scheinen angefeuret.[18]

This extract is a translated quotation of Giovanni Gioviano Pontano's *Meteororum libri* (1490). One wonders why Reinzer refers here—instead of to Aristotle—to Pontano, an astrological writer of the late 15th century, who rejected the existence of physical orbs and claimed that planets were self-moving

16 Cf. Meinel, "Natur als moralische Anstalt" 58–66.

17 Grant E., *Planets, Stars, and Orbs. The Medieval Cosmos, 1200–1687* (Cambridge – New York – Melbourne: 1996) 6.

18 The third which resides in the highest place/ And suffers from the heat which does not provide any cooling/ Is always permeated by constant flames,/ So that comets receive from there their force. Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 11.

rather than being carried around by orbs.[19] Perhaps he wanted to suggest that he shared some more thoughts with Pontano than he admitted in the text.

Comets: Their Place in the *Meteorologia* and in the Heavens

According to Aristotle, comets resulted from a process by which exhalations were combusted in this highest zone of the upper region below the moon:

> When the phenomenon is formed in the upper region, it is due to the combustion of the exhalation. When it takes place at a lower level it is due to the ejection of the exhalation by the condensing and cooling of the moisture exhalation; for this latter, as it condenses and inclines downwards, contracts and thrusts out the hot element and causes it to be thrown downwards. [...] So the material cause of all these phenomena is the exhalation, the efficient cause sometimes the upper motion, sometimes the contraction and condensation of the air.[20]

But in his chapter "Von den Cometen" ("On Comets") Reinzer does not refer to Aristotle but sets out immediately to discuss the place in which comets are generated, thus indicating that he does not share the view of comets being a phenomenon of the sublunar zone. The discussion of the formation of comets is followed by a reflection on their material, formal and efficient causes, an analysis of their shape and a discussion of their size, colour, course and duration, before Reinzer eventually considers their significance as a portent of future events. Although the chapter title refers to Aristotelian categories, for instance to the four causes, the arrangement owes less to Aristotle than to modern works on astronomy. Reinzer seems particularly indebted to the structure of the *Almagestum novum* (1651), written by the renowned Jesuit astronomer Giovanni Battista Riccioli, who discussed formation, substance, location and the distance of comets successively.[21]

Reinzer states boldly that the ancient authors had no extensive knowledge of comets.[22] He thus dismisses them immediately and refers almost exclusively to contemporary scientists. Besides the *Almagestum novum*, one of the lengthiest

19 Grant, *Planets, Stars, and Orbs* 272n.

20 Aristotle, "Meteorology", trans. E.W. Webster in Aristotle, *The Complete Works*, ed. J. Barnes, 2 vols. (Princeton: 1984) vol. 1, 1, 4, 342 16–30.

21 Grant, *Planets, Stars, and Orbs* 355.

22 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 82.

and most erudite studies of comets in 17th century, he frequently quotes from the work of another famous Jesuit astronomer, Christoph Scheiner, who was one of the discoverers of the variability of sunspots around 1610, and who had published (though not under his own name) *De maculis in sole observatis et apparente earum cum sole conversione narratio* (1611).[23] George de Rhodes is mentioned as a third important Jesuit astronomer,[24] who—together with Riccioli—was among those Jesuit scientists who abandoned the traditional scholastic belief in celestial incorruptibility.[25] Also Tycho Brahe is referred to frequently, but this is no surprise, as his cosmology was the easiest of the modern ones to be accepted by those scholastic scientists who were bound to adhere to Aristotle's dogma of celestial incorruptibility.[26] Several times Reinzer also mentions Johannes Hevelius, the astronomer of the Gdańsk observatory and author of the voluminous *Cometographia* (1668) While he seemingly held Hevelius in high esteem, he discusses many of his views concerning comets without necessarily sharing them. Reinzer also summarises views of some controversial authors without any trace of critique. For instance, he names Jean Bodin as a source, although a lot of his work was on the Index.[27] Equally controversial was the astrologer Girolamo Cardano.[28] More problematic than these two late 16th century scientists seems to have been René Descartes,[29] who like Paracelsus is only mentioned in a critical way, although sometimes this appears more as Reinzer's strategy to detach himself resolutely from positions which were, after all, not so different from his own.

Comets, together with the variability of sunspots and the 'new stars' (supernovae)—including the one of 1572 famously examined by Tycho Brahe and that of 1604 by Johannes Kepler—posed a serious challenge to the assumption of heavenly incorruptibility during the 17th century. Comets became a threat to Aristotelian and medieval concepts when several astronomers assumed that they were not a sub-lunar, but a celestial phenomenon. Based on the observation of the comet's parallax, Brahe and other astronomers placed the comet of 1577 in the celestial region. The higher an object was in space, the smaller was

23 Feingold, "Jesuits: Savants" 20.

24 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 96.

25 Grant E., "The Partial Transformation of Medieval Cosmology by Jesuits in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in Feingold M. (ed.), *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA – London: 2003) 127–155, 138.

26 Grant, "Partial Transformation" 135.

27 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 84.

28 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 105.

29 Cf. e.g. Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 87.

its parallax, the difference of angle between distinct points of observation. The comet had no measurable parallax. This was a hard fact to deny, even for those who wished to maintain the Aristotelian assumption of the incorruptibility of the heavens, to which—doubtlessly—the Jesuits belonged to. There were three possibilities to position oneself with regard to the astronomical findings—to maintain that comets were below the moon, that they were above the moon, or that some comets were below and some above.[30]

Despite his Aristotelian stance, Reinzer has no problem admitting that comets were celestial objects. He refers to the authority of a multitude of modern astronomers, among them Tycho Brahe, Michael Maestlin, Cornelius Gemma and Johannes Kepler. Reinzer excuses Aristotle's ignorance of the fact that comets were superlunar phenomena, 'weilen man zu seiner Zeit noch nicht so viel neue Sterne entdeckt, oder die Paralaxes untersucht gehabt' ('since during his lifetime not that many new stars were discovered or their parallaxes not yet studied') and concludes that nowadays even Aristotle would have shared the modern astronomers' views.[31] But Reinzer does not deny the existence of sublunar comets on the whole—they could also appear below the moon, but he mentiones this possibility only in passing. He thus took a similar stance as Riccioli, who acknowledged the existence of comets both above and below the moon.[32]

Comets in the Emblems

The first chapter on comets starts, as we have seen, with a bold assumption, and is followed by a political reflection on the necessity to admonish first before a sentence is pronounced. This topic already anticipated the final point of the chapter on comets: if comets foreshadowed future events. Reinzer believes that they were warnings, but in a neutral sense. They did not merely indicate negative future events, but also positive ones. As such, their function was to heighten the observer's vigilance. Like the Greek god Mercury, the comet was only a divine messenger, a neutral agent. This part of the text is also referred to by the following emblem [Fig. 8.1], depicting a sleeping person in bed accompanied by Mercury who points to a luminous comet, which can be seen through the window. The motto of the emblem reads 'Metuenda minatur'. This motto mainly refers to the last part of the political reflection, which is a

30 Grant, *Planets, Stars, and Orbs* 355.

31 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 83.

32 Grant, *Planets, Stars, and Orbs* 355.

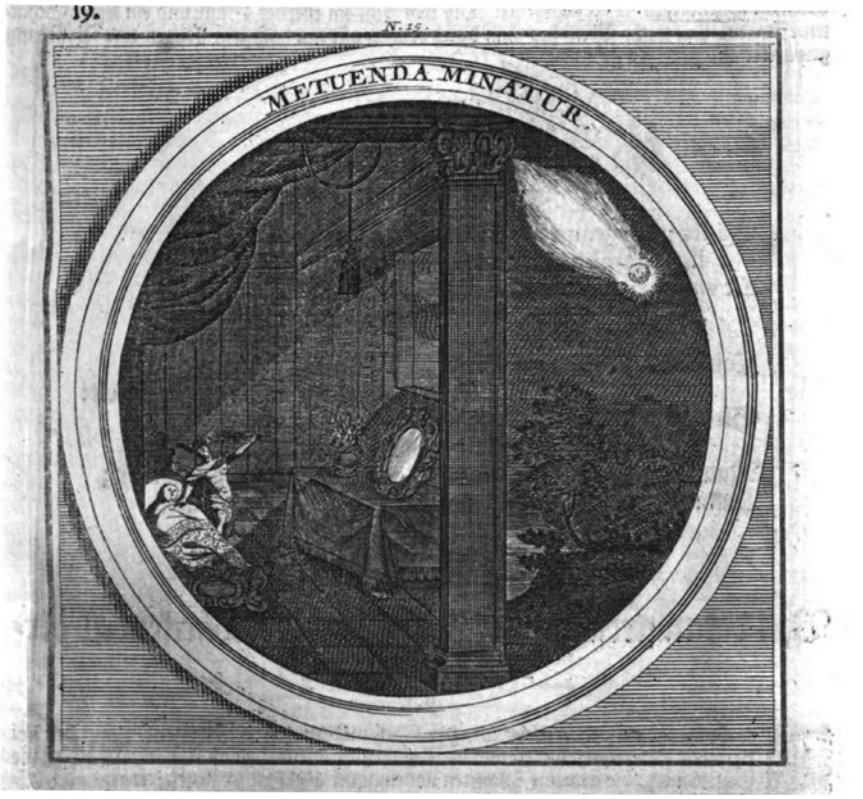

FIGURE 8.1 *Emblem no. 19, "Metuenda minatur", copperplate illustration to Franz Reinzer's* Meteorologia philosophico-politica (*Augsburg, Jeremias Wolff: 1712*) *86.*

conventional admonishment of rulers to use clemency rather than to impose cruel sentences. The motto thus echoes the message 'menacing suffices', which is repeated several times throughout the *Meteorologia* and illustrated in different ways, for instance by a lion watching authoritatively over a variety of other animals.[33]

After discussing the different shapes of comets—here Reinzer borrowed elements from Ulisse Aldrovandi's classification of nine different forms of comets[34]—emblem no. 21 depicts [Fig. 8.2] no less than seven comets with different shapes. But the motto again refers exclusively to the political conclusion

33 Cf. emblem no. 13, Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 55.

34 Cf. Aldrovandi Ulisse, *Monstrorum historia* (Bologna, Nicolò Tebaldini and Marco Antonio Bernia: 1642) 724 and Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 83.

FIGURE 8.2 *Emblem no. 21, "Fugatur ab ortu", copperplate illustration to Franz Reinzer's* Meteorologia philosophico-politica (*Augsburg, Jeremias Wolff: 1712*) *94.*

and reads 'Fugatur ab ortu', meaning that vices, which are depicted here as wild animals, must be fought against or suppressed from the very beginning. The text exemplifies this with the image of the body politic whose infected limbs must be cut off as soon as possible. Here, Reinzer refers to the Flemish stoic Justus Lipsius, who had adopted many elements from authors on the reason of state. The suggestion to radically cure political illnesses by amputations was evidently inspired by the reason of state literature.[35] It is evident for instance

35 Kalff S., *Politische Medizin der Frühen Neuzeit. Die Figur des Arztes in Italien und England im frühen 17. Jahrhundert* (Boston, Berlin: 2014) 427–428.

in the treatise of Filippo Cavriana, the royal physician of Caterina de' Medici who stated:

> In quella a guisa che il Medico per conservare un corpo dalla corrozzione, è tal volta forzato a dovere un membro infetto tagliare; così nel governo delli stati fa di mestiero d'usare a certi tempi il rigore, che invero, è quasi spezie di crudeltà, e da coloro i quali di ciò non conoscono la cagione, che è di mantenere la publica tranquillità, et l'honor del Principe, quando d'esso l'autore ne sia ministro, vien facilmente biasmato.
>
> In the same way as a physician who is sometimes forced to cut off an infectious limb in order to preserve the body from decay, the government of states has to act vigorously or even cruelly from time to time, which is easily condemned by those who do not understand the reason, which is to maintain the public order.[36]

The drastic assumption that infected limbs were contagious and should be cut off as soon as possible was strongly related to the late medieval and early modern experience of plagues. This context is also evident in Reinzer's *Meteorologia* as he concludes with a reflection on epidemics, an epizootic in sheep,[37] probably owed to the book's publication dating around 1700 when the era of recurrent plagues almost had came to an end: the plague of Marseilles 1720–1722 was the last one to strike Europe.

Reinzer's drawing on topics of the reason of state literature indicates that his text cannot easily be classified as a mirror of princes. The relationship between the two genres remains ambiguous—mirrors of princes were frequently at least biased toward a certain ruler, if not openly panegyrically. Treatises on reason of state and the closely related Tacitist literature did this frequently, too, but the rulers appreciated by them often had not gained power legitimately and were not praised because they behaved in accordance with conventional standards of ethical goodness. The efficiency of a political measure was lauded rather than the rulers' morality or virtuous conduct. Reinzer, too, pleads here for efficient political action, which makes the influence of the reason of state literature evident.

While the animals, representing vices, are depicted in the state of being beaten in the illustration, the picture is less violent at the astronomical level:

36 Cavriana Filippo, *Discorsi sopra i primi cinque libri di Cornelio Tacito* (Florence, Filippo Giunti: 1597) 88.

37 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 95.

FIGURE 8.3 *Emblem no. 5, "Lucent, ut prosint", copperplate illustration to Franz Reinzer's* Meteorologia philosophico-politica (*Augsburg, Jeremias Wolff: 1712*) *23.*

the comets are 'chased away' by the emerging sun. But since their expulsion was only temporary—after sunset the comets reappeared—astronomically, emblem no. 21 [Fig. 8.2] primarily offered the opportunity to depict different shapes of comets. This was by no means realistic—seven comets at the same time were highly improbable. Notably, the description of the comets' shapes in the text differed from its depiction. While the others displayed primarily different shapes, the middle one was depicted differently, with a slightly triangular ray rather than a tail.

Similarly unrealistic is the beautiful emblem „Lucent, ut prosint" [Fig. 8.3] depicting a multitude of celestial and atmospheric phenomena. It shows a night scenery in which a group of six astronomers, equipped with a telescope and a celestial globe, enjoy a spectacular gathering of remarkable apparitions in the sky: 17 stars, a moon with a halo, a comet, an atmospheric phenomenon

called *draco volans*, and several other atmospheric phenomena which are discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters, such as 'die Flamme, die hupfende Geiß, die Lantze, das lauffende Gestirn, die schiessende Sterne, das gerade Feuer, der Irrwisch […]' ('the flame, the jumping goat, the spear, the running stars, the shooting stars, the perpendicular fire, the will-o'-the-wisp […]').[38] The text names even more phenomena than those depicted in the emblem. In astronomical terms, the emblem displays an interesting mixture of atmospheric and celestial phenomena. This corresponds to the author's cautious assumption on the location of comets that could occur below and above the moon. The positioning of the comet in the emblem thus reflects the ambiguous state the author assigned to the comet. The comet is set low above the horizon among the stars. But the vicinity of an atmospheric phenomenon, perhaps a flame, shows that it is not quite clear where the comet belongs to—the atmospheric or the celestial apparitions. Of course, it remains somewhat dubious how distance is depicted here. The *draco volans* is bigger in size due to its relative proximity, the same probably holds true for the moon in relation to the stars. The comet again is not depicted with a tail, but with a slightly triangular ray.

The motto of the emblem, "Lucent, ut prosint" at first sight seems to correspond to the political conclusion, which is entitled: 'Ein Politicus soll regieren, daß er Nutzen schaffe' (A politician shall reign forging purposeful things). At second glance "Lucent, ut prosint" does not only relate to politicians, but also to the stars and other celestial objects as indicated by the ship in the background scene.[39] Astronomy—which is clearly the main topic of the emblem, being depicted as a profession and also symbolised by its instruments, a telescope and a celestial globe—was of immediate use for navigation. Hence it is another way to understand the emblem: celestial objects and their observations are useful for navigation. However, this message is only relayed by the emblem, not the two texts.

Reinzer had some surprisingly modern opinions concerning comets. First of all, he was aware that they were not luminous but received their light from the sun.[40] This derived from the insight that the course of the comets was

38 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 25.

39 Since there is hardly any concrete object discernable in the background of the emblem, the few ones present must convey some significance. The only other visible object is a tower, which might serve as a lighthouse and thus be linked to navigation as well.

40 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 91.

periodical,[41] but Reinzer's position regarding the trajectory of comets was not very definite. He writes

> Ingleichem haben sie nicht alle eynerley Bewegung; weilen etliche mit dem Himmel und dem Feuer in einem Circul herum lauffen; einige in die Höhe steigen, welches ihre natürliche Bewegung ist; andere hergegen auf die Seite abweichen, weilen ihnen die oberen Cörper, oder andere Ursachen im Weg stehen, und von welchen sie an ihrem geraden Lauff verhindert werden.
>
> They don't move all in the same way, some move together with the heavens and the fire in a circle, some move upwards, according to their natural movement, and some deviate from their course because they are hindered by the higher bodies or other causes from following their own straight way.[42]

This view reflected a variety of current astronomical positions and also the problems that observations of comets posed to late seventeenth century astronomy.[43] At first Reinzer supposes that comets followed a circular course. This is quite contrary to his next account and expressed in more detail: that they moved along a straight line as long as they did not encounter an obstacle. The opinion that comets moved linearly was famously held by Kepler. Isaac Newton, who together with Edmund Halley, Hevelius[44] and Georg Samuel Dörffel finally came to the conclusion that the comets' orbit was parabolic,

41 It resulted from Newton's and Halley's calculation of the comets' courses. Cf. Bauer B. commentary of 1, 203 "Wunderbare Wieder=Erscheinung eines Neu=geschwantzten Cometens", in Harms W. (ed.): *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 7 vols. (Tübingen: 1980–1997) vol. 1, 418. Reinzer expressed the view that comets had a regular course in *Meteorologia* 83.

42 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 25–26.

43 Cf. Meinel C., *Grenzgänger zwischen Himmel und Erde. Kometen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Regensburg: 2009) 12.

44 Hevelius, who had access to excellent technical equipment for astronomical observations, already depicted the course of the comet of 1664/1665 in a curved line [Fig. 4]. Cf. Lubieniecki Stanislaus, *Theatrum cometicum* (Amsterdam, Franz Cuper: 1668) unp. after 950. The first volume comprises the correspondence of several European astronomers concerning the comet of 1664/1665. Reinzer evidently knew this work, since he cited letters by Hevelius from Lubieniecki's *Theatrum cometicum*. Cf. Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 106.

had adhered to Kepler until 1686.[45] It is highly probable that Reinzer shared Kepler's view.

But observations of the comet of 1664/1665 showed that its course was not that linear. Nonetheless, it was represented on star maps as straight.[46] Obviously, the observation data were made to fit the theoretical frame, since there was no theory of a comet moving in a wave-like fashion. The comet of 1680/1681 was an even tougher challenge to astronomers, since it changed its course drastically during the period of its visibility, which in Reinzer's case had been from November 1680 to February 1681.[47] This led some astronomers—among them Giovanni Domenico Cassini and Gottfried Kirch—to the conviction that these were actually two comets, not one. Reinzer describes the course of the comet in detail and concludes that those who considered two individual comets were not that well informed.[48] But although he refers to Hevelius here, he does not offer an astronomically up-to-date solution. He rather retreats to conventional views like the one of Seneca that the comet went wherever it found 'nourishment'. This opinion actually would allow for all kinds of erratic movement and contrasts in its simplicity with the well-informed details Reinzer gives on the comet's course. He probably either observed the comet himself or knew star maps or detailed descriptions of its positions during the period of its visibility. He offers even more information on the course of the comet in the political conclusion, thus transgressing the distinction between the scientific and the political section.[49] Perhaps by pointing to the problems the comet's trajectory posed to early modern astronomy, he shied away from displaying too profound a knowledge of these matters.

One wonders if the author's ideas concerning the course of a comet may be expressed by the way in which the comets were depicted, in Reinzer's *Meteorologia* as well as in other printed sources of the Early Modern Period, particularly in leaflets and other publications aimed at a wider audience. If someone wanted to display the course of a comet, one could depict it in the style of Hevelius indicating the position of the comet for each day. [Fig. 8.4]

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45 Bauer B., Commentary of 1. 209 "Dunckeler Abriß / Und Kurtze Beschreibung Des […] Cometens", in Harms W. (ed.), *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 7 vols. (Tübingen: 1980–1997) vol. 1, 430.

46 Cf. e.g. the leaflet 1, 205 "Cometa Orientalis Caudatus in Pegaso observatus", in Harms W. (ed.), *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 7 vols. (Tübingen: 1980–1997) vol. 1, 423.

47 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 96.

48 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 97.

49 Cf. Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 88.

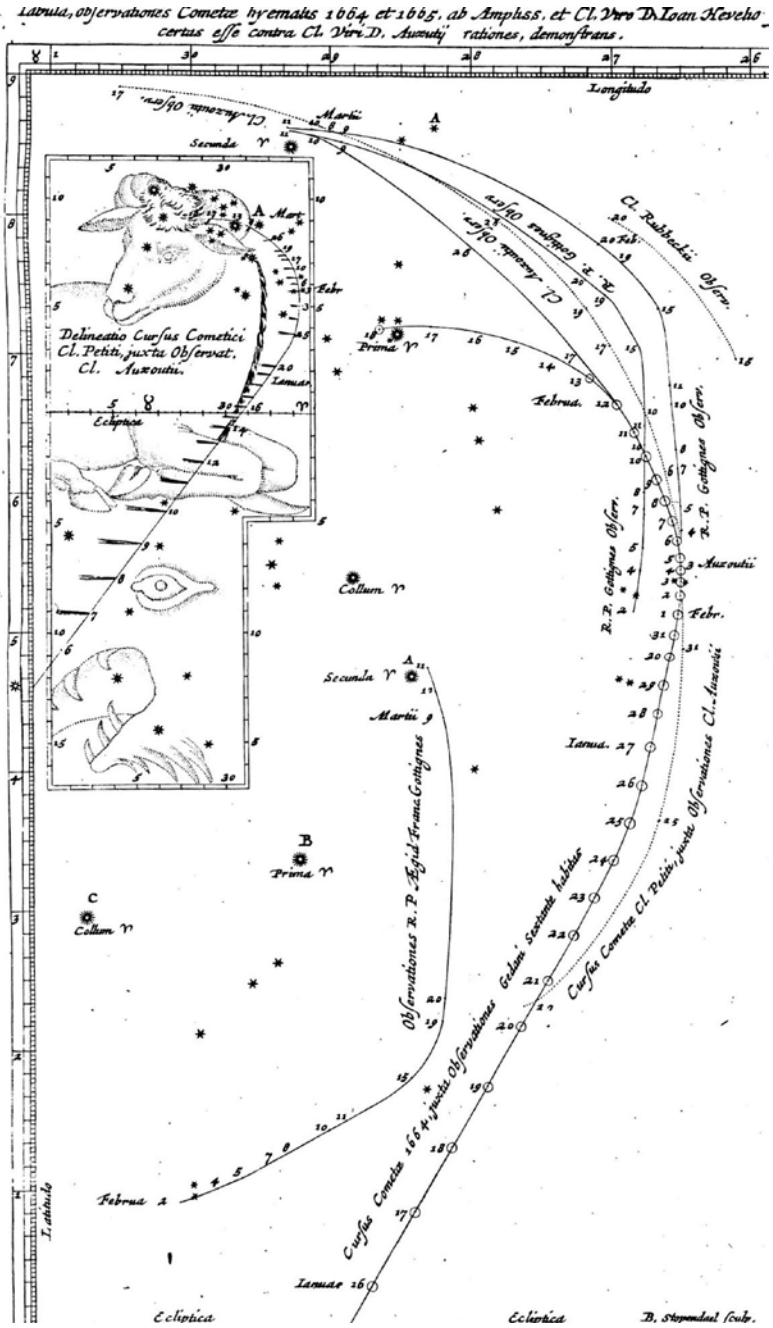

FIGURE 8.4 *B. Stopendael, "Tabula, observationes Cometae hyemalis 1664 et 1665", copperplate illustration to Stanislaus Lubieniecki,* Theatrum cometicum (*Amsterdam, Frans Cuyper: 1668*).

This style leads to confusion as one illustration contained not only one comet, but, say, ten. It can be found in several 17th century leaflets.[50] To avoid this Hevelius presented two illustrations—one with the celestial positions of the comet for each day, and one with its changing shape over the period of its visibility, without containing information on its celestial position [Fig. 8.5]. But emblem books were not the place one could expect such detailed and scientifically accurate representations of comets. Notably, in the *Meteorologia* comets are depicted in different ways. Most of them are of the 'hairy' type, like the six ones in Fig. 8.2. One has a curved tail, which was, according to Reinzer, merely an optical illusion.[51] Hence, there remain some comets that are depicted distinctly and more abstractly. They are of the 'searchlight' type, like in Fig. 8.2, 8.3 and 8.8. It seems likely that the way the comet and particularly its tail is depicted is influenced by the views the author or the engraver had about the comet's trajectory. This would mean in Reinzer's case that the 'searchlight' comets indicate also the author's conviction that comets moved along a straight line.

Surely, the comet's tail—its length, shape and direction has nothing to do with its course, and the early modern authors knew that all too well. A comet, as is evident in Hevelius' illustrations of the 1680/1681 comet, could change drastically in shape and position. Nonetheless, the general shape of the comet remains recognisable in its slightly rhombic form. There is no doubt that one and the same comet could appear very differently during the time of its visibility. Looking at different representations of one and the same comet, like that of 1680/1681, one is nevertheless astonished by the variety of depictions. If an author or illustrator did not aim at depicting a whole sequence of ways for a comet to appear, one had to choose a single, momentary picture. And it does not seem improbable that authors or illustrators tried to convey more in one picture than what was actually possible. The comet's trajectory was to be represented either sequentially or abstractly geometrically.[52] One could either depict the course of a comet or its momentary shape. Obviously, there were several standardised ways to depict comets. But why was one standard preferred over another? It might have actually been the theories on comets.

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50 Cf. Harms W. (ed.), *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 7 vols. (Tübingen: 1980–1997) vol. I, 422–425.

51 Cf. Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 92.

52 Pingrés extensive work on comets eventually did not contain any illustration of comets, but only some geometrical drawings of their orbits. Cf. Pingré Alexandre Guy, *Cométographie ou traité historique et théorique des comètes*, 2 vols. (Paris, Imprimerie royale: 1783–1784) vol. II, pl. 5/6.

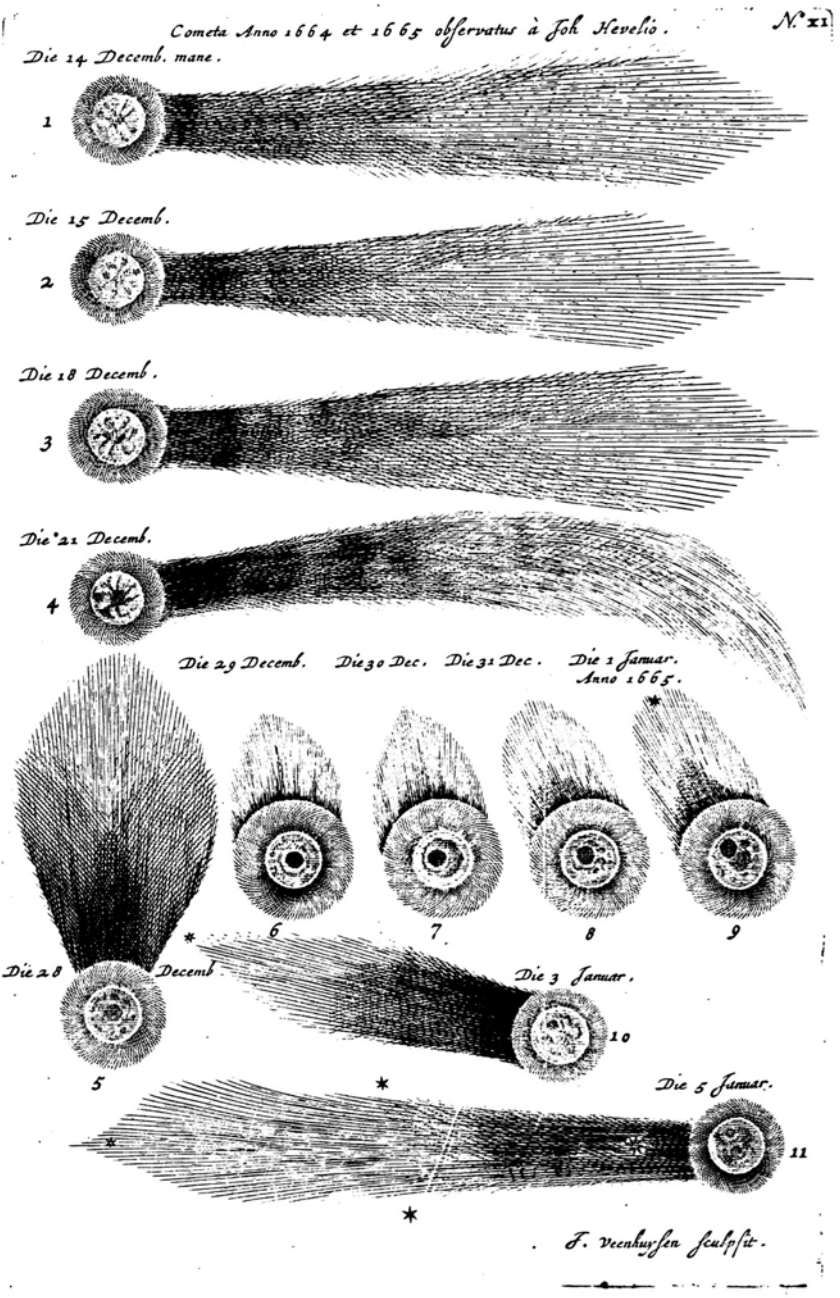
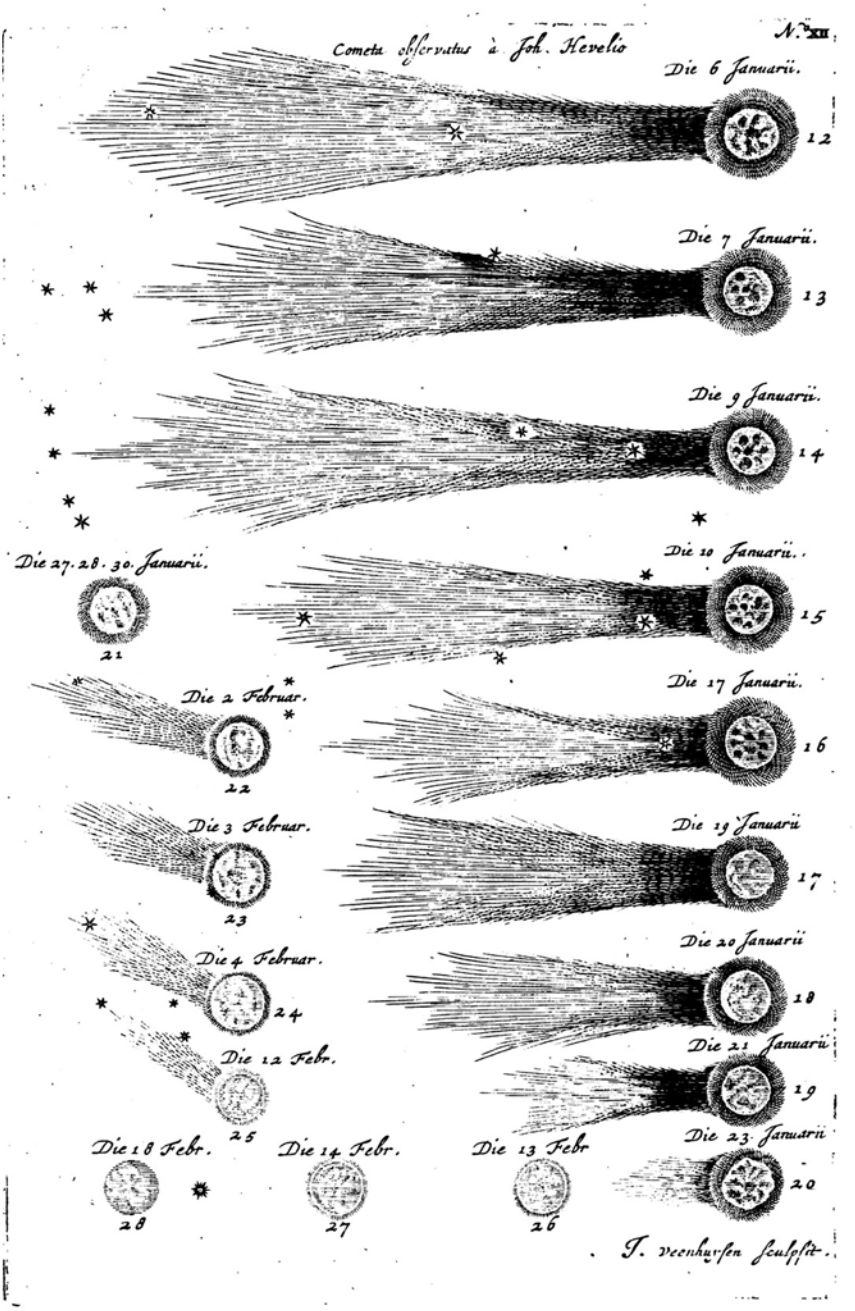


FIGURE 8.5 (*See also the following page.*) *J. Veenhuysen, "Cometa Anno 1664 et 1665 observatus a Johanne Hevelio", copperplate illustration to Stanislaus Lubieniecki,* Theatrum cometicum (*Amsterdam, Frans Cuyper: 1668*), *no pag.*


Cometa observatus à Joh. Hevelio
N.° XII
Die 6 Januarii.
12
Die 7 Januarii.
13
Die 9 Januarii.
14
Die 27. 28. 30. Januarii.
21
Die 10 Januarii.
15
Die 2 Februar.
22
Die 17 Januarii.
16
Die 3 Februar.
23
Die 19 Januarii
17
Die 4 Februar.
24
Die 20 Januarii
18
Die 12 Febr.
25
Die 21 Januarii
19
Die 18 Febr.
28
Die 14 Febr.
27
Die 13 Febr
26
Die 23 Januarii
20
I. Veenhuysen sculpsit.

Furthermore, did the way to depict comets change over time? It is noteworthy that comets seemingly have not been depicted with curved tails before around 1680, which is concomitant to the insight that the comet's trajectory might be elliptical. Further research into the conventions of depicting comets would be enlightening.

The Meaning of Comets

Reinzer's chapter on some technical aspects of comets—size, colour, trajectory and duration—is followed by a political chapter on the short duration of the rule of tyrants, a commonplace in the political literature of the time. In order to avoid an untimely shortening of one's rule, the author offers the conventional advice of clemency. Roman emperors like Julius Caesar, Caligula, Nero, Vitellius, Septimius Severus were traditionally perceived as cruel and their rule ended badly. But even Augustus, one of the 'good' emperors, to whom Reinzer attributes prudence and clemency, had been threatened with murder. The hypothesis that the rule of tyrants was short-lived is illustrated by an emblem entitled 'Non fert aetatem' [Fig. 8.6]. It depicts people standing on a central public square around a fountain observing a comet of the 'hairy' type, which seems to pass by at the speed of a rocket.

The comparison between tyrants and comets must have been a commonplace in the Early Modern Period. Similarly, in the baroque play *Epicharis* (1665) by Daniel Casper of Lohenstein, Roman emperors were addressed as comets '[d]ie zwar im Thron als holde Sterne lachen/ Doch würckende sich zu Cometen machen.' ('who, while laughing on the throne as gentle stars/ render themselves practically comets').[53] It is noteworthy that the early modern approach to comets as political signs is rather negative—comets were short-lived, particularly compared to the stars or the moon, which appears on Reinzer's emblem. Therefore it was not desirable to be compared to one. In antiquity, the political approach to comets seems to have been different. The same Julius Cesar and Augustus did not refrain from having themselves associated with comets, for instance on coins. Julius Caesar's name is written on the reverse of a coin struck during the reign of his successor Augustus together with a stylised comet and a star. After the assassination of Julius Caesar the comet that appeared in 44 B.C. for seven days was taken as a sign that Caesar's soul was on its way to its transformation, into a star in the region of the immortal

53 Lohenstein Daniel Casper von, *Epicharis*, in idem, *Römische Trauerspiele. Agrippina. Epicharis*, ed. K.G. Just (Stuttgart: 1955), 153–316, IV, 737–738.

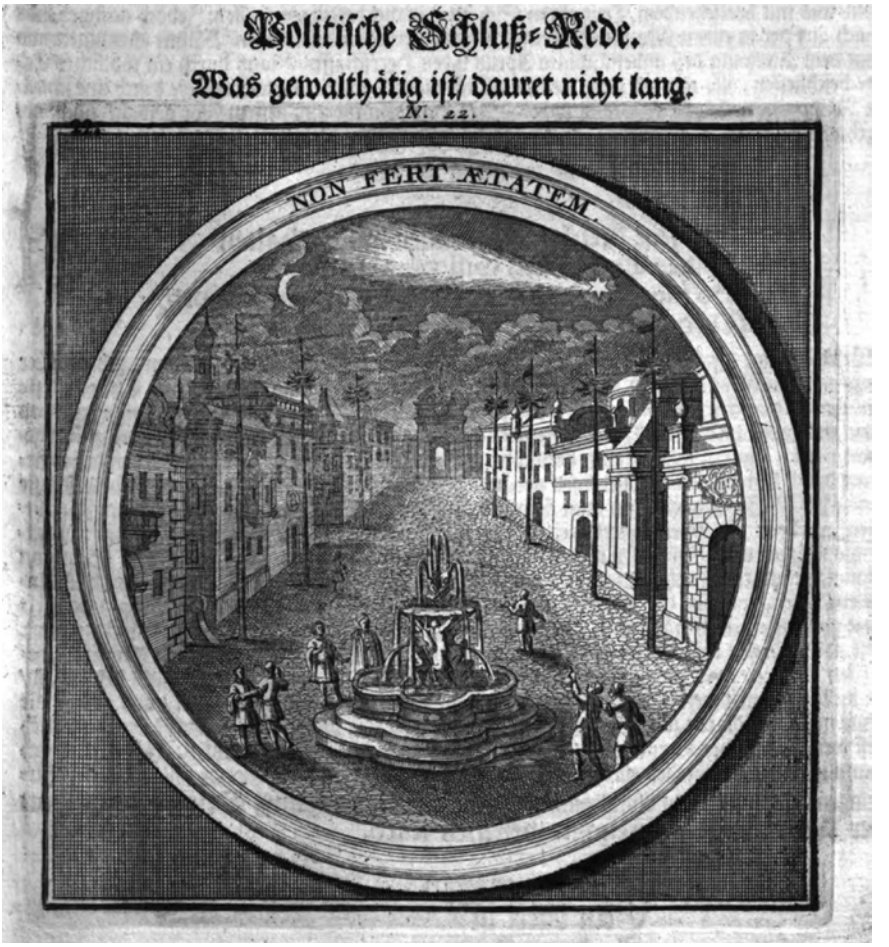


FIGURE 8.6 *Emblem no. 22, "Non fert aetatem", copperplate illustration to Franz Reinzer's* Meteorologia philosophico-politica (*Augsburg, Jeremias Wolff: 1712*) *99.*

gods. Also Augustus had himself depicted as a comet on coins struck during his own rule, and did not wish to express that his rule was going to be short.[54] Obviously, comets in Roman antiquity were understood more positively than in the Early Modern Period, at least as a political symbol. They were to indicate uniqueness, rather than ephemerality. Another interesting point about comets was that they were perceivable for all inhabitants of a large territory. They were

54 Yeomans D.K., *Comets. A Chronological History of Observation, Science, Myth, and Folklore*, (New York: 1991) 13.

thus an ideal medium of political representation in an era that lacked other media to communicate simultaneously to a large population on a vast territory.

A rare example of an early modern emblem expressing a positive attitude towards comets is comprised in the *Emblemata physico-ethica* (1595) by Nicolaus Taurellus, a learned physician of Altdorf [Fig. 8.7]. The motto reads 'Aequo rapidissima cursu'.[55] While the text explained that stars moved with a rapid, constant and unchanging motion and were thus treated as examples of eternity, the emblem pictured not only stars, the sun and the moon, but also two comets. One of them is depicted realistically with the tail pointing to the opposite side of the sun; the second one with its tail close to the sun, which contradicts experience. Nonetheless, one wonders why comets were included in an emblem praising constancy. Supposedly, either the author or the illustrator or both had an unconventional opinion regarding comets. Taurellus, who was a prolific author also on physics, might have been aware of modern astronomical positions, for instance of Brahe or Maestlin, and must have at least accepted that comets were not ephemeral atmospheric phenomena, but celestial objects like stars. Whether he supposed them to be equally unchanging and constant is not clear. Their depiction among the stars and the sun and moon at least suggests that.

Reinzer dedicated much space to the conventional question: Were comets celestial signs that indicated negative future events? Reinzer was convinced that they were a portent of future events, but not necessarily a bad one. This opinion was widely diffused and for instance held by Niccolò Machiavelli, who maintained in the *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* (1531):

> Donde ei si nasca io non so, ma ei si vede per gli antichi e per gli moderni exempli che mai non venne alcuno grave accidente in una città o in una provincia, che non sia stato o da indovini o da rivelazioni o da prodigi o da altri segni celesti predetto.
>
> Whence it arises I do not know, but from ancient and modern examples it is seen that no great event ever takes place in a City or a Province that has not been predicted either by fortune tellers, by revelations, by prodigies, or by other celestial signs.[56]

55 Taurellus Nicolaus, *Emblemata physico-ethica* (Nuremberg, Paul Kaufmann: 1595) fol. C 2r.

56 Machiavelli Niccolò, "Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio", in idem, *Opere*, ed. R. Rinaldi, 2 vols. (Turin: 2006) 411–1214, 698.

Aequo rapidiſsima curſu.
Ad Johannem Vlricum Seidelmeier Præfectum cœnobio Gnadenberg: in P. C.
In tanta nihil eſt velocitate
Quod non ſyderei ſuperet conſtantia motus.
Sydera nempe Dei veracia dicta, fidemq;
Authoris referunt ſui, probantq;.
Et nos hæc etiam ſpectata exempla ſequemur:
Vt ſit noſtra Deo fides, & aſtris
Conformata: metu cadatq; nullo:
Quamq; ſuo nequeant mendacia flectere niſu.

FIGURE 8.7 *Emblem "Aequo rapidissima cursu", woodcut illustration to Nicolaus Taurellus,* Emblemata physico-ethica (*Nuremberg, Paul Kaufmann: 1595*), *fol.C 2r.*

Comets had natural causes and appeared according to God's command. In all events, they indicated future events, but not necessarily only bad ones: 'Gleichwolen ist diesemnächst in Obacht zu nehmen, daß dergleichen himmlische Zeichen öffters auch Vorbotten glücklicher Zufälle seyen'

('Nonetheless one has to recall that such celestial signs are frequently a portent of lucky chances').[57] Reinzer cites the commonly held opinion here that they indicated 'inundations, hungers, fires, plagues, wars, earthquakes, fall of empires and deaths of rulers' ('unda, fames, ignis, contagia, proelia, motus Terrae, Regnorumque vices post funera Regum'). This verse circulated in several books on comets in the late 17th and early 18th century.[58]

But for Reinzer—as for most early modern authors—the connection between celestial sign and earthly consequence was not strict. Comets could appear without any perceivable earthly effect. This happened when people recognised the divine intention to punish early enough as an incentive to refrain from their sinful doings.[59] Other earthly catastrophes could occur without any cometary admonition, like rainfall that was not necessarily preceded by a rainbow, although rainbows 'indicated' rain.[60] Furthermore, for Reinzer who followed the Aristotelian scheme of a multitude of causes, it was not that clear to which cause a negative event should be attributed. While comets functioned as final and distant causes of earthly events, there were still nearer ones that could exert an even more powerful influence. For instance, plague was not only caused by comets, but also by the corruption of the air, of places and food, and by 'contagion'.[61] Near and distant causes interacted. To gain some insight into the precise relationship between cometary signs and earthly effects, Reinzer studied a multitude of comets that had appeared in the 16th and 17th century in detail.[62] He must have used a list of comets, something that was comprised in a variety of contemporary publications on comets. The extensive list he worked through did not really help to clarify the relationship between cause and effect—sometimes he allowed even a time difference of two to three years in between. For instance, the comet of 1680/1681 'indicated' the beginning of the Austrian war against the Ottoman Empire.[63] Hence, Reinzer's study of the relationship between the appearance of several contemporary comets and their effects had no decisive result.

The political conclusion, however, sounds notably more decisive. Under the heading 'Es soll niemand über die Gebühr mit Arbeit beladen werden' ('No one

57 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 22.

58 Cf. e.g. Weigel Erhard, *Unterschiedliche Beschreibung und Bedeutungen der Cometen* (Leipzig, w.p.: 1681) 20.

59 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 105.

60 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 105.

61 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 103.

62 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 101–106.

63 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 104.

shall be burdened with work excessively'), Reinzer strongly advocates the view that comets appearing in the constellation Libra invariably indicated upheaval and rebellion: 'Wann ein Comet sich in der Waage sehen lasset [...];/ So wird allzeit daraus die Deutung abgefasset/ Es werde von dem Volck ein Aufruhr angestellt' ('If a comet shows itself in Libra/ this is always to be understood as a sign/ that people will be in revolt').[64]

Since the distant cause—the appearance of comets in Libra—could not be impeded, it was the ruler's duty to prevent the nearer causes of rebellion, which was unlimited suppression and exploitation. Here, as well as in the case of epidemics, Reinzer resorts to concepts of active prevention: the celestial

FIGURE 8.8 *Emblem no. 23, "Fecit me Libra rebellem", copperplate illustration to Franz Reinzer's* Meteorologia philosophico-politica (*Augsburg, Jeremias Wolff: 1712*) *107.*

64 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 108.

signs should not just be contemplated, but they prompted rulers to take action.[65] It was important that rulers took care that no one had to work without a chance for recreation. This is nicely illustrated by the emblem 'Fecit me Libra rebellem' [Fig. 8.8], which depicts a mountain with several men trying to push up huge stones like Sisyphus, while above them a comet seems to hit the constellation of Libra, which is, together with the rest of the Zodiac, depicted like a strip. Here, the political message in its decisiveness—all comets in Libra indicate always and invariably the same—differs notably from the rather cautious approach of the scientific section.

While Reinzer does not discuss the influence comets exerted on earthly events in a simplified way, it is noteworthy that the emblem 'Non fert aetatem' [Fig. 8.6] was adopted by two other emblem books of the early 18th century: Christoph Weigel's *Ethica naturalis* (1700)[66] and Jan Luiken's *Beschouwing der Wereld* (1708)[67] which strongly depended on each other, both containing 100 emblems, are structured according to natural phenomena. Starting with the elements, atmospheric phenomena like wind and the rainbow, they go on with different geographical forms like hills and valleys. They might be considered meteorological in the wide sense of Reinzer, but the focus is notably on geography and on those elements, which are close to human experience. The main interest is not what rivers, meadows or harbours are in themselves, but what they mean and how they can be used by mankind. The illustrations reinforce this impression: there is no emblem without a person performing an activity on it. In this and other aspects—for instance, the depiction of times of the day and their respective human activities—the two emblem books resemble early modern dietary treatises like the anonymous *Theatrum sanitatis* of the late 15th century. This work also discusses a variety of plants, animal and atmospheric phenomena, always in relation to human activity, with a focus on the medical or dietary effect of these activities, according to the model of the *sex res non naturales*.[68]

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65 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 105.

66 Weigel Christoph, *Ethica naturalis* (Nürnberg, Christoph Weigel: 1700). The date of the first publication is not exactly known. The first date given is 1690, which would reverse the relationship between Weigel and Reinzer. But due to the excellent quality of the engravings such an early date seems improbable. Weigel worked as printer and engraver in Augsburg and had the opportunity to come across Reinzer's *Meteorologia*. His cooperation with Luiken was so close that it is not always clear who was the initiator.

67 Luiken Jan, *Beschouwing der Wereld* (Amsterdam, Widow of Pieter Arentsz & Cornelis van der Sys: 1708).

68 The tradition of this manuscript goes back to 11th century Baghdad. Cf. Kalff S., "Pflanzenorchester—Naturphilosophische und pharmazeutische Theatra im 17. Jahr-

Cometa.
Proles timeat, Patris ignea virga minatur.
XCII.
EN novus inſolita noctem face diſſipat ignis,
Extendit rutilas nempe Cometa comas.
Conveniunt, trepidique attollunt lumina Cœlo,
Et ſibi mortales omina mœſta canunt.
Iſte faces belli, Magnorum hic funera Regum,
Excidium populi, ſed timet ille luem.
Res certa eſt, raro fulgent impune Cometæ,
Sunt reor irati flammea virga DEI.
Veſtra rei ſed cur lacrimas non lumina fundunt?
Hic alia extingui nam nequit ignis aqua.

FIGURE 8.9 *Emblem no. 92, "Cometa. Proles timeat, patris ignea virga minatur", copperplate illustration to Christoph Weigel,* Ethica naturalis (*Nürnberg, Christoph Weigel: 1700*), *no pag.*

326 BESCHOUWING
HET HEMELS-TEKEN.
Tot Waarſchouwing.
Daar zullen ook ſchrikkelyke dingen, en groote tekenen van den hemel geſchieden. Lukas XXI: 11.
En daar zullen tekenen zyn in de Zonne, en de Maane, en de Sterren, enz. Vers 25.

FIGURE 8.10 *"Beschouwing het Hemels-Teken. Tot Waarschwouing", copperplate illustration to Jan Luiken,* Beschouwing der Wereld (*Amsterdam, Widow of Pieter Arentsz. and Cornelis van der Sys: 1708*) *326.*

In Weigel's emblem book, the comet is discussed right before war, hunger, plague, vermin, fire and earthquake [Fig. 8.9].[69] The comet is evidently also

hundert", in Roßbach N. – Baum C. (eds.), *Theatralität von Wissen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Wolfenbüttel: 2013), http://diglib.hab.de/content.php?dir=ebooks/ed000156&xml=tei-article06.xml&xsl=tei-ebooks.xsl&metsID=ebooks_ed000156_article06.

69 Weigel, *Ethica naturalis*, no pag., emblem no. 92.

used as a structural element: treated as the cause, it precedes its effects, which are almost identical to those named by Reinzer. But there is no discussion as to what extent comets exert influence on these earthly events in Weigel's work. They are treated as certain outcomes of comets' appearances, which are already indicated by the arrangement of the emblems. In Luiken, the order is slightly different [Fig. 8.10]. The comet, depicted very similarly to that of Weigel, precedes the pests, inundation, fire, earthquake, hunger, war and plague. This order is less organised around the 'traditional' effects of comets, hunger, war and plague, probably because they were less frequent than pests destroying crops and food.

All in all, these two emblem books, although taking over several elements of Reinzer's *Meteorologia*, are far less learned and their scientific scope is much smaller. They are treating the same issues, as can be seen in the case of the comet, but in a commonplace-like fashion. The tradition of the highly learned and compendious Jesuit writings, transferred by Reinzer to an emblem book, seems to recede around 1700. However, their illustrations endured and took up an interesting 'afterlife' in less ambitious publications like those by Weigel and Luiken.

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CHAPTER 9

Atmospheric Pressure: Natural Philosophy, Political Didactics and the Exigencies of Praise in Franz Reinzer's *Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica* (1698)*

Christian Peters

Introduction

Stressing the benefit of their schooling for the prosperity of human communities in political and administrational matters had been a part of the Jesuit educational agenda ever since the society's humble beginnings in the sixteenth century.[1] In the Habsburg Empire, as well as in Bavaria, the Society established especially close ties with the respective monarchs or princes and their courts—as confessors, counsellors and educators. This meant immediate influence on the person or group who had the single greatest impact on a state's well-being, and therefore provided an interface for engaging in political instruction that hardly any Jesuit emblematist would have missed, as a substantial number of political emblem books and emblematic mirrors of princes of Jesuit origin betray.[2]

* See also the article in this volume by Sabine Kalff, who scrutinizes Reinzer's emblems on celestial phenomena against the backdrop of contemporary astronomy and astrology.

1 Grendler P.F., "The Culture of the Jesuit Teacher", *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3, 1 (2016) 17–41, here 31–34, cautiously but plausibly fits the term 'civic humanism' to this phenomenon. Cf. also Peter M. Daly's comprehensive *The Emblem in Early Modern Europe: Contributions to the Theory of the Emblem* (Farnham – Burlington: 2014) 185–220, discussing the notion of 'propagandistic' Jesuit emblem books ibidem 190–192. Regarding dedications of Jesuit contributions to academia, underlining that the members of the Society themselves stressed the value of their writing for the public benefit, cf. Baldwin M., "Pious Ambition: Natural Philosophy and the Jesuit Quest for the Patronage of Printed Books in the Seventeenth Century", in Feingold M. (ed.), *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass. – London: 2003) 285–330, here 299.

2 Cf. e.g. Johannes Heumont's *Fama Postuma* (Graz, Widmannstadius: 1609), the *Maria Anna Defuncta* by the Graz Collegium (Graz: 1618), the *Annus Primus Imperii Austriaci* by the same Collegium (Graz, Widmannstadius: 1638), Andreas Brunner's *Excubiae Tutelares LX Heroum* (Munich, Leysser: 1637), the *Regiae virtutis et felicitatis XII symbola* by the Collegium in Dillingen (Dillingen [no printer stated]: 1636), or Johannes Kreihing's *Emblemata Ethico-Politica* (Antwerp, Meursius: 1661). It should be noted that except for Kreihing's work, all emblem books mentioned take a major dynastic occasion or caesura as their point of departure,

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Now, for a topic as universally applicable as the making and maintaining of human communities, the phenomena of the natural world—especially those affecting everyone and visible to or palpable by everyone—would have seemed an obvious choice of resource for a political emblem book.[3] In addition, the role of contemplating the unseen for both Jesuit spirituality and science, finding a convenient interface in the emblematic approach to the world, has recently been stressed.[4] Next to human physiology and pathology, maybe the most suitable field of knowledge to draw emblematic meaning from is geophysics, comprising the weather (including observation of the sky for portentous apparitions), the dynamics of both water and land, and the dangers and benefits all three bear for human life. This field corresponds roughly with what early modern learning would have labelled with the Aristotelian *Meteora*, subsuming all aspects of physics in the sublunary world.[5]

Impending failure often lays bare the dynamics of literary and/or publicistic strategies better than a running system does. Thus, it is a favourable twist of fate that the Austrian Jesuits around 1700 were losing ground in both fields mentioned above and put a lot of energy into averting such failure. A startling emblem book originating in the Jesuit *collegium* of Linz gives ample evidence of this: In 1698, the workshop of Antonius Nepperschmidt in Augsburg manufactured a remarkable emblematic publication, the sumptuous, lavish

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so at first glance their emphasis is on praise rather than instruction. On this, cf. also my article "Prognostic Fame and Didactic Use. Jesuit Emblem Books as Mirrors of Princes" in the forthcoming Römer F. et al. (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Vindobonensis* (Leiden – Boston: 2017).

3 Drawing emblematic inspiration from phenomena of the atmosphere for political matters goes way back to the earlier days of emblem literature. We may disregard the depiction of sea-storms in Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531), fol. 14v, but the opposition of a windmill signifying the idle and imprudent man as opposed to the prudent and industrious one, who more closely resembles a watermill (not in the *pictura*) in Sambucus's *Emblemata* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1566) 92, may be considered an application of the mechanical exploitation of atmospheric phenomena for moral instruction. Vaenius's *Emblemata Horatiana* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen: 1607) features earthquakes (71), thunder and lightning (99), and hailstorms (109) in its *picturae*.

4 Waddell M.A., *Jesuit Science and the End of Nature's Secrets* (London – New York: 2015) 7–8.

5 Moreover, Aristotle's writings on natural philosophy were the second-most commented well into the 17th century, not to speak of the dominant position they still held in the Jesuit school curricula, cf. Blair A., "Natural Philosophy", in Park K. – Daston L. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 3: *Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: 2006) 363–406, here 372; and Evans R., *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Oxford: 1979) 321. For a very recent summary of what subjects Jesuit teachers had to treat in colleges all around the world, cf. Grendler, "The Culture" 15–17.

and extensive *Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica* (folio, c. 290 pp.) by the Jesuit professor Franz Reinzer (1661–1708), which had its beginnings in Linz, as an academic disputation by the young nobleman Johann Bernhard Coelestin Count of Roedern, and was presented to a greater public in an enhanced and reworked shape the same year, embellished with a pictorial programme of 83 *picturae*.[6] The Linz college never bestowed an academic degree on any of its students, although it had had the right to since 1674; the pains taken and investments made in the *Meteorologia* surpassed virtually anything that had ever been done for an academic disputation, and the name of the young count Roedern is absent from the second Latin edition (1709) and the German translation (1712). Therefore, for the scope of this paper, one may consider the book a work of Reinzer's that was done on behalf of his college and the Society and was probably merely co-financed by the young, noble respondent,[7] and as such was directed toward the young Austrian prince and future emperor Joseph I (1678–1711) as both a panegyric exaltation and a political appeal. Both may have seemed advisable for the order, as the reigns of Leopold I and, even more so, Joseph I were characterized by growing alienation between the Society of Jesus and the Habsburg monarchs,[8] with whom the order had had an at times almost symbiotic relationship. A large number of emblematic publications, especially by the Graz college, bear witness to that.[9] We are better informed about Joseph's education from his early childhood on than we are about that

6 For bibliographical and prosopographic detail, any study of the *Meteorologia* is deeply indebted to Meinel C., "Natur als moralische Anstalt. Die *Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica* des Franz Reinzer, S.J., ein naturwissenschaftliches Emblembuch aus dem Jahre 1698", *Nuncius: Annali di Storia di Scienza* 2 (1987) 37–94, here 40–46 and 49–51. For in-depth information concerning the engravers responsible for the *picturae* cf. Meinel, "Natur" 86–88.

7 On dedications as a means to cover the expenses for publication, especially in an order that had to rely on external financing, cf. Baldwin, "Pious Ambition" 291–297. Often, superiors appreciated the efforts of individual Jesuit authors to acquire support by prestigious dedicatees, cf. Baldwin, "Pious Ambition" 286f. Why this was particularly attractive for Habsburg rulers, Baldwin discusses ibidem 302f.

8 Ingrao C.W., *Josef I. Der vergessene Kaiser* (Graz: 1982) 15–47. Plastic examples of Joseph's negligence in matters of state are presented in Hochedlinger M., "Fadesse oblige oder: die Macht der Triebe. Die Handzeichnungen Kaiser Josephs I. Aktenkundliche Beobachtungen an allerhöchstem Memorialschreibwerk", in *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 55, 2 (2011) 785–814, here 792–804.

9 Kovács E., "Einflüsse geistlicher Ratgeber und höfischer Beichtväter auf das fürstliche Selbstverständnis, auf Machtbegriffe und politische Entscheidungen österreichischer Habsburger während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts", *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 4 (1983) 79–102. Caithaml L., "Drei dem habsburgischen Herrscherhaus gewidmete Emblembücher der Grazer Jesuiten aus den Jahren 1609, 1618 und 1631", *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für*

of any other Habsburg prince. The educational structures in Joseph's surroundings were centred on his *Ajo*, his chief educator, Franz Ferdinand von Rummel, who constantly tried to fend off Jesuit attempts to gain momentum in influencing the future ruler.[10] The frontispiece [Fig. 9.1] of the *Meteorologia*, which is pasted, not bound, into all extant copies, already conveys much of the work's subordination to a larger panegyric purpose, having allegories of all elements, cosmic forces and civilizational issues directed toward the portrait of the dedicatee Joseph I, accompanied by banners with quotations from, among others, Virgil and Claudian, as well as the prince's motto *Timore et amore*. The dependence and/or impact of Reinzer's work on contemporary meteorological discourse was scrutinized by Christoph Meinel in an exhaustive essay in 1987; therefore, this paper can concentrate on the *Meteorologia* as a politically instructive emblem book[11]—that perspective being the weaker end of Meinel's meticulous and valuable study.[12] Meinel, who has thoroughly evaluated

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Steiermark 83 (1992) 337–353. Paratexts of scholarly works by Jesuits show that the authors were particularly proud of these close ties, even to that extent that when faced with the accusation of being too close to the courts of rulers, Pallavicino, in his apologetic writings, still boasted of the order's endorsement by rulers all over Europe, cf. Baldwin, "Pious Ambition" 305f.

10 This extraordinary level of in-depth information is mainly owed to the monograph by Friedrich von Rummel, *Franz Ferdinand von Rummel. Lehrer Kaiser Josephs I. und Fürstbischof von Wien (1644–1716)* (Munich: 1980) cf. esp. ibidem 9–68. Tensions started to grow late in Joseph's rule, while the rule of his father, Leopold I, was characterized by a consolidation of both Habsburg power and counter-reformation, cf. Evans, *The Making* 133–136. Nonetheless, in 1698, the year that saw the publication of the *Meteorologia*, there were still 15 Jesuits working at court in functions both spiritual and secular, cf. Evans, *The Making* 145.

11 Reinzer's book may also be understood as a contribution to the history of political metaphorism and imagery in the early modern period, cf. Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Der Staat als Maschine. Zur politischen Metaphorik des absoluten Fürstenstaats*, Historische Forschungen 30 (Berlin: 1986) 9–61. Due to its wide-angled view, however, Reinzer's approach of generating evidence and plausibility for his political advice by drawing examples and metaphors from all aspects of sublunary physics rendered his publication hard to handle for studies of political metaphorism. Cf. e.g. Peil D., *Untersuchungen zur Staats- und Herrschaftsmetaphorik in literarischen Zeugnissen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften (Munich: 1983), who merely cites several of Reinzer's emblems as examples for various types of political metaphors, be they navigation, mechanics or architecture (617; 629; 756–757; 855–856).

12 He e.g. considers a book by Jacob Spanmüller by the title of *Floridor* to be the cradle of Jesuit emblem books, obviously misreading an unresolved abbreviation of Spanmüller's *Floridorum libri octo* of 1595, which would be predated by Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae*

FIGURE 9.1 *Franz Reinzer,* Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica (*Augsburg, Nepperschmid: 169*[*8*]), *frontispiece. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Diss. 60#Beibd. 1* (*urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10865998-1*).

the state of knowledge that the *Meteorologia* teaches against the backdrop of contemporary meteorology and physics, underlines that the *Meteorologia* teaches a kind of meteorological and physical learning that is simultaneously both thorough and on the verge of obsolescence, both in terms of the general development of modern science and the curriculum of Jesuit schools and universities.[13] The author's uncontested erudition notwithstanding, what disqualifies the work from the ongoing actual scientific discourse is Reinzer's attempt to compile and harmonize more or less all strands and layers of meteorological knowledge, from Aristotle's canonical writings up to Cartesian considerations and recent meteorological literature, such as the works of Niccolò Cabeo (d. 1650), Libert Froidmont (d. 1653), Honoré Fabri S.J. (d. 1688) and Jean-Baptiste Duhamel (d. 1706).[14] As for the Habsburg Empire, a new focus on engineering in the universities of the realm added to the waning of the Jesuits' influence in the academic field, where the order's universities were not suited for the new tasks mandated by the rulers in Vienna.[15] The marginalization of the Society of Jesus in the rising field of the natural sciences, however, was not limited to the Habsburg territories: While in the 16th century, Jesuit missionary activity had helped to implement important corrections into Aristotelian natural philosophy (not to speak of the invaluable contributions Jesuit learning had made to various branches of natural history), the society's prohibition from adopting certain new theories on dogmatic grounds became more and more of a hindrance for the order's involvement in scientific discourse around 1700,[16] shifting the focus of Jesuit scrutiny of nature from innovation

imagines (1593), even if one used a definition of 'emblem' wide enough to imply Spanmüller's work.

13 Meinel, "Natur" 52–67. The global (colonial) experience of Jesuit missionaries had been a challenge to Aristotelian paradigms since the 16th century, cf. Rabin S.J., "Early Modern Jesuit Science. A Historiographical Essay", *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014) 88–104, here 102–103.

14 Meinel, "Natur" 62–66.

15 Vocelka K., *Glanz und Untergang der höfischen Welt: Repräsentation, Reform und Reaktion im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat*, Österreichische Geschichte 7 (Vienna: 2001) 239–246. Baldwin, "Pious Ambition", stresses the lack of institutional and refined technological means, compared to corporations or organizations which dedicated themselves to scientific research exclusively, 319–320.

16 Blair, "Natural Philosophy" 388–399; Donahue W., "Astronomy", in Park K. – Daston L. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. III: *Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: 2006) 562–595, here 573–575. Some examples of either Jesuits meeting obstacles when devoting themselves to science, or scientifically minded academics encountering obstacles when trying to become Jesuits are collected in Feingold, "Jesuits" 11–14. These obstacles,

to erudition.[17] Finally, by the middle of the 18th century, resistance against any attempt to turn 'natural philosophy into a mathematical and experimental science' laid bare the incompatibility of the latter with the 'educational objectives of the society, which sought to unify physics, metaphysics, and theology'.[18] Now, praising the patron's appreciation of learning could always be used as a vehicle to oblige the patron to support the respective author and his scholarly work,[19] as is done in the *Meteorologia*'s preface. Still, an emblem book could be designed to appeal to more than the dedicational audience—or to a different one altogether[20]—and the fact that the book was reprinted twice, the second time in a German translation even after the deaths of both the author and the dedicatee, suggests that a wider audience saw merits in it that went beyond its momentary political affiliation.

Structure and Content of the Work

The *Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica* contains 83 emblems in total. The number of emblems in each *dissertatio* ranges from three (XI, on subterranean geomorphology) to thirteen (XII, on metals and other mineable resources). The average number, however, is seven. At first glance, the total number of twelve dissertations suggests an equal distribution of chapters on each of the four elements.

The first *dissertatio*, however, is concerned with the *Corpus meteoricum generatim*, leaving only eleven sections for the four elements. What is more, the clear-cut categorization of phenomena by one element at a time—as is suggested by the second *dissertatio,* which treats the *Meteoricum corpus ignitum*—is quickly discontinued in favour of a gradual transition from one element to the next.[21] This makes sense, as the Aristotelian approach of

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however, were not exclusive to Jesuits, but existed for members of other orders as well. The codification of prohibited opinions posed an additional impediment, cf. Feingold, "Jesuits" 22–23.

17 Feingold, "Jesuits" 17–18.

18 Feingold, "Jesuits" 30–31. Cf. Ashworth W.B., "Natural History and the Emblematic World View", in David C. Lindberg D.C. – Westman R.S. (eds.), *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: 1990) 303–332, here 320–324, according to whom a new sense of validity that rated truth higher than meaning led to 'the dismantling of the emblematic world view'.

19 Baldwin, "Pious Ambition" 295.

20 Daly, *The Emblem* 75–77.

21 The distinction, therefore, is not as clear-cut as Meinel, "Natur" 48, suggests.

No.	Title	Number of *quaestiones*
I	*Dissertatio prima: De corpore meteorico generatim*	5
II	*Dissertatio secunda: De meteorico corpore ignito*	6
III	*Dissertatio tertia: De tonitru, coruscatione et fulmine*	7
IV	*Dissertatio quarta: De Cometis*	5
V	*Dissertatio quinta: De Meteoris apparentibus in sublimi*	8
VI	*Dissertatio sexta: De Meteoris Aereis sive ventis*	7
VII	*Dissertatio septima: De Meteoris aqueis, quae fiunt in aere*	10
VIII	*Dissertatio octava: De Meteoris aqueis in terra, et primo in specie de Mari*	8
IX	*Dissertatio nona: De fontibus et fluminibus, ac reliquis aqueis Meteoris*	8
X	*Dissertatio decima: De terrae motu*	4
XI	*Dissertatio undecima: De montibus, cavernis, ac ignibus subterraneis*	3
XII	*Dissertatio duodecima: De Fossilibus et Metallis*	13

the *Meteorologia*'s philosophical part (i.e. its teaching of physics) is based on the assumption that the phenomena of the *Meteora* are to be explained by an uneven and therefore fragile mixing of elements and bodies in the sublunary region.[22] Therefore, we later find dissertations that bring together one element as the domain, in which another element is responsible for the actual phenomenon treated, for example, meteoric appearances in the air caused by water, or in the earth caused by fire. We will see, however, that for the didactic scope of the *Meteorologia*, there are other priorities shaping its teachings in the field of politics, so distinctions of that type do not play much of a role.

The First *Dissertatio* as a Didactic Programme

To learn more about the didactic design of the *Meteorologia*, especially its strategies of simultaneously obliging the ruler and teaching a wider public, we should turn our attention to the emblems of the first *dissertatio*, where

22 Meinel, "Natur" 55–56. For the efforts Jesuits put to reconciling new findings and peripatetic doctrine cf. Feingold, "Jesuits" 25.

FIGURE 9.2 *Franz Reinzer*, Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica (*Augsburg, Nepperschmid: 169*[*8*]) *11. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Diss. 60#Beibd. 1* (*urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10865998-1*).

Reinzer and his respondent treat the general nature of the meteoric *corpus*. The political *conclusiones* that follow each of its five *quaestiones* offer an insight into the programmatic scope of the emblem book. The emblems form a basic and ideal curriculum of a ruler's learning and instruction and simultaneously visualize the outcome of such a curriculum. The arrangement of the emblems is structured symmetrically around the third one [Fig. 9.2], where in the *pictura* we see the ruler climbing the bottommost steps of a stairway

leading up a steep mountain, on top of which three laurel wreaths await him, which are identified by the commentary as the 'three rewards of his achievements' (*tres meritorum Mercedes*).[23] The commentary then stresses that the way to the top needs to be undertaken 'gradually' (*gradatim*), as the *inscriptio* of the emblem has already put it. The examples and authorities cited by the commentary are largely derived from mythology and classical historiography. The natural world is mentioned only in a small section of the commentary. Only then is the connection between the philosophical *quaestio* for the region in which the laws of meteorology apply and the political advice made evident: Unlike the upward movement in the *meteora*—from earth through water into the air, most visibly in the generation of clouds—there is no sudden ascension to wisdom and virtue for the ruler. Only through a gradual and steady climb (through his curriculum of political instruction, one is inclined to add) may he reach the top.[24] The author, however, does not content himself with establishing a parallel between the ruler's rise and the natural phenomena, but contrasts the former with the latter: Vapours from the ground, if they rise too quickly, will form a thunderbolt and come crashing down to earth again; this also goes for humidity, which will come down as rain again if too much of it has evaporated into clouds too swiftly. What is remarkable here is the idea of describing the forces of nature in moral terms as well. The commentary states that the rain is pouring out of the clouds as though it repented of its preposterous rise to the sky: 'Fac vaporem sine mora in aëris subsellia penetrare, in pluvias abibit; quasi penitentia ductus repentino ac inconsiderato ascendendi consilio illacrymaretur'.[25] The *politicus* of the *Meteorologia*, of course, is at no risk of experiencing such a steep ascension, as his *consilium* is neither 'sudden' (*repentinus*) nor 'thoughtless' (*inconsideratus*)—with the emblem book at hand, he has the best and most thorough kind of counsel for his actions.

The iconography of the upward trajectory of the ruler as achieved by means of emblematic instruction has an important precedence in one of the most influential and successful political emblem books of all. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea de un principe christiano politico*, originally published in Spanish in 1640, had been translated by the Brussels Jesuit Mulman into Latin and was

23 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 11.

24 Ibidem.

25 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 11: 'Let vapour venture forth into air without any rest, and it will come down as rain, as if it was crying out with repentance over its sudden and thoughtless plan to rise up'.

published in Brussels in 1649.[26] This edition features a richly ornate title page, where we see the eponymous *Princeps christiano-politicus* being guided upwards to the *Templum honoris* by Hercules.[27] The path across the steep slope of a hill is lined with historical and biblical *exempla* as well as personifications of virtues and arts, all of which the dedicatee of the Latin edition, Ferdinand Franz of Austria, later king Ferdinand IV, has to emulate or master. As we have seen in the frontispiece, the *Meteorologia*'s aims are to a large part panegyric and do not allow for severe didactic admonishments. Nonetheless, Reinzer finds an opportunity to stress the necessity of instruction for the ruler and to underline that only a small part of the way has been walked so far. By reference to the natural phenomena that inspire the emblem in question, however, the author can also promise that the ascension of the ruler is more durable than that of the feeble atmospheric phenomena. Just like in the frontispiece, where the portrait of Joseph is hovering above the meteoric world,[28] on the border of the stable celestial region the ascending *politicus* in the *pictura* will surpass the ever-changing nature of the meteoric elements.

As I suggested, the emblems of the first *dissertatio* are arranged symmetrically around an axis set by the third one. Emblems one and five point out what type of instruction the ruler needs (1, 1) and what type of instruction he can give (1, 5). Under the motto *Singula de binis*, the *pictura* of the very first *conclusio* [Fig. 9.3] presents a whole range of atmospheric phenomena connected by the fact that they are created by the encounter of two elements. Just as two elements are needed, the politician needs both *scientia* and *virtus* so he can 'shine with wisdom' and 'burn with virtue'.[29] Thanks to its particular concept, the *Meteorologia* teaches both *scientia* by its philosophical *quaestiones* and *virtus* in the political *conclusiones*, although it appears as though the composite structure preserves the emblematic part from being fraught with philosophic and proto-scientific discussion by outsourcing these aspects to the *quaestiones*.

The fifth emblem of the first section mirrors this idea with a promise to the ruler that he himself can become a source of political and moral instruction

26 Peil D., "Emblematische Fürstenspiegel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Saavedra – Le Moyne – Wilhelm", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 20 (1986) 54–92, here 56–57.

27 Saaveedra Fajardo Diego de, *Idea Principis Christiano-Politici centum symbolis expressa* (Brussels, Mommartius: 1649), title page.

28 Reinzer, *Meteorologia*, title page.

29 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 4: 'Ita virtutis et sapientiae suffragio ad summa quaeque enititur politicus, ut luceat et ardeat: lucendo sapientia bene praesit, ardendo virtute bene vivat' ('Thus, with the support of virtue and wisdom the politician may aspire to all the highest things, so that he may shine and burn, that is: be in charge by shining with wisdom and live well by burning with virtue').

FIGURE 9.3 *Franz Reinzer*, Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica (*Augsburg, Nepperschmid: 169*[*8*]) *4. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Diss. 60#Beibd. 1* (*urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10865998-1*).

once he has made his way to the summit. Following a *quaestio* in which the divine origin of atmospheric phenomena is discussed,[30] we find a *pictura* that

30 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 16: 'Cum omnia ad certos in natura fines ordinata sint, causa finalis Meteororum vel Physica est, vel Theologica? Illa est bonum universi regimen, mutua elementorum contemperatio, aëris repurgatio, et terrae faecundatio. […] Altera causa finalis, ut dixi, Theologica est, nempe Dei cognitio; amor honor, atque etiam impiorum terror, ut si Cometam divina Nemesis velut fatalem bellorum, aut pestis nuntium ableget, aliaque parelia ad terrendos impios accendat […]' ('Since all things in nature are arranged to certain ends—is the final cause of the Meteora a physical or a theological one? The former is the good government of the universe, the mutual and proper mixture of the elements, the

features a dark night sky over the sea with a coastal stretch on the left side. The sky is filled with stars, a comet, a *draco volans*, fire raining from the sky, and a full moon with a halo around it, all of which are phenomena that the book will deal with *in extenso* later on.[31] On the coast, there is a group of astronomers underneath a porticus observing the sky and marvelling at the phenomena appearing across it. The commentary turns to the *politicus* and informs him that he should not be frightened at the sight of such things, but understand them as a divine hint or nudge for the improvement of humankind.[32] Accordingly, he himself may be a miracle of God for mortal men to pay attention to. Just as the phenomena of the atmosphere are the result of natural forces (but besides that may also have a theological *causa finalis*, i.e. to warn the mortal world), the ruler is instructed by a lucid agenda of political teachings. However, as a specimen of good rule he himself may also be a sort of divine admonition to his subjects, even beyond the boundaries of his own life. Therefore, the quotations from classical authors in the commentary partially point to apotheosis and catasterism:[33] Lifting the ruler to a place among the celestial bodies is not much of an innovation in an era of sun kings,[34] but the idea of the ruler as a

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cleansing of the air and the fertilizer of the earth. […] The latter cause is a theological one, as I said, and it consists in the cognition of god, in loving and honouring him, but also in deterring the impious, like when divine vengeance sends off a comet as a fatal messenger of wars or plague, and lights other phenomena of the sun to horrify the impious […]').

31 For this emblem, see also the article by Sabine Kalff in this volume.

32 Meinel, "Natur" 70–72, discusses in detail Reinzer's stance towards physical theology and superstition expressed in this section.

33 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 17: 'Prima subsellia honoris tenere velut sidus terrenum fulgere, imminere capitibus reliquorum, dictare iura et leges, Sceptrum simul ac virgas tenere famosum est; at fumosum, si non in communem utilitatem impendas, ut aut purges a faecibus rempubl. aut purgatam in flore conserves. Laudem Augusti Caesaris ex Comico Poëta percipere libeat: Pulchrum eminere est inter illustres viros. Sic ille patriae Primus Augustus Parens, complexus astra est, colitur et templis Deus [the quotation is from Pseudo-Seneca, *Octavia* 472–478]' ('It is a source of fame to hold the first position within a state and to shine like a star on earth, to overhang the heads of all the others, to speak justice and dictate laws, to hold the sceptre and at the same time the rod; but this fame comes to naught if you do not invest it for the benefit of the public, in order to either cleanse the state from filth or to preserve it in a flourishing state once cleansed. It should be pleasing now to hear the praise of Augustus by the playwright: It is splendorous to excel among illustrious men. Thus, Augustus, the first among his peers in the state, embraced the stars and now is worshipped as a god in temples').

34 Pierre Le Moyne, a French Jesuit, published an emblematic mirror of princes, *De l'art de regner* (Paris, Cramoisy: 1665), which is not only dedicated to Louis XIV but also features an opening verse epistle in which the sun speaks to the king, and each of its larger sections

celestial object that undergoes scientific scrutiny is an aspect that may deserve to have its precedence traced. We find a similar motive some 35 years earlier in the Dutch Jesuit Johann Kreihing's *Emblemata Ethico-Politica* (Antwerp: 1661), an extensive collection of moral and political emblems. There, the dedicatee, Leopold Wilhelm of Austria—archbishop of, among other places, Breslau, and former Habsburg governor of the Spanish Netherlands—is advised not to heed those who are overly critical of a ruler's actions: They behave like astronomers who see stains even on the most flawless of all celestial bodies, the sun.[35]

Emblems two and four are complementary as well, in that one treats whence the ruler's authority comes, and the other onto whom he can confer authority. That all power comes from god is illustrated by an underlying principle of all pre-scientific meteorology: The phenomena of the *Meteorum* are not caused primarily by subterranean fires, but by the attraction of the atmospheric elements towards the heat of the sun.[36] The fourth *quaestio* deals with the issue of whether the mixed bodies of the chemical world share matter with the meteoric phenomena. The *pictura* of the political adaptation exemplifies this with a garden of flowers with a fountain in the middle. The flowers are not just beautiful to look at, they also emit pleasant fragrances. As such, they resemble the bodies sharing some of their matter with the unstable meteoric world. The ruler, in turn, must share his virtue with posterity, as a role model, and his descendants, as a source of legitimacy. Still, great deeds are more important than the fame the ruler enjoys due to them.[37] We find a similar iconography

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is headed by an emblem that connects the ruler to the sun. Cf. Peil, "Emblematische Fürstenspiegel" 72–79.

35 Kreihing, *Emblemata* 186 (no. 126). Cf. Blair, "Astronomy" 387.

36 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 6–7.

37 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 13–14: 'Immortalem te cupio, Politice, ut post funera vivas. Longam prolium seriem ac nepotum Porphyrianam post se relinquunt parentes, ut in filiis vivant. Tibi ut recte factorum progeniem in lucem edas, suadeo: ita enim in animi tui partubus et quasi prolibus vives immortalis. Si virtutum decorem imprimis curaveris, famae bonae odor e vestigio aderit: haec enim illius pedissequa est, ut lilia et rosae non suo solum ornatae sunt decore, sed et odoriferos thesauros in auras ablegant; at mixta sublunaria corpora suam in aerem transmittunt virtutem, unde caelestia phaenomena exsurgunt, quae lucent et splendent' ('I wish you to be immortal, politician, so you may live beyond the grave. Parents leave behind a long purple line of children and grandchildren to live on in their children. I advise you to give birth to an offspring of deeds well done, so you may become immortal in the fruit and children of your mind. If you pay attention most of all to the splendour of your virtues, there will be the fragrance of a good reputation following your footsteps: For the latter is the former's follower, like the lily and the roses are not only decorated with beauty, but they also exude fragrant treasures into the air; but the mixed bodies of the sublunary world transfer their power into the air, whence the celestial phenomena arise, which shine and sparkle').

of a garden in blossom signifying the legitimizing, but also obliging aspects of dynastic succession, already in the very first political emblem books of Jesuit making—the *Fama postuma*, which the Jesuit Johannes Heumont wrote for the Graz *collegium* in 1609. The work celebrates the life of the late Archduchess Maria Anna of Austria (1551–1608), from the house of Wittelsbach, as a specimen of piety, obliging all her descendants to live up to the ideals set by the deceased.[38]

Nonetheless, compared to a work like the *Fama postuma*, the element of dynastic imperative is considerably less contoured in the *Meteorologia*. We find it only quite late in the book, when *quaestio* V, 4 treats the phenomenon of the *parhelion*, a halo caused by refraction of the sunrays in atmospheric ice crystals [Fig. 9.4].[39] The *pictura* is divided into an interior and an exterior scene, the latter showing two suns in the sky, illustrating the topic of the *quaestio*. In the building on the left we have the corresponding domestic setting applying the phenomenon to genealogical matters: A young nobleman, supposedly the dedicatee Joseph I, is standing in front of a mirror that shows a different picture. Instead of the young prince there is a grown man, one whose features strikingly resemble those of Joseph's father, Leopold I. Thus, the physical phenomenon of the parhelion enables the author to merge two common aspects of mirrors of princes, i.e. the idea of the *puer senex*[40] and the iconography of the mirror as a metaphoric core element of the mirror of princes tradition.[41] The initial lines of the prose *subscriptio* are remarkable in that instead of referring to the *parhelion* right away, they offer a more familiar emblematic motif, one usually promoting

38 Heumont, *Fama Postuma* fol. 6r–v. Cf. Caithaml, "Drei" 342–346.

39 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 88.

40 This concept is alluded to individually in emblem VII, 5, "On snow" ("De nive"), which postulates that the biographical 'winter' of moral and intellectual superiority should begin as soon as possible, cf. Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 144–145.

41 Cf. also in this instance the preface to Heumont's *Fama postuma*, where the author states that the late archduchess's life shall be a *speculum* for all her successors, cf. Heumont, *Fama Postuma* fol. 2v: 'Quemadmodum ergo ex picturis imaginem pictoribus, Idea quaedam proponi solet, ad quam identidem respectantes lineamenta fingant, penicillum ducant, artem denique totam librent ac componant, ita illustre hoc Serenitas Vestra speculum habitura est, in quo varia ac multiplicia reperiat exempla, ad exprimendum ac efformandum illud virtutis simulacrum, quod non penicillo mortuum, sed moribus vivum ac floridum exhibere Mundo meditatur' ('Like painters draw some kind of idea from pictures, according to which they make their sketches, wield their pencil, and calibrate and compose their entire art, Your Highness shall have an illustrious mirror in which She will find a manifold of examples to express and shape that paragon of virtue, which She intends to present to the world not as a lifeless one with a pencil, but with Her character as a living and flourishing one').

FIGURE 9.4 *Franz Reinzer*, Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica (*Augsburg, Nepperschmid: 169*[*8*]) *88. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Diss. 60#Beibd. 1* (*urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10865998-1*).

the moral duties of dynastic succession, preceded by two proverbial variations on the same subject:[42] The eagle itself is not only a very common feature of

42 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 88: 'Ut mali corvi malum ovum. Ita Aquila noctuas non parit. Carolus Emmanuel Sabaudiae Dux in defuncti Parentis solium positus, seipsum recens excluso pullo aquilino, a a primis unguiculis in Solis faciem intuenti similem dixit,

emblematics and, due to its association with Jupiter, the Holy Roman Empire, and the house of Habsburg, easily applicable especially to an Austrian ruler for panegyric means, but it is also particularly applicable to the topic of education and succession. The idea of the eagle verifying his fatherhood by forcing his young to stare directly into the sun—something of which only eagles are capable—was introduced into emblem literature in the (ornithological and entomological) third *Centuria* of Camerarius's *Symbola et Emblemata*. In III, 6 we witness the eagle's close association with the sun, when the bird is carrying the small kinglet (*Regulus*) upwards to the sun.[43] Three emblems later, there is almost exactly the same scene, only the smaller bird, the eagle's hatchling in this case, is not carried on the eagle's back, but between its claws.[44] Moreover, the related motif of the eagle not bearing forth any birds less powerful or warlike than himself (related in that it concerns the eagle's watch over the purity of his breed), ultimately hearkening back to Horace's *Ode* IV, 4, was featured in earlier emblematic literature. The opening emblem of the very first 'political' Jesuit emblem book, the aforementioned *Fama postuma* by the Graz college, cites the respective lines by Horace as an *inscriptio* to a *pictura* showing two eagles flying skyward and harnessed to a chariot [Fig. 9.5]. Thus, the combination

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lemmate exp[e]rimens: "Non degenero". Solis avis aquila dicitur; in Solem enim totus intentus. Ita Solis aemulum, atque, atque aquilinum pullum dicere possum Politicum, cuis omnis industria eo contendit, ut Parentis faciem sibi imprimat, totusque sit alter ab illo: aut dixerim potius, sit unus in illo; velut ovum ovo simile, atque speculum non fallax, in retribuendo fidele, a Solis radiis illustratum formas proiicit, quas tanquam exemplaria, atque veraces imagines intueamur. Tale vel in ipso coelo speculum natura dedit' ('As "Of a bad crow only a bad egg", so "The eagle doesn't give birth to an owl". Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, when placed on his deceased father's throne, used to say that he was like a recently hatched eagle chick, that from his earliest days on had been gazing into the sun, expressing this by his device "I do not degenerate". The eagle is called the sun's bird because he is completely focussed on the sun. Therefore, I may call a rival of the sun and an eagle's hatchling the politician, who spends all his energy so that he may take on his father's appearance and be the next after him—or, I should rather say—the same in him, similar like one egg to another, and as an undeceiving mirror, rendering faithfully, projects the forms the sun shines upon it, which we behold as specimens and truthful images. Such a mirror nature, too, presents in the sky itself').

43 Camerarius Joachim the Younger, *Symbolorum et Emblematum ex volatilibus et insectis desumtorum centuria tertia collecta* (Nuremberg, Kaufmann: 1598), emblem no. 6. On the emblematic 'truth' of the eagle's behaviour cf. Daly, *The Emblem* 65–66.

44 Camerarius, *Symbolorum* 18. The emblem's meaning, however, points to no contemporary ruler, but to the ancient saying that the true friend proves himself in dire times: 'Ut sobolem ingenuam ad Solem Iovis aestimat ales / cernitur adversis rebus amica fides' ('As the bird of Jupiter checks the legitimacy of his offspring against the sun, so a true friend is recognized in the face of bad circumstances').

FIGURE 9.5 *Johannes Heumont*, Fama postuma de virtutibus heroicis (*Graz, Widmannstadius: 1609*), *fol. 3v. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *43.D.14* (*http://data.onb.ac.at/ABO/%2BZ177380109*).

of the lines of the houses of Wittelsbach and Habsburg in the marriage of Maria Anna of Bavaria and her late husband, Archduke Charles II of Austria, is praised in the fashion of a genethliatic panegyric.[45] This, in turn, appears to be a reference to Camerarius's emblem III, 60, where a similar chariot drawn by

45 Heumont, *Fama Postuma* fol. 3v.

doves signifies marital prosperity.[46] In this case, we see how feeble the actual tie between both components of the book—natural philosophy and political instruction—is after all. Instead of establishing the—obvious—emblematic link between the natural phenomenon and the thought it encapsulates right away, Reinzer digresses into the field of very common emblematic traditions.

Political Advice or Moral Philosophy?

After determining what programmatic frame the first *dissertatio* is crafting for the emblem book, we need to ask how 'political' it is after all. It is tempting to approach this issue with a modern understanding of the term 'politics' and to assume that a political emblem book would be 'political' in that it aims to comment on and influence the way people in a state behave towards each other. There is, however, a virulent tradition of non-Jesuit emblem books, especially dating from the first half of the 17th century, which by way of their titles already promise to convey political meaning, fully or in part, like Florentius Schoonhovius's *Emblemata partim Moralia partim etiam Civilia*,[47] Julius Wilhelm Zincgref's *Emblematum ethico-politicorum centuria*,[48] Justus Reifenberg's *Emblemata politica*,[49] or Marcus Boxhorn's *Emblemata Politica*,[50] all of which combine general ethics with aspects of good and just rule, each to an extent so different from the others that it reminds the scholar to approach the issue more cautiously: The bandwidth of political advice in the emblem books quoted ranges from general civic morality for the sake of an urban society's well-being in Schoonhovius's work (and that only in part, while a substantial number of emblems does not even deal with the 'civic' dimension) to explicit instruction on how to exercise power politically and militarily in Boxhorn's book (which, in this case, may be owed to the fact that the dedicatee was an influential officer in the Swedish army). There are traces of this mixture in the *Meteorologia* as well, albeit only partially, for the panegyric component has its own demands, too, as we shall see again later on. In some instances in the book, the emblems deal with very specific aspects of ruling, like the efficiency of fiscal administration, while at other times Reinzer is plainly advising the *politicus* to be a good person. In an attempt at systematizing this preliminary observation, we can

46 Camerarius, *Symbolorum* 126.

47 Gouda, Andreas Burier: 1618.

48 Frankfurt, Theodor de Bry: 1619.

49 Amsterdam, Johannes Janssonius: 1632.

50 Amsterdam, Johannes Janssonius: 1635.

sort the *Meteorologia*'s 83 emblems into three major categories regarding the political scope of their teaching: First, we find moral insights that are valid for every man, and subsequently also for the king or ruler, and which one might also find in emblematic publications concerned with ethics on a more general scale. This is the case, for example, when the crops growing upright again after a hailstorm incite the reader to not let himself be daunted by adversities,[51] or when the water shooting up in a fountain and falling back down to the basin signifies the instability of fortune.[52] However, this category, comprising 18 emblems or *conclusiones*, is the smallest one. The second one treats general moral insights that have a particular dimension of meaning when applied to the ruler and the conditions of rule. For example, the warning that, like the fog which hides the sun that has brought it forth by evaporation, the former protégé may be ungrateful towards his benefactor,[53] may apply to a whole range of relationships, but in the case of the ruler and his courtiers it is of vital importance for the state not to nurture the wrong people with one's favour. It goes without saying that this particular piece of advice, like several others, is bidirectional and aims at both the ruler as dedicatee and the reader as one of his subjects, as a mirror of princes generally is often, by implication, also a mirror of subjects. One of the last emblems of the *Meteorologia*, which would apply to this category as well, takes the reader back to the cradle of emblem literature: The idea of unity and *concordia* as the backbone of a state's well-being is already present in the second emblem of Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, which Reinzer also cites in the commentary. However, instead of a lute the forces of magnetism are employed to illustrate the creation of unity without use of violence: A chain of rings in the claw of an eagle is held together only by magnetism. The eagle obviously is the addressed *politicus*, Joseph I, transferring its magnetic attraction to all the attached metal parts. Here, Reinzer cites the frontispiece of the first edition of the second book of Athanasius Kircher's *Magnes*, which shows, among many magnetic items, an eagle, to which the accumulated Habsburg crowns are attached. Kircher had thoughtfully dedicated the work to Leopold I, whose personal library contained 13 works by Kircher alone,[54] emphasizing the practical value of his findings.[55] Now while Kircher, in his second edition, took a step away from the laudatory style of his frontispiece—then pointing at

51 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 149–150 (no. VII, 7).

52 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 198–199 (no. IX, 4).

53 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 132–133 (no. VII, 2).

54 Evans, *The Making* 317.

55 Waddell, *Jesuit Science* 150–155. On the same finding in the works of Kircher's disciple Gaspar Schott cf. ibidem 169–178. Baldwin, "Pious Ambition" 308–315, scrutinizes Kircher's ties to the rulers of his day.

magnetism as an 'emblematic' condensation of a 'pervasive unity' in the laws of nature[56]—Reinzer subdues his altogether eclectic usage of natural philosophy and science to the panegyric and didactic scope of his work by citing the older version of the frontispiece. Numbering 35 emblems, this category is the largest. Ultimately, there are emblems whose teachings and insights are valid for monarchs exclusively, or even Joseph I alone. The former is the case when, for example, the *politicus* is admonished to guarantee a steady fiscal income[57] and reliable weights and measures. The notion of appropriating the laws of nature by means of technology, of applying the work's findings to the use of state and rule, is very conspicuous here, but this type of emblematic instruction often verges on being a commentary on recent political events, rather than a presentation of tried, tested, and universally applicable political knowledge and advice. We find the former when Reinzer deals with the Turkish war or other conflicts and events connected to the kings and emperors of the Habsburg dynasty. Let us therefore turn to two of these most blatant incursions of contemporary politics into the political teachings of the *Meteorologia*, which are already advertised by the frontispiece, where Mars rests his foot on the disembodied head of a Turk [Fig. 9.6]. Emblem V, 3 shows merely a very specific application of the previously discussed meteorological phenomena from which to derive political advice. The piece of advice is a very blunt one: *Turcae juratus hostis maneat politicus,* 'The politician must remain the Turk's sworn enemy.' When the south wind, the *Auster*, is blowing, the moon crescent is likely to be surrounded by a halo—accordingly, only by the forces of *Austria* may the Turkish menace, under the banner of the crescent, be curbed and placed in chains like the giants and the Cerberus in the foreground of the *pictura*.[58]

The connection between natural history and emblematic didactics aiming at contemporary political challenges is even more feeble one entire dissertation earlier, in IV, 2 [Fig. 9.6A], whose physical *quaestio* deals with the

56 Waddell, *Jesuit Science* 123–129. To give another conspicuous example of emblematic inspiration Reinzer found in Kircher, we may look at *Meteorologia* 124–125 (no. VI, 7), the exact centre of Reinzer's 12-book volume and marked as such by the fact that it is the only emblem without a preceding *quaestio*, where an organ in which the same stream of air produces all sorts of sounds is likened to the ruler, who like an organist needs to direct all his subjects in order to establish *concordia*. Kircher, in the final chapter of his *Musurgia Univeralis*, 2 vols. (Rome, Corbelletti: 1650), here vol. II, 454–462, likens the cosmos to an organ and its creator to an organist. Cf. Evans, *The Making* 340. What makes this example even more striking is the fact that it is the only one without a philosophical *quaestio*, even if there would have been ample material to build upon, especially in the respective chapter of Kircher's compendious musicological treatise.

57 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 289–290 (no. XII, 11).

58 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 84–85.

FIGURE 9.6 *Franz Reinzer*, Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica (*Augsburg, Nepperschmid: 169*[*8*]), *frontispiece* (*detail*). *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Diss. 60#Beibd. 1* (*urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10865998-1*).

FIGURE 9.6A *Franz Reinzer*, Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica (*Augsburg, Nepperschmid: 169*[*8*]) *61. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Diss. 60#Beibd. 1* (*urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10865998-1*).

causa materialis, formalis et efficiens Cometarum, of which topic, however, the political conclusion *Virtus oppressa resurget* leaves no trace. Instead, it celebrates the Austrian victory over the Turks in the 1683 Battle of Vienna. The scope of the question concerning the *causae* of the comets is shifted towards an astrological discourse. The author discusses the extent to which the trajectory of the Great Comet of 1680 foreshadowed the Battle of Vienna and the

beginning of the European counter-offensive against the Turks. Piercing first the 'Austrian' constellation of the Eagle to then meet the 'Ottoman' Ganymede, the event of 1680 suits the purpose perfectly.[59] Contemporary astronomy, in fact, found its own way to commemorate the great events in 1683. The German astronomer and cartographer of the sky Johannes Hevelius (1611–1687) honoured the Polish King Johann III Sobieski, whose contribution to the battle of Vienna was instrumental in the defenders' success, by assigning and dedicating a newly conceived constellation to him, the *Scutum Sobiescianum*, known to a wider public prominently via Hevelius's posthumous *Firmamentum Sobiescianum* of 1690.[60] With only eight years between the *Firmamentum* and the *Meteorologia*, and an additional mention of the Polish efforts in the prose commentary accompanying the *pictura*,[61] the blank between the constellations in Reinzer's work is noteworthy at the very least.

Habsburg Rule as Cosmic Law

What, then, to make of an emblem book like the *Meteorologia* in the tradition of panegyric and political Jesuit emblem books? Having seen some of the approaches and methods Reinzer uses to bring together his subject and his dedicatee, we understand a bit better how the frontispiece links the ruler with the physical elements and forces of nature. The physical powers as diverse as the four elements, time, and magnetism are not just honouring the ruler, but they confer governance over them to him, as he, by means of the right instruction, is the perfect *politicus*, whose guiding principles of *timor* and *amor* are thus raised to the status of natural laws themselves. The quotation from Virgil's

59 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 61–62.

60 Hevelius Johannes, *Prodromus Astronomiae* (Gdansk, Stollius: 1690), fig. Q has the uranographic map.

61 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 62: 'Ottomannum autem Ganymedem, qui velut marina bellua Austriacam Andromedam uno rictu, hiatuque sorbere assurexit: non tantum Lotharingici Persei, advolantisque Polonicae albae aquilae auxilio ex Christianitatis corde Vienna avertit: sed et ipsum tanquam Promotheum vinculis ligatum repetitis victoriis vulnerat, recentisque usque ferme ad internecionem clade die 11. Septembr. 1679 sauciavit' ('However, he not only drove away the Ottoman Ganymede, who like a monster from the sea has risen to swallow the Austrian Andromeda in one bite, with help from the Lothringian Perseus and the white Polish eagle, but also hurts him with repeated victories like Prometheus in chains, and recently wounded him almost to death by the defeat afflicted upon him on 11 September 1679').

FIGURE 9.7 *Franz Reinzer*, Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica (*Augsburg, Nepperschmid: 169*[*8*]), *frontispiece* (*detail*). *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Diss. 60#Beibd. 1* (*urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10865998-1*).

Aeneid to the left of the portrait is thereby re-contextualized and now rather means a universal rule pervading all nature of the sublunary region [Fig. 9.7].[62]

Thereby, the *Meteorologia* is taking a step further from what a book like the 1638 *Annus primus* by the Graz *collegium* had already brought about as a panegyric strategy—that is, installing the addressee at the centre of an ambitious and far-reaching concept in explaining cosmic matters. This emblem book was published by the Graz College and dedicated to Ferdinand III on the occasion of the beginning of the second year of his rule, which coincidentally also meant the fulfilment of the first 365 years since the first Habsburg ruler was elected Holy Roman Emperor, with Ferdinand as the 13th Habsburg emperor—thereby having the eponymous *Annus Austriacus* come full circle.[63] The book, as lavish and extensive as the *Meteorologia*, closes on a number of emblems in which all twelve former Habsburg emperors turn to Ferdinand with emblematic advice attached to quotations from Virgil heralding the Golden Age or the eternal rule of Rome, among them, of course, the *Imperium sine fine*. There, a giant clock measuring the time of the Austrian *magnus annus* is promising a perpetual Habsburg claim to the imperial crown [Fig. 9.8].[64] What sets the *Meteorologia* apart from the *Annus primus*, however, is the fact that the latter's freshly coined Habsburg cosmochronology is merely fictitious, while Reinzer's emblems gain their panegyric lucidity by attaching themselves to visible and palpable reality.

62 On the Habsburg emperors as self-fashioned protagonists of universal Catholicism cf. Evans, *The Making* 419–446.

63 *Annus primus* fol. 6r–7v.

64 *Annus primus* fol. 133r.

FIGURE 9.8 *Graz Collegium SJ*, Annus primus imperii Austriaci (*Graz, Widmannstadius: 1638*) *fol. 133r. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 38.A.10* (*http://data.onb.ac.at/ABO/%2BZ184373908*).

Political Emblems and the Natural World around 1700: Reinzer versus Weigel

In general, it appears as though the canonical Aristotelian definition of the *meteora* served mainly as a tie to generate coherence for Reinzer's widespread sources of emblematic invention or citation.[65] Therefore, the superficial cohesion of the book's panegyric perspective must not blur the scholar's perception of how Reinzer employs different levels of both physical knowledge and interpretive depth for a quite varied set of political teachings. Inverting the title of Meinel's essay 'Die Natur als moralische Anstalt', 'nature as a moral institution', one might summarize our findings today under the heading 'political prudence and morality as a natural institution'—only when displayed by a Habsburg ruler, though.

Peculiar as it is, Reinzer's *Meteorologia* may have influenced at least one subsequent emblem book. The *Ethica Naturalis*, published by the printer Christoph Weigel in 1700 and featuring epigrams by the Viennese Jesuit Paul Hansiz,[66] in 100 emblems systematizes a broad range of aspects constituting the natural world, from the single elements to the regions of the atmosphere to the division of time to specific aspects of the habitable world like landscape formations, weather or vegetation, all of which are then applied to topics of morality or piety via the emblematic *subscriptio*. There are cases in which Reinzer and Weigel use different but related meteorological phenomena to express the same moral meaning: Both warn against the lack of gratitude in clients or subjects, which obfuscates their benefactors' merits. In Reinzer, however, this idea is expressed by fog, while Weigel's emblem features clouds for the same purpose.[67] In both books, emblems on rain follow: For Reinzer, rain signifies the generosity that the *politicus* must display, just as the rain benefits all life on earth.[68] For Weigel, the emphasis is on the destruction caused by too

65 Thereby his work echoes the heyday of the emblematic mode which conditioned an omnireferential look at any given aspect of the natural world, cf. Ashworth, "Natural History" 312.

66 Eybl F.M., *Abraham a Sancta Clara: Vom Prediger zum Schriftsteller*, Frühe Neuzeit 6 (Tübingen: 1992) 363–365. For an emblem concerned with 'physics' even in a modern sense, cf. e.g. Weigel's 33rd emblem, which takes its starting point from gravity and hydrostatic pressure in a waterfall. Cf. also Sabine Kalff's article in this volume.

67 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 132–133 (no. VII, 2); Weigel, *Ethica Naturalis* 8. The reader may be reminded of the clouds in the earlier epigram of Reinzer's that pointed at a harsh fall after an all too steep rise, cf. *Meteorologia* 10–11 (no. I, 3).

68 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 136–137 (no. VII, 3).

much rain.[69] Reinzer covers this aspect of precipitation as well and assigns it roughly the same meaning, but he outsources it to the ensuing emblem *De nubifragio*, 'on the cloudburst'.[70] In Reinzer's *Meteorologia*, hail calls for resilience in the face of impending damage,[71] while Weigel stresses the fact that hail immediately melts and applies it to the idea that whoever reviles others in speech destroys his own reputation simultaneously.[72] One can trace these shifts in perspective and emphasis to other sections of each emblem book as well. Emblem no. 99 in Weigel's collection has the earthquake as its topic, which the epigram interprets as the weight of guilt that makes even the earth crack open.[73] Reinzer splits his reflections on earthquakes in two, the latter of which is quite conventional in its meaning: As an earthquake hits all humanity and its architecture indistinctively, not even the most elevated ruler will evade death.[74] The former, however, is more *ad rem*: As seismic or volcanic pressure in the subterranean world will ultimately break ground in an earthquake, a populace aggravated by too many constraints will eventually rebel against its ruler.[75]

This polyvalence of emblematic subjects and means that the short comparison between Reinzer and Weigel has shown points to the fact that in most cases in the emblematic literature we are dealing with here, there is no palpable attempt to unearth a definite meaning or understanding of the order of nature or the things unseen. That the same aspects of the seemingly fixed and calculable laws natural philosophy posits can be applied to such a range of different and even conflicting instances of emblematic meaning directs us to the functioning of emblems as a medium to convey didactic or panegyric content in a more appealing way than, say, a treatise would. Whatever the reasons for its peculiar bi-thematic structure, the 'political' half of the *Meteorologia Philosophico-Politica*, if we consider it a proper emblem book, outweighs the other half by far and embeds it in the tradition of the great names of emblem literature, who generated symbolical meaning out of well-established knowledge rather than probing deeper into the fabric of the world. So, although Reinzer's publication may have served as a source of inspiration for at least one subsequent emblem book, the history of emblems and natural philosophy, or of emblematics

69 Weigel, *Ethica Naturalis* no. 9 (not paginated).
70 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 141–142 (no. VII, 4).
71 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 149–150 (no. VII, 7).
72 Weigel, *Ethica Naturalis* no. 10 (not paginated).
73 Weigel, *Ethica Naturalis* no. 99 (not paginated).
74 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 221–223 (no. X, 2).
75 Reinzer, *Meteorologia* 218–219 (no. X, 1).

versus natural philosophy, at the dawn of modern science could easily be written without mentioning the *Meteorologia Philosophico-politica*. Nonetheless, it is a highly instructive example of an emblem author meeting the general interest of a greater audience with his adaptation of emblematic ethics featuring the natural world, which, even in our short walkthrough, gave us some insight into what an emblematist's expectations and concepts concerning his medium's capability of conveying truth, meaning and instruction may have been.

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PART 3

The Applied Use of Natural Emblems, Especially in Monarchial and Courtly Contexts

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CHAPTER 10

Transcending the Natural World: A Developing Sublime in André Félibien's *Tapisseries du Roy*

Frederik Knegtel

André Félibien's book *Tapisseries du Roy* (1670) presents to the reader an engraved and commented edition of two of Charles Le Brun's tapestry series commissioned by Louis XIV.[1] These series offer allegorical visualisations of the elements and the seasons, glorifying the king through emblematic devices. This article will suggest a new way of understanding the interplay in Félibien's book between the realm of nature and that of royal politics, by placing the work within a discussion of the seventeenth-century development of the sublime. First, I will examine the dynamic relationship between nature, architecture and the king in the *Tapisseries du Roy*. Subsequently, I will argue that in order to fully understand this dynamic, one needs to place Félibien's book within the contemporary critical discourse on *le merveilleux* and *le sublime*; in other words, within the context of the developing notion of the sublime in seventeenth-century France.

Between Earthly and Lofty. Art and Nature in the Tapisseries du Roy

In 1664, two tapestry series were designed by Charles Le Brun in close collaboration with Colbert's *Petite académie* (the later Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres) in order to glorify the still relatively early, but successful reign of Louis XIV. Four tapestries represented the Four Elements [Fig. 10.1], four others the Four Seasons. In the central part of each of the eight tapestries, Le Brun depicted an allegorical tableau representing a classical deity connected to each of the seasons and elements. Additionally, Le Brun and his team placed four personalised emblematic roundels, or *devises*, in the corners of the more expensive *haute lisse* versions of the two tapestry series [Fig. 10.2]. These devices each had a Latin motto and corresponded to the theme of the tapestry,

1 In this article, I will make use the following edition of Félibien's publication: Félibien André, *Tapisseries du Roy ou sont representez les quatre elemens et les quatre saisons avec les devises qui les accompagnent, et leur explication* (Paris, Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy: 1679).

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FIGURE 10.1 *Charles Le Brun* (*design*) *with the collaboration of Adam Frans van der Meulen and Issac Moillon, Autumn tapestry, part of the set* Les Saisons (*before 1669*). *Wool, silk, and gilt metal-wrapped thread, 480 × 580 cm. Paris, Mobilier National.* IMAGE © LE MOBILIER NATIONAL. PHOTO BY LAWRENCE PERQUIS.

FIGURE 10.2 *Charles Le Brun* (*design*) *with the collaboration of Adam Frans van der Meulen and Issac Moillon, Autumn tapestry, part of the set* Les Saisons (*before 1669*). *Wool, silk, and gilt metal-wrapped thread, 480 × 580 cm. Paris, Mobilier National. Detail.* IMAGE © LE MOBILIER NATIONAL. PHOTO BY LAWRENCE PERQUIS.

representing metaphorically the virtues and deeds of Louis XIV. A total of around twelve tapestry sets of the *Éléments* and *Saisons* were produced during the reign of Louis XIV, and only a small number of these sets had the elaborate border with four devices in each corner.[2] In order to underscore the value of these tapestries—both within court circles and for a larger public—André Félibien, a royal historiographer and writer on art, published a non-illustrated description of the tapestries' devices in 1665.[3] In a 1667 edition, madrigals by Charles Perrault and colleagues were added.[4] Around this time, the painter Jacques Bailly finished a collection of colourful miniatures on vellum depicting the tapestry devices, which Bailly himself had redesigned for this purpose.[5] In 1668, the madrigals and engraved versions of Bailly's work by Sébastien Le Clerc were brought together and published by Bailly under the title *Devises pour les tapisseries du roy: Ou sont representez les quatre elemens et les quatre saisons de l'année*. Félibien later expanded this edition with descriptions of the two tapestry sets and gave the new edition of 1670 a more complete title: *Tapisseries du Roy, ou sont representez les quatre elemens et les quatre saisons. Avec les devises qui les accompagnent, et leur explication*.[6] The publication reappeared in several editions in the course of the following decades, as well as in Dutch and German translations.

In 1669, the first sets of the actual tapestries were completed.[7] The expensive *haute lisse* woven sets were hung in the chateaux of Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Versailles and were displayed to an audience of courtiers and guests on special occasions. Other sets of both series were sent to foreign courts and officials as diplomatic gifts. The *Mercure galant* of July 1677 mentions that the month before, a large procession was led through several courtyards at

2 See Vittet J., *La collection de tapisseries de Louis XIV*, (Dijon: 2010) 128. In fact, since an early *haute lisse* tapestry set of the *Éléments* (with devices) was presented by the king to the Prince of Tuscany in September 1669, a similar set was made to replace this earlier version. Thereby, the Gobelins and the king ensured that this elaborate and powerful set remained within the walls of the court and could be presented to the king's subjects.

3 Saunders A., *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem. A Study in Diversity* (Geneva: 2000) 296.

4 Saunders, *Seventeenth-Century French Emblem* 296.

5 For a facsimile of and commentary on this Bailly edition, see Grivel M. – Fumaroli M., *Devises pour les Tapisseries du Roi* (Paris: 1988). Painted reproductions of the tapestries themselves were added to the manuscript several years later.

6 Grivel – Fumaroli, *Devises* 115–116.

7 Saunders A., "Emblems to Tapestries and Tapestries to Emblems: Contrasting Practice in England and France", *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 21, 1 (1999) 247–259, 249. I want to thank Alison Saunders for generously giving me a copy of this article.

Versailles, the walls of which were adorned with at least thirteen highly propagandistic tapestry sets, including both the *Éléments* and the *Saisons*.[8]

Both in the central scene of each tapestry, and in the devices around them, the realms of nature and architecture adopt several forms and intersect in various ways. These intersections range from allegorical interrelations between imaginary buildings and the natural world to juxtapositions of animals and plants in the rich architectural framework that surrounds the emblematic devices. This vibrant interplay of nature and architecture reflects the contemporary activities of the king in several ways.

Firstly, while the two tapestry sets contain a large variety of wild animals, plants and landscapes, they emphasise royal dominance over the untamed natural world. The *Éléments* tapestries show a large number of birds and plants in their wild environment, but the presence of allegorical figures and human tools both appropriate and cultivate the depicted savage landscape [Fig. 10.3]. More importantly, while the tapestry of *Le Feu* demonstrates the raw force of thunder, and while *L'Air* and *L'Eau* show a multitude of wild birds and sea creatures in their respective natural habitats, the final tapestry of *La Terre* depicts exotic animals such as a lion and a camel in the park of a classical country house. The fourth and culminating tapestry of *La Terre* reacts to the three previous elements: Louis XIV, having calmed the natural fury and disorder of fire, air and water, works miracles on the earth.[9] This idea of shaping the natural world into palaces and gardens is carried over into the tapestry set of the *Saisons*, each of which is dedicated to one of Louis XIV's palaces. Versailles is shown in spring, Fontainebleau in summer, Saint-Germain-en-Laye in autumn and the Louvre in winter. Mythological gods are shown floating gloriously in the gardens of each palace. The palaces themselves are visualised in the background of each central *tableau* and function in the season concerned as political headquarter or country seat. Construction or enlargement of these buildings, as well as the transformation of their rough natural surroundings into formal gardens by André Le Nôtre, actually coincided with the production of these tapestry scenes. One excellent example is the central scene of the *L'Été* tapestry. The figures of Minerva and Apollo are depicted in front of the palace

8 Campbell T.P. – Cleland E.A.H., *Tapestry in the Baroque: New Aspects of Production and Patronage* (New Haven – London: 2010) 345–346.

9 Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roy* 35. Félibien opens his description of *La Terre* with the following words: 'Si sa Majesté sceû dissiper les foudres & les orages qui menaçoient incessament nos testes; si Elle a rendu l'air serein & tranquille; si Elle a calmé les flots de la Mer, & dompté sa fureur: Elle n'a pas fait de moindres miracles sur la Terre. Et c'est ce que l'on a tasché de representer dans le quatriéme Tableau qui figure cét Elément'.

FIGURE 10.3 *Sébastien Le Clerc, after Charles Le Brun* (*design*), *Air tapestry* (*ca. 1670*). *Etching and engraving, 37,7 × 54,7 cm. From: André Félibien*, Les Tapisseries du Roy (*Paris, Imprimerie royale: 1670*). *Paris, École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts.* IMAGE © BEAUX-ARTS DE PARIS, DIST. RMN-GRAND PALAIS/IMAGE BEAUX-ARTS DE PARIS.

at Fontainebleau, and they hold an image of the central pavilion of the Tuileries palace, which was considerably enlarged at that time.

Secondly, Le Brun's compositions in the central scenes allegorically relate the floating mythological figures to the landscapes behind them. Both speak about the king's virtues.[10] A similar visual language returns in the surrounding devices, which are each visualised in detail in Félibien's publication. In the device's central medallion, the king's virtues and deeds are metaphorically represented by examples taken from the natural world and from the realm of the visual arts. For example, two devices in the *L'Été* tapestry refer to the king's building practice. While the first, a carpenter's square with the words 'Dirigit

10 Fumaroli M., *L'École du silence. Le sentiment des images au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: 1998 [1994]) 12. Fumaroli's text can also be found in Grivel – Fumaroli, *Devises*.

Obliqua' (He Makes the Slanted Straight), symbolises the king's dedication in resolving problems of the state, the other device—a halcyon building a nest at sea, together with the words 'Miratur Natura Silens' (Nature is Astonished in Silence)—is actually concerned with the king's buildings:

> *Pour les Bastimens, Divertissement. Dans la piece de la saison de l'Esté*. Un Alcion bâtissant son Nid sur la Mer, qui se tient calme, pour ne pas troubler un Bâtiment si merveilleux, avec ce mot, MIRATUR NATURA SILENS ; pour exprimer la beauté des Bâtimens du Roy, qui est telle, qu'il semble que toute l'Europe ne se soit tenuë en Paix, lors que Sa Majesté a recommencé d'y faire travailler, que pour en admirer mieux la structure surprenante & incomparable.
>
> *Lors que de l'Edifice où je dois habiter,*
> *Et que le temps doit respecter,*
> *J'entreprens la structure à nulle autre pareille,*
> *La Nature s'impose une profonde Paix,*
> *Pour mieux considerer l'incroyable merveille*
> *Du Bâtiment que je me fais.*
>
> *For the Buildings, Entertainment. In the piece of the season of Summer.* A Halcyon is building its nest at Sea, which keeps calm as not to disturb a marvellous building, with the words, MIRATUR NATURA SILENS; to express the beauty of the King's Buildings. This beauty is such that it seems that all of Europe maintains peace when His Majesty has resumed his building activities, only to better admire the amazing and incomparable structure.
>
> *When I start the unparalleled construction of the Building where I have to live and which time should respect, Nature imposes a profound Peace, in order to be able to better consider the incredible wonder of a Building that I am making*.[11]

Félibien's description and Perrault's accompanying madrigal describe Louis XIV's architectural projects as 'incredible wonder[s],' and explain that during construction, the natural world—symbolising all of Europe—imposes

11 Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roy* 69.

a profound peace that enables one to better admire the marvellous structure of the building.[12]

Here, the device not only speaks about beauty and good government, but about something much more powerful, namely the potential of the arts and of literature to stupefy and astonish, to the point that the beholder cannot express his or her feelings in words. Many of the madrigals in the book are written in the first person singular—using *je*, *me* and *moi*—which suggests that the device's ultimate subject, Louis XIV, is talking about himself to the reader. The Halcyon device is actually one of a great number in the *Tapisseries du Roy* that deal with the overwhelming and the elevating. These devices—the Bird of paradise, the Fir Tree, the Lily, the Ivy-covered Pyramid, and the Theatrical Machine—and their use of the natural world seem to work as vehicles of the sublime, a notion that became reconsidered and increasingly conceptualised in the seventeenth century, partly in order to answer to the grandeur of Louis XIV. These devices will be discussed in more detail later in this article.

The two tapestry sets and Félibien's book *Tapisseries du Roy* have not yet been extensively studied within the domain of the sublime or related notions, certainly not in a separate investigation. Marc Fumaroli only briefly touches on the relation between the devices of the *Tapisseries du Roy* and the sublime when he writes that Jacques Bailly celebrates the variety of the world's 'wonders' with, and I paraphrase, a lyricism that may carry with it a development of the sublime.[13] Moreover, Claire Goldstein, in a chapter dedicated to the tapestries in her book *Vaux and Versailles*, also briefly mentions the sublime in relation to Félibien's publication: 'The text presents the king as immanent and immediately perceptible—revealed in an instant like the lightning strike of Boileau's Longinian sublime'.[14] Upon closer investigation of the devices, Fumaroli's and Goldstein's caution actually seems unnecessary. The *devises* belong, in several respects, to the seventeenth-century discourse about the overwhelming and transporting power of text, image, and human virtue. In this paper, I wish to argue that the publication of the *Tapisseries du Roy* illustrates two currents of the developing seventeenth-century French sublime. Firstly, I will discuss the notion of the sublime that referred to the overwhelming effect that is created when noble ideas are powerfully conveyed through text and

12 Ibidem.

13 Fumaroli, *École du silence* 557. He writes: 'Bailly, comme Binet, célèbre la variété du monde, ses merveilles avec le même lyrisme qui peut avoir l'essor du sublime (les Alcyons, le Phénix)'.

14 Goldstein C., *Vaux and Versailles: the appropriations, erasures, and accidents that made modern France* (Philadelphia, PA: 2008) 102.

image. Secondly, I will elaborate on a different understanding of the sublime, namely as an inexplicable and incomprehensible quality that resides in certain people.

A Sublime through Motto and Pictura: The Device

In the late 1660s, when the two tapestry sets and their reproductions by Bailly and Félibien were completed, discourse on the sublime grew steadily. More than a century earlier, the treatise *Peri hypsous* (*On the Sublime*), attributed to the Greek author Longinus (between the 1st and 3d century AD), was published in Basel and excited an increasing interest in the ancient notion of the sublime.[15] Soon, translated versions began to appear, such as the early Latin version by Marc Antoine de Muret (c. 1550), an anonymous French translation named *De la sublimité du discours* (around 1645), and Tanneguy Le Fèvre's Latin version from 1663.[16] The Longinian sublime would also nourish the ideas of writers such as Torquato Tasso and Guez de Balzac.

During the 1660s and 1670s, the sublime as a notion is still in a developing and traveling state, in various fields. Around this time the Greek term *hupsos* and the Latin *sublimitas* were translated by means of many different French words, such as *sublime*, *sublimité* or the highly political term *magnificence*. French writers were struggling in their attempts to theorise related and sometimes synonymous concepts such as *le je ne sais quoi* (literally the 'I don't know what') and *le merveilleux* (or the marvellous), which were both concerned with the surprising or striking in rhetorical discourse.[17] It was primarily the revival of the epic poem in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italy and France that led to a reconciliation of the genre of heroic poetry and the notion of *le merveilleux* in France.[18] It was Nicolas Boileau's highly influential preface

15 See Weinberg B., "Translations and Commentaries of Longinus, 'On the Sublime' to 1600", *Modern Philology* 47, 3 (1950) 145–51.

16 Martin E.M., "The Prehistory of the Sublime in Early Modern France", in Costelloe T. (ed.), *The Sublime: From Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge: 2012) 77–101, 78–79. The anonymous French translation was discovered by Weinberg B., "Une traduction française du "Sublime" de Longin vers 1645", *Modern Philology* 59 (1961–62) 159–201, and published in the annotated edition Pseudo-Longinus, *De la sublimité du discours*, ed. E. Gilby (Chambéry: 2007).

17 For this development, see Delehanty A.T., "From Judgment to Sentiment: Changing Theories of the Sublime, 1674–1710", *Modern Language Quarterly* 66, 2 (2005) 151–72.

18 In particular, Torquato Tasso's epic poems and his critical discourse *Discours de l'art poétique* (1587) would have a significant influence on seventeenth-century French critical writers, whether they advocated the *merveilleux chrétien* or the *merveilleux païen*.

to his French translation of Longinus of 1674 that definitively established the term *le sublime* (synonymous with *le merveilleux*) as a critical concept.[19]

A large majority of these theoretic and poetic works emphasised the close relationship between the Longinian sublime on the one hand (and primarily its emphasis on the effect of powerful metaphors), and the heroic on the other. Taking this into account, it is not surprising to see the same connection return in the *Tapisseries du Roy*, a book dedicated to the devices of a glorious king.

In order to be able to convey someone's virtues of personality, the device relies on the combination of an image (*pictura*) and a succinct sentence or soul (*motto*). In a multitude of elaborately depicted devices, the reader of the *Tapisseries du Roy* is confronted with an array of these images. One is first drawn to the central metaphor, reinforced by the accompanying Latin *motto* above it. In rhetoric, as described by Quintilian and Cicero,[20] an orator or writer is able to use figures of speech in texts to evoke vivid images before the mind's eye of the receiver. As Aristotle wrote, effective metaphors animate that what is essentially inanimate. However, the viewer of the tapestry devices or the devices reproduced in Félibien's *Tapisseries du Roy* is simultaneously and visually confronted with a thought and image.[21] At the time when the tapestries of the *Éléments* and *Saisons* were first produced and displayed, several French intellectuals wrote about this particularly striking power of the device, connecting it to the concepts of *le merveilleux* and *le je ne sais quoi*. One of these was Pierre Le Moyne, a Jesuit and writer of epic poetry. In the following passage, from his work *L'Art des devises* from 1666, he stresses the power of devices to evoke an idea almost instantaneously:

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19 See Boileau-Despréaux Nicolas, *Traité du Sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours, traduit du grec de Longin* (Paris, Denis Thierry: 1674).

20 See Van Eck C.A., *Art, Agency and Living Presence: From the Animated Image to the Excessive Object* (Berlin – Leiden: 2015).

21 Quoted from Saunders, *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem* 288–289. This connects to Félibien's fascinating message about the king's glory, published in the *Tapisseries du Roy*: 'C'est par ces Peintures ingénieuses qu'on veut apprendre la grandeur de son Nom à ceux qui viendront aprés nous, & leur faire connoistre par ces Images allégoriques ce que des paroles n'exprimeroient pas avec assez de force. En effet, de quelle maniére pourroit-on assez bien écrire tout ce que S. M. a fait depuis qu'Elle est montée sur le Trône, & comment pourroit-on assez dignement representer les avantages arrivez à l'Etat, depuis qu'Elle en a pris la conduite ? Cependant, toutes ces merveilles sont si misterieusement dépeintes dans les quatre Tableaux que je veux décrire, que l'oeil les découvre d'abord avec plaisir, & l'entendement les connoist avec admiration'.

> il est de la Devise en cela, comme de ces images universelles données aux Esprits superieurs, qui representent en un moment, & par une notion simple & degagée, ce que les nostres ne peuvent representer que successivement, & par une longue suite d'expressions, qui se forment les unes apres les autres.
>
> It is a Device in that sense, like these universal images that are within the power of superior minds, that represent in one moment, and by a simple and clear notion, that which our minds can only represent successively, and by a long series of expressions, which are formed one after the other.[22]

Le Moyne calls devices 'the language of a mysterious passion', one that is concise and secret.[23] What should be present, Le Moyne adds, is that one should add to the *corps* of the device a sense of *le merveilleux*: 'Le beau & le noble ne suffisent pas aux corps des Devises. Le grand & le merveilleux y veulent estre adjoutez' (The beautiful and the noble are not sufficient in the *corps* of devices. The grand and the marvellous need to be added to it).[24] The content of a device must enlighten the mind of the spectator; 'it resembles', he writes, 'the sublime and heroic, and approaches grandeur and the majestic [...]'.[25] Le Moyne argues that one needs rare and surprising things, but no monsters. A key prerequisite of this *merveilleux* was a sense of verisimilitude (*le vraisemblable*), which pertains to the believability and the recognisable character of the core of the device. Therefore, the natural world constituted the ultimate source of metaphors that were powerful enough to evoke the epic or heroic quality of a person. These metaphors in turn create a sense of the *merveilleux* in the viewer. Le Moyne explains this:

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22 Le Moyne Pierre, *De l'art des devises* (Paris, Sebastien Cramoisy: 1666), quoted from Tunstall K.E., "Hieroglyph and Device in Diderot's *Lettre sur les sourds et muets*", *Diderot Studies* 28 (2000) 161–172, 167–168. English translation mine.

23 See Cronk N., *The Classical Sublime* (Charlottesville: 2002) 66–67.

24 Le Moyne, *De l'art des devises* 110. This idea is shared by a contemporary of Le Moyne, Monsieur Clément, who writes in his *Regles pour la connoissance des devises*: 'Les Devises doivent estre fondées sur le merveilleux ou, pour mieux dire, sur quelques propriétez rares, & singuliers, des Corps qui s'y représentent, afin que l'esprit de ceux qui les voyent, en soit agréablement surpris'. For Clément's text, see Russell D.S., "Two seventeenth-century French treatises on the art of the device", *Emblematica* 1, 1 (1986) 79–106.

25 Le Moyne, *De l'art des devises* 14. English translation mine. He writes: 'La Devise tient plus du sublime & de l'Heroïque, approche plus de la grandeur & de la majesté [...]'.

> Or l'Heroïque, comme chacun sçait, ne va pas à petit train ; il luy faut de l'appareil & de la suite […] & le grand ne doit pas manquer à son appareil, non plus que le merveilleux à sa suite. Mais dans la Devise, aussi bien que dans le Poëme, il faut prendre garde, qu'au lieu du merveilleux qu'on cherche quelquefois où il n'est pas, on ne tombe dans l'obscur & dans l'inconnu. Qu'on n'aille donc point chercher […] des Fleurs, des Herbes, & des Plantes qui ayent besoin d'inscription & d'étude : qui ne soient connuës que de […] ceux qui sont versez […] en l'Histoire de la Nature. […] Qu'on ne prenne donc que des Corps connus.
>
> Now, the Heroic, as everyone knows, does not go in small steps; it needs a design and a consequence [FK: or 'effect'], and *le grand* should not be absent in its design, nor should *le merveilleux* be absent in its consequence. But in the Device, like in a Poem, one must be careful that instead of *le merveilleux* for which we sometimes look where it is not, we fall into the obscure and unknown. One therefore should not look for […] those Flowers, Herbs, and Plants that are in need of description and study, or that are known only to those who are well versed in Natural History. Therefore, we only take a well-known *Corps*.[26]

In other words, one has to retain a sense of verisimilitude for the device not to become obscure, bizarre or hyperbolical. The device's core must be recognisable and knowable for all, while still retaining a sense of surprise.

This idea—the natural world as a powerful means to transmit *le merveilleux* through a device—was further developed by Dominique Bouhours in a discussion of the device in *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* from 1671. Bouhours knew Le Moyne's work and also combined the notion of the instantaneous with the notion of *le merveilleux*, but geared it more towards an exploration of the somewhat problematic notion of *le je ne sais quoi*. One of the central thoughts of his *Entretiens* is the potential of nature as a powerful metaphor; he first uses the example of the sea and claims that although art is not always able to imitate nature, art still is of crucial importance, since the natural world, when used in art as a metaphor, can evoke a wholly different response.[27] Here, Bouhours's argument resembles that of Longinus, who elaborates on the human tendency to admire natural phenomena, but only restricts the true sublime to the rhetorical use of these natural events (as metaphors or analogies)

26 English translation mine. Le Moyne, *De l'art des devises* 110–111.

27 Cronk, *The Classical Sublime* 53.

in discourse.[28] Bouhours's *Entretiens* culminates with a discussion dedicated to the device, which he regards as a powerful vehicle of *le merveilleux*. He explains that the device depends upon the interaction of two levels of meaning; the full meaning depends on the comprehension of the *motto* and the *pictura*.[29] Bouhours argues:

> [La devise] cache [...] à la façon des mysteres beaucoup plus de choses qu'elle n'en découvre ; et l'on y conçoit je ne sçay quoy d'admirable que l'on ne voit point [...].
>
> [The device] hides [...], in the manner of mysteries, many more things than it reveals; and we conceive here a wonderful *je ne sais quoi* that we do not see [...].[30]

More important, Bouhours continues, is the idea of brevity that is implied by the use of a metaphor, since a device is designed to convey both the visual and textual level of meaning simultaneously. By means of its 'similitude metaphorique', this metaphorical structure compels the viewer to establish a connection between two separate objects, and functions as a mask that surprises us ('un masque qui nous surprend').[31] The devices thus combine image and text to convey one powerful thought, Bouhours argues. Referring to Aristotle on metaphors, he concludes that the device strikes the senses and sight ('elle frappe les sens, & particulierement la veûë'); it ultimately creates a sense of astonishment and thus arouses *le merveilleux*: 'Les devises ne sont point parfaites, si le merveilleux ne s'y rencontre' and '... les excellentes devoient avoir quelque chose de piquant & de relevé ; que c'étoit le merveilleux qui leur donnoit cette pointe' (Devices are not perfect if we cannot find in them a sense of *le merveilleux*' and '[...] the most excellent ones need to have something piquant and elevated; it is *le merveilleux* that gives them this striking subtlety).[32]

This interdependence of mystery and striking wonder brings us back to the tapestry sets of the *Éléments* and *Saisons* themselves, since these notions

28 See for Longinus and the natural metaphor: Costelloe, *The Sublime* 222, n. 20.

29 Cronk, *The Classical Sublime* 68. The device, as Nicholas Cronk writes, disrupts the normal mimetic process.

30 English translation mine. Bouhours Dominique, *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (Paris, Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy: 1671) 378.

31 Bouhours, *Entretiens* 377. See also Cronk, *The Classical Sublime* 67.

32 Cronk, *The Classical Sublime* 69. English translation mine. See also Russell D.S., *The Emblem and Device in France* (Lexington: 1985).

lie at the very heart of the tapestries' production and their accompanying publication.

These sets were among the most prominent examples of the use of the device in the visual (and public) arts during the 1660s and 1670s, and also provided the contemporary viewer with a large number of examples. The viewer would first be struck by the richness of the tapestry's vibrant colours and gold thread. Subsequently, the design would draw the viewer's attention towards the central allegorical *tableau*, and finally towards the four devices in each corner. This is where the tapestry aimed at keeping hold of its viewer, who would ponder on the hidden message of the images.[33] Through their light, vibrant background and thick pearl border, the devices greatly contrasted with their much darker surroundings, making them appear as four illuminated circular windows. Moreover, their simple design and brevity similarly contrasted with their highly abundant pictorial context.[34]

Apart from Félibien's short Latin inscription that was included in the lower part of each of the borders, the abundance of meaning of the tapestries remained hidden. The main language of these tapestries was that of marvellous and suggestive imagery, which aimed to glorify a new period and reign, as Félibien explains when he opens his preface of the *Tapisseries du Roy* as follows:

> Lors que les hommes eûrent trouvé l'art de faire des vers, ils n'employerent cette noble façon de s'exprimer, que pour parler des Dieux ; & crûrent que la Poësie estant un langage divin, ils ne s'en devoient servir que pour chanter leurs loûanges. C'est sur cét exemple, que pour parler de l'Auguste personne de SA MAJESTÉ, on cherche aujourd'huy d'autres paroles que celles qui ont esté en usage jusques à présent, & que pour décrire les grandes actions du plus grand Roy du monde, on forme de nouveaux caracteres.

33 Actually, when comparing the devices with the central *tableau*, viewers would discover that many of the devices' animals and plants also returned in Le Brun's central *tableaux*. For example, this is the case in the tapestry of *L'Air* (in the *Éléments*), in which the bird of paradise of the device in the upper-right corner (SEMPER SUBLIMIS) is also included hovering in the skies of the central allegorical scene.

34 In the tapestry set of the *Éléments*, The viewer was also able to compare the ambiguous content of the devices with two small panels or *tableaux*, which were located in the same border (on the left and right side of each tapestry). These panels depict more familiar scenes relating to the actions of Louis XIV, such as festivities, cityscapes, and scenes of war.

> When man had discovered the art of composing verses, he only employed this noble manner of expression for speaking about Gods; and believing Poetry to be a divine language, he only used it when singing his praise. Following this example, when speaking of the august person of HIS MAJESTY, we now look for other languages than those that have been in use until now. And in order to be able to describe the grand deeds of the greatest King in the world, we now form new characters.[35]

Instead of resorting to the noble language of poetry, the actions of Louis XIV demand a new language, and Félibien refers here to the visual language of the tapestries' allegories and devices. His argument, which is further expounded in his explanatory texts on the eight tapestries, is completely in line with the ideas of Le Moyne (and Bouhours) on the striking power and *merveilleux* of the device:

> C'est par ces Peintures ingénieuses qu'on veut apprendre la grandeur de son Nom à ceux qui viendront aprés nous, & leur faire connoistre par ces Images allégoriques ce que des paroles n'exprimeroient pas avec assez de force. [...] toutes ces merveilles sont si misterieusement dépeintes dans les quatre Tableaux que je veux décrire [...].
>
> Through these ingenious Paintings we want to make the grandeur of his Name known to future generations, and to make them aware—through these allegorical Images—of that which words would express less powerfully. [...] all of these wonders are so mysteriously depicted in the four *Tableaux* that I wish to describe [...].[36]

But as far as *le merveilleux* of the device is concerned, Félibien's book seems to cause a problem. Ultimately, Félibien's book and the manner in which he presents the devices, ultimately subvert and harm the marvellous power of these devices. He and his colleagues add to the isolated devices a large number of explanatory texts; a new title, a short explanation of both *pictura* and *motto*, a madrigal of six lines, as well as lengthy explanations of the tapestries elsewhere in the book. Keeping Le Moyne and Bouhours in mind, these added components actually seem to weaken the striking mystery of the device, since

35 Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roy* vii. English translation mine.

36 Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roy* vii. English translation mine.

its *sens caché* is made less cryptic.[37] Contrary to Bouhours' ideal viewer of a device—who, without some sort of explanation, would need a certain degree of intelligence combined with 'a fine insight and a good deal of delicacy of spirit' in order to realise what it means—the reader of Félibien's book would only have to read the accompanying prose texts to understand the virtues in question.[38] Moreover, the short prose text above the device, by means of words such as 'ainsi […]' and 'de mesme […]', changes the structure of the device from a metaphor into the related but much less powerful figure of a simile. What remains, then, of the striking *merveilleux* of the device when its semantic properties have been disturbed and its *sens caché* is not hidden anymore?

Félibien counters this problem by arguing that, without loss of power and eloquence, the book attempts to make the reader better understand all things great and noble contained in each device by explaining their relation with the heroic qualities and actions of the king.[39] He writes:

> On m'excusera donc bien si j'ose entreprendre d'expliquer à ceux qui ne sont pas accoustumez à voir ces caracteres misterieux, de quelle sorte on a figuré les grandes actions que Sa Majesté a faites dans chacun de ces Elémens, & combien le Peintre a caché de merveilles sous le voile de ses couleurs.
>
> Therefore forgive me when I dare to explain to those who are not accustomed to see these mysterious characters, in what manner the grand actions of His Majesty are figured in each of these Elements, and the manner in which the painter has hidden these wonders under the veil of his colours.[40]

---

37 Madrigals were often added to published versions of devices, and were even read during ceremonies (see Huet Pierre-Daniel, *Discours prononcez* [*par MM. P.-D. Huet et Fléchier*] *à l'Académie françoise* (Paris, Pierre Le Petit: 1674). Le Moyne adds madrigals in his *De l'art des devises*, and Bouhours actually praises the madrigal that accompanied a sun-device of Louis XIV, since it completely expressed his thoughts ('le madrigal qui accompagne cette Devise, exprime admirablement ma pensée'). See Bouhours, *Entretiens* 324.

38 Bouhours, *Entretiens* 324. My translation. He writes: 'il faut avoir un discernement fin & beaucoup de délicatesse dans l'esprit, pour s'appercevoir que ce bel astre, tout brillant qu'il est, a plus de vertu que d'éclat'.

39 Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roy* 5. The original text reads: '[…] on a crû les devoir rapporter, pour faire mieux comprendre ce que chaque Devise contient de grand & de noble, par le rapport qu'elles ont aux illustres qualitez & aux actions heroïques de Sa Majesté'.

40 Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roy* 2. English translation mine. He explains that the painter's 'activité merveilleuse' is able to create 'Peintures misterieuses' that evoke the king's own

Thus, instead of preserving the marvellous rhetoric of the isolated device, Félibien and his team dismantle and reveal it, since they attempt to explain how Le Brun has hidden the wonders of Louis XIV under the veil of metaphor and colour.

In fact, they actually sacrifice one type of sublimity for another by shifting from the Longinian sublime of discourse (understood as an effect created through image and text) to a different understanding of the sublime as a mysterious aspect that resides in the king himself. In other words, the added madrigals and explanations accompanying the *pictura* and *motto* do not primarily seek to create a manifestation of a sublime effect through artful or technical means, but rather to *assert* Louis XIV's own sublimity. Essentially, the mysteries and marvels of the device's workings—crucial to Le Moyne and Bouhours—can be explained, but the incomprehensible and inexplicable mystery behind Louis XIV's virtues and actions remains unchanged; because ultimately, the explanation of a metaphor or allegory does not mean that its referent (Louis XIV) can thus be fully comprehended. The claim of his sublimity remains intact. This shift towards a different understanding of the sublime—a sublimity of people rather than of art or poetry—will be explained, contextualised, and further problematised in the following paragraph.[41]

Towards a Sublimity within Beings: Adding the Madrigal and Explanations

At the beginning of his book, Félibien already clearly asserts the inexplicable sublimity of the king. In Félibien's description of the tapestry of *L'Air*, he describes the king as a person capable of provoking conflicting and powerful emotions: 'The mere sound of his name and the radiant light of his qualities', he writes, 'are able to create in the beholder a sense of fear mingled with admiration.'[42] The king does not need artifice to create a sense of sublimity. In the madrigals and explanatory texts accompanying the devices, Félibien and the authors of the *Petite académie* evoke the same ideas.

Firstly, there are the two devices of the Skyrocket (Perrault, in the Element of *Le Feu*) and the Bird of Paradise (Perrault, in the Element of *L'Air*) [Fig. 10.4].

'effets merveilleux.' The 'voile' resembles Bouhours's explanation of the device's metaphorical structure as a 'habit étranger'.

41 See also Delehanty A.T., *Literary Knowing in Neoclassical France. From Poetics to Aesthetics* (Lewisburg: 2013) 22.

42 Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roy* 15. '[…] toutefois le seul bruit de son Nom, & les lumiéres éclatantes de ses grandes qualitez ont toûjours tenu nos esprits dans une crainte respectueuse, & pleine d'admiration'.

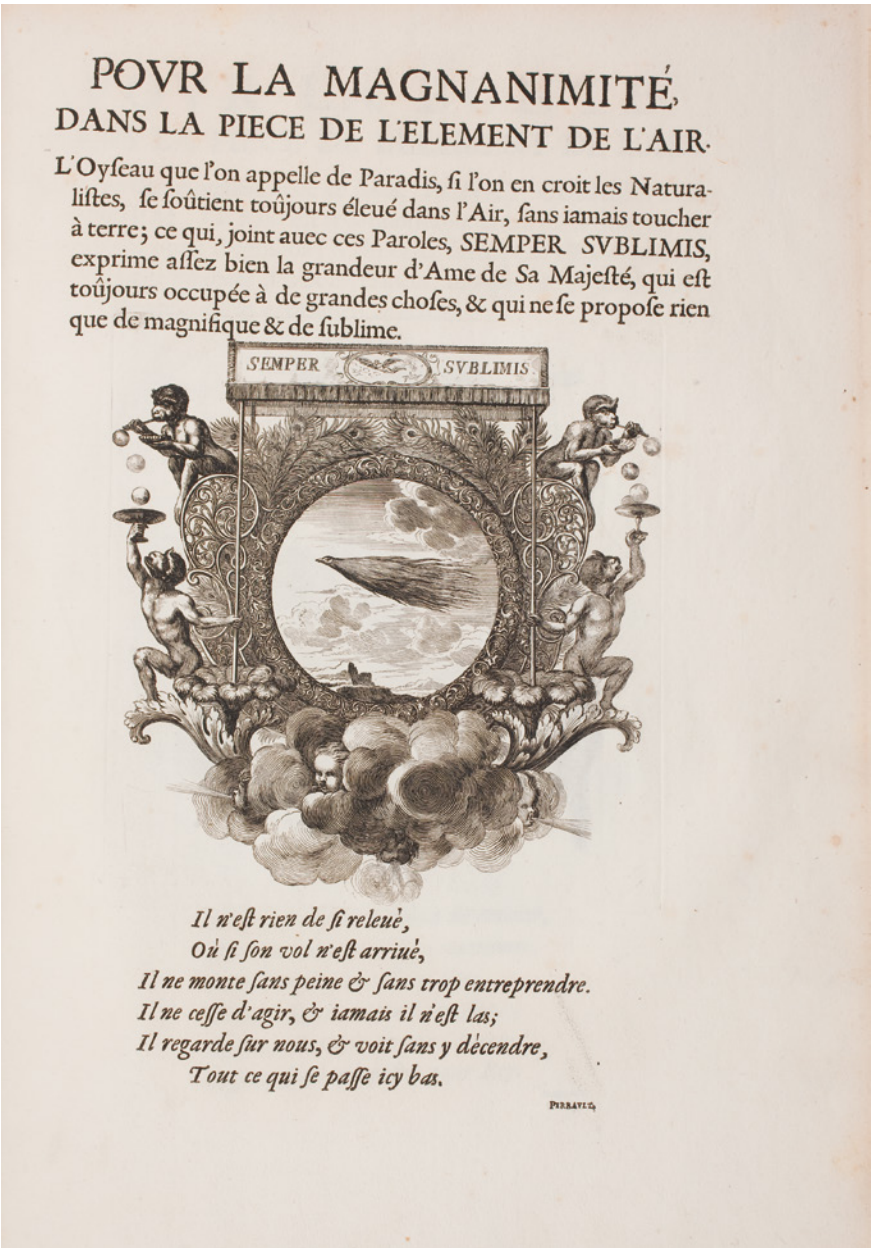
POVR LA MAGNANIMITÉ,
DANS LA PIECE DE L'ELEMENT DE L'AIR.
L'Oyſeau que l'on appelle de Paradis, ſi l'on en croit les Naturaliſtes, ſe ſoûtient toûjours éleué dans l'Air, ſans iamais toucher à terre; ce qui, joint auec ces Paroles, SEMPER SVBLIMIS, exprime aſſez bien la grandeur d'Ame de Sa Majeſté, qui eſt toûjours occupée à de grandes choſes, & qui ne ſe propoſe rien que de magnifique & de ſublime.
SEMPER
SVBLIMIS
Il n'eſt rien de ſi releué,
Où ſi ſon vol n'eſt arriué,
Il ne monte ſans peine & ſans trop entreprendre.
Il ne ceſſe d'agir, & iamais il n'eſt las;
Il regarde ſur nous, & voit ſans y deſcendre,
Tout ce qui ſe paſſe icy bas.

FIGURE 10.4 *Sébastien Le Clerc, Bird of Paradise device for the tapestry of Air. From: André Félibien*, Tapisseries du Roy (*Paris, Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy: 1679*). *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.*
IMAGE © HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK, WOLFENBÜTTEL.

Although the first is taken from the world of art and spectacle, and the second one belongs to the realm of nature, they both convey the same idea, namely the king's elevated glory. The ardour of his soul elevates *itself*, while dazzling all the eyes of the beholders, and transports the king above all others. But given the fact that a skyrocket must also come down, the bird of paradise is perhaps even more effective in symbolizing this idea. The explanation teaches us that, according to naturalists, the bird of paradise never touches the ground, which is why the motto reads 'Semper Sublimis' (Always Elevated). The text and the madrigal accompanying the device explain:

> *Pour la Magnanimité, Dans la piece de l'element de l'Air*.
> L'Oyseau que l'on appelle de Paradis, si l'on en croit les Naturalistes, se soûtient toûjours élevé dans l'Air, sans jamais toucher à terre ; ce qui, joint avec ces paroles, SEMPER SUBLIMIS, exprime assez bien la grandeur d'Ame de Sa Majesté, qui est toûjours occupée à de grandes choses, & qui ne se propose rien que de magnifique et de sublime.
>
> Il n'est rien de si relevé,
> Où si son vol n'est arrivé,
> Il ne monte sans peine & sans trop entreprendre.
> Il ne cesse d'agir, & jamais il n'est las;
> Il regarde sur nous, & voit sans y décendre,
> Tout ce qui se passe icy bas.
>
> *For Magnanimity, in the piece of the element of Air.*
> The Bird which we call 'of Paradise', if we are to believe the Naturalists, is always elevated in the Air without ever touching the ground: this, together with the words SEMPER SUBLIMIS, expresses quite well the grandeur of Soul of His Majesty, who is always occupied with great things, and who only proposes that which is beautiful and sublime.
>
> There is nothing so elevated,
> Where does his flight not arrive,
> He ascends without trouble and without too much effort.
> He never ceases to act, and he is never weary;
> He looks at us, and sees, without having to descend,
> Everything that happens here below.[43]

43 Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roy* 19. English translation mine.

'The king', Perrault writes, 'never proposes anything but that what is magnificent and sublime'. There is nothing as 'relevé' (elevated) as he is, and he sees everything that happens below him without ever having to descend. Whereas the *pictura* in the device seems to have been taken from Le Moyne or from the earlier work by Joachim Camerarius, Perrault's madrigal is quite unique.[44] Whereas Le Moyne in his device and madrigal uses the bird of paradise to evoke both man's divine inspiration and the idea of fiery poetic and artistic enthusiasm, Perrault equates the bird with Louis XIV himself. By employing the word 'sublime', the explanatory text further enforces the king's elevated status.

The same notion of elevation is evoked in Perrault's device of the Fir Tree (in the Element of *La Terre*) [Fig. 10.5]. The device's explanatory text tells us that the king's love for all things elevated transports him as high as the Heavens, in the same manner as the tree that sits on the highest mountains and is still able to rise even further:

> *Pour la Magnanimité, Dans la piece de l'element de la Terre.*
> Un Sapin, & ce mot RECTA SE TOLLIT IN ALTUM. Sa Majesté qui se plaist dans les choses grandes & elevées va droit à la gloire, ainsi que le Sapin qui se plaist sur les montagnes les plus hautes, & qui s'éleve droit en haut sans jamais se gauchir.
>
> Plein d'une fierté magnanime
> Jusqu'aux Cieux j'éleve ma cime
> Affermy par mon propre faix,
> Rien ne peut faire que je plie,
> Moins encor que je m'humilie,
> Je m'éleve tousjours & ne gauchis jamais.
>
> *For Magnanimity, in the piece of the element of Earth.*
> A Fir Tree, and the words RECTA SE TOLLIT IN ALTUM. His Majesty, who revels in grand and elevated things, rises straight to glory, as well as the Fir Tree, which is most pleased on the highest mountains, and which rises upwards without ever warping.
>
> Filled with a magnanimous pride,
> Towards the Heavens I elevate my crown,
> Strenghtened even by my own burden,

44 See Le Moyne, *De l'art des devises* 330, for the obvious similarities.

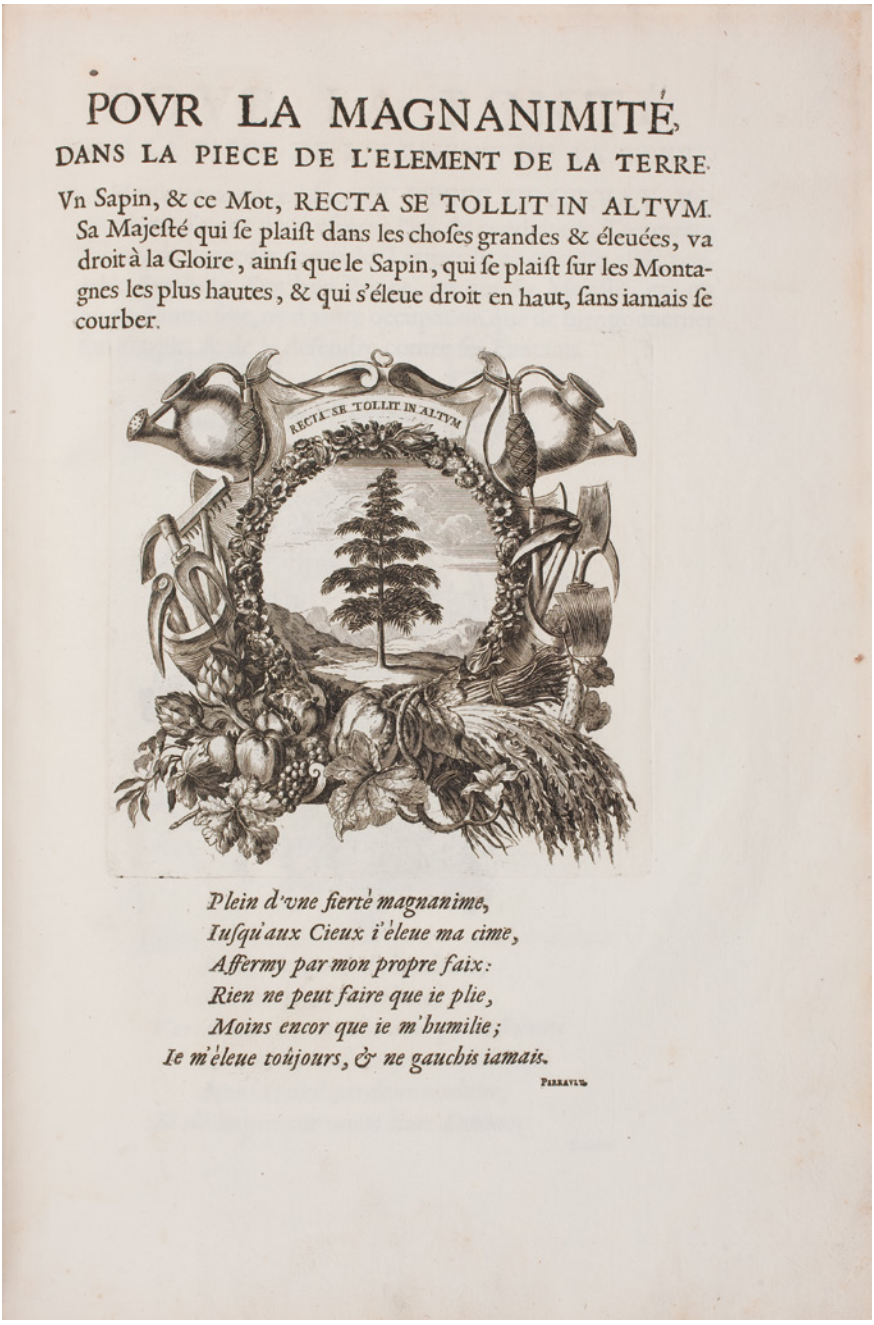
POVR LA MAGNANIMITÉ,
DANS LA PIECE DE L'ELEMENT DE LA TERRE.
Vn Sapin, & ce Mot, RECTA SE TOLLIT IN ALTVM.
Sa Majeſté qui ſe plaiſt dans les choſes grandes & éleuées, va droit à la Gloire, ainſi que le Sapin, qui ſe plaiſt ſur les Montagnes les plus hautes, & qui s'éleue droit en haut, ſans iamais ſe courber.
RECTA SE TOLLIT IN ALTVM
Plein d'vne fierté magnanime,
Iuſqu'aux Cieux i'éleue ma cime,
Affermy par mon propre faix:
Rien ne peut faire que ie plie,
Moins encor que ie m'humilie;
Ie m'éleue toûjours, & ne gauchis iamais.

FIGURE 10.5 *Sébastien Le Clerc, Fir Tree device for the tapestry of Earth. From: André Félibien,* Tapisseries du Roy (*Paris, Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy: 1679*). *Wolfenbuttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.*
IMAGE © HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK, WOLFENBÜTTEL.

Nothing can make me bow,
Let alone, make me humble myself,
I will always elevate and will never warp.[45]

Similarly, in the device of the Lily (in the Season of *L'Été*) [Fig. 10.6], the king rises towards the Heavens, like the flower, as the 'glorious offshoot of a sublime stem', while his radiance has nothing borrowed. In other words, the king does not need to rely on artifice such as rhetoric, his sublimity is intrinsic. And while his actions and virtues are visible to everyone, their source and power remain a mystery and a miracle:

Pour l'Esté, Dans la piece de la saison de l'Esté.
Un Lys, & ce Mot, CANDORE OMNIA VINCIT. Le Lys, qui est le Symbole de la Candeur & de la Sincerité, a esté choisy pour representer le procedé noble, sincere, & genereux de Sa Majesté dans toutes ses Actions.

Rejetton glorieux d'une tige sublime,
Je monte vers le Ciel d'un effort magnanime,
Et brille d'un éclat qui n'a rien d'emprunté;
Rien de ce que je suis aux mortels ne se cache;
Mon front toûjours ouvert, aussi bien que sans tache,
Sert de parfait symbole à la Sincerité.

For Summer, in the piece of the season of Summer.
A Lily, and this word, CANDORE OMNIA VINCIT. The Lily, which is the symbol of Candor and Sincerity, has been chosen to represent the noble, sincere and generous process of His Majesty in all his actions.

Glorious offshoot of a sublime stem
I ascend to the heavens in a magnanimous effort
And shine with a radiance that is not borrowed
Nothing of what I am is hidden to mortals
My forehead is always lifted, as well as unblemished
And serves as a perfect symbol of Sincerity.[46]

Similarly, the device of the Ivy-covered Pyramid (in the Season of *L'Automne*) [Fig. 10.7], refers to a sublimity that emanates from the king himself:

45 Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roy* 39. English translation mine.
46 Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roy* 65. English translation mine.

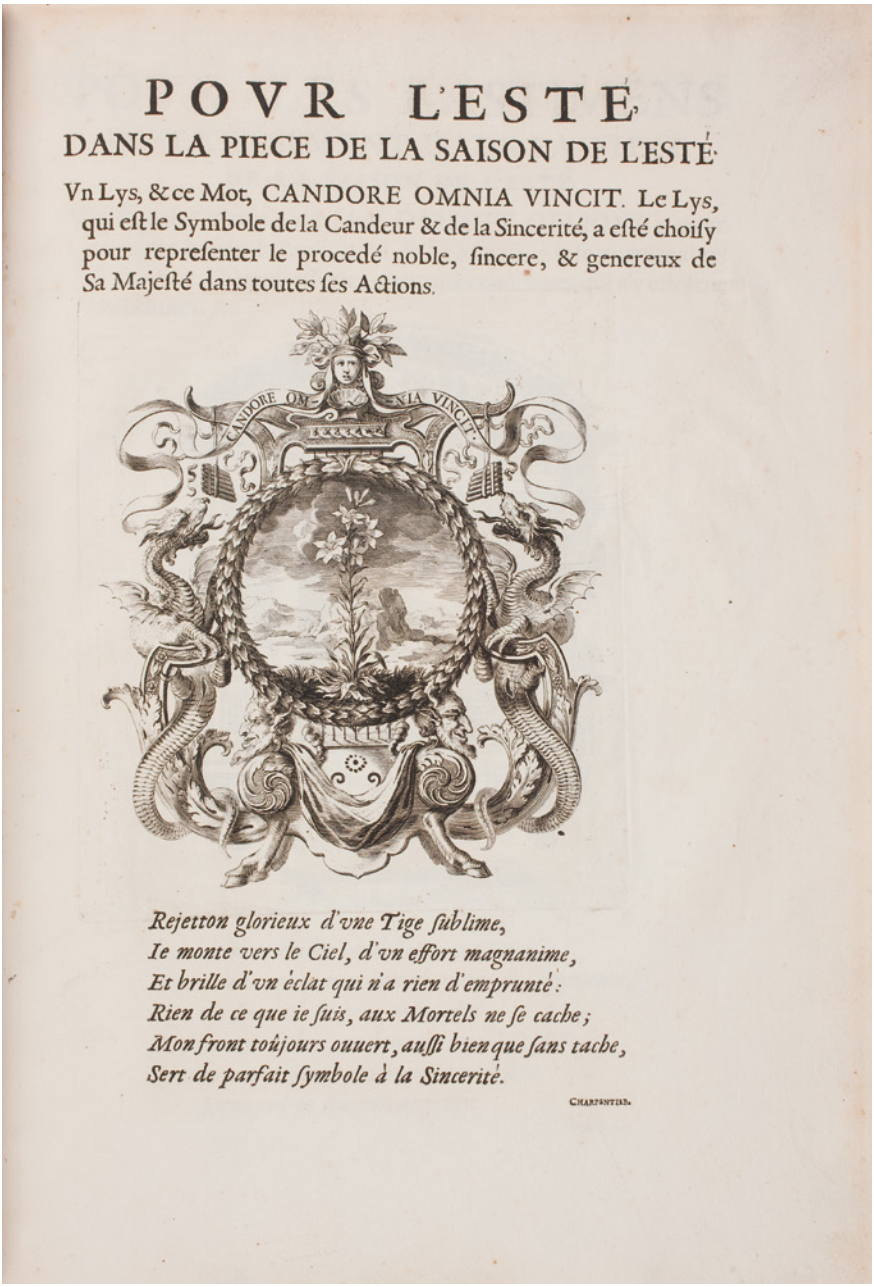
POVR L'ESTÉ,
DANS LA PIECE DE LA SAISON DE L'ESTÉ.
Vn Lys, & ce Mot, CANDORE OMNIA VINCIT. Le Lys, qui eſt le Symbole de la Candeur & de la Sincerité, a eſté choiſy pour repreſenter le procedé noble, ſincere, & genereux de Sa Majeſté dans toutes ſes Actions.
CANDORE OMNIA VINCIT.
Rejetton glorieux d'vne Tige ſublime,
Ie monte vers le Ciel, d'vn effort magnanime,
Et brille d'vn éclat qui n'a rien d'emprunté:
Rien de ce que ie ſuis, aux Mortels ne ſe cache;
Mon front toûjours ouuert, auſſi bien que ſans tache,
Sert de parfait ſymbole à la Sincerité.
CHARPENTIER.

FIGURE 10.6 *Sébastien Le Clerc, Lily device for the tapestry of Summer. From: André Félibien,* Tapisseries du Roy (*Paris, Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy: 1679*). *Wolfenbuttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.*
IMAGE © HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK, WOLFENBÜTTEL.

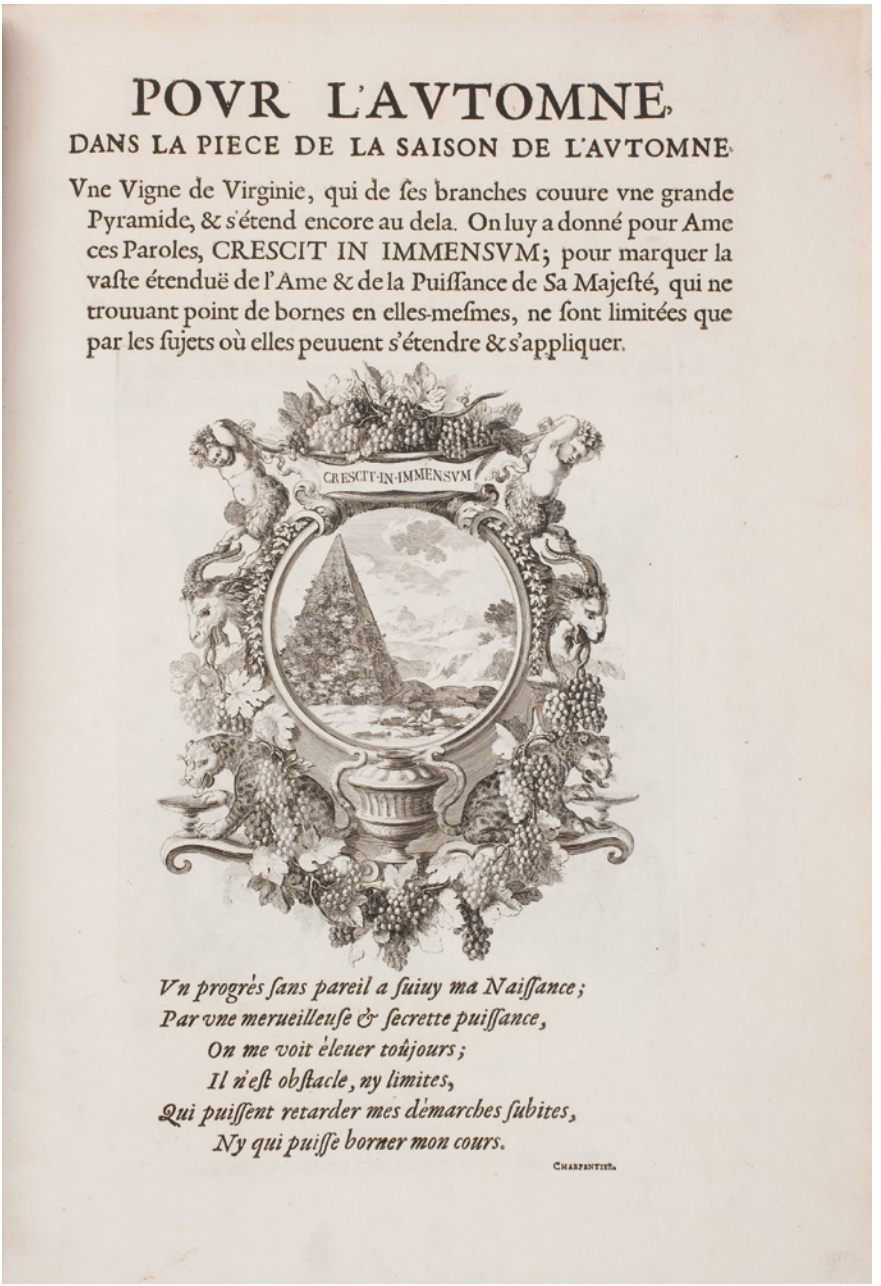
POVR L'AVTOMNE,
DANS LA PIECE DE LA SAISON DE L'AVTOMNE.
Vne Vigne de Virginie, qui de ſes branches couure vne grande Pyramide, & s'étend encore au dela. On luy a donné pour Ame ces Paroles, CRESCIT IN IMMENSVM; pour marquer la vaſte étenduë de l'Ame & de la Puiſſance de Sa Majeſté, qui ne trouuant point de bornes en elles-meſmes, ne ſont limitées que par les ſujets où elles peuuent s'étendre & s'appliquer.
CRESCIT-IN-IMMENSVM
Vn progrès ſans pareil a ſuiuy ma Naiſſance;
Par vne merueilleuſe & ſecrette puiſſance,
On me voit éleuer toûjours;
Il n'eſt obſtacle, ny limites,
Qui puiſſent retarder mes démarches ſubites,
Ny qui puiſſe borner mon cours.
CHARPENTIER.

FIGURE 10.7 *Sébastien Le Clerc, Ivy-covered Pyramid device for the tapestry of Autumn. From: André Félibien,* Tapisseries du Roy (*Paris, Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy: 1679*). *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.*
IMAGE © HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK, WOLFENBÜTTEL.

Pour l'Automne, Dans la piece de la saison de l'Automne
Une Vigne de Virginie, qui de ses branches couvre une grande Pyramide, & s'étend encore au dela. On luy a donné pour Ame ces Paroles, CRESCIT IN IMMENSUM; pour marquer la vaste étenduë de l'Ame & de la Puissance de Sa Majesté, qui ne trouvant point de bornes en elles-mesmes, ne sont limitées que par les sujets où elles peuvent s'étendre & s'appliquer.

Un progrès sans pareil a suivy ma Naissance;
Par une merveilleuse & secrette puissance,
On me voit élever toûjours;
Il n'est obstacle, ny limites,
Qui puissent retarder mes démarches subites,
Ny qui puisse borner mon cours.

For Autumn, in the piece of the season of Autumn.
A Five-leaved Ivy, which covers with its branches a large pyramid, and extends itself even beyond it. The following words serve as the Ame, CRESCIT IN IMMENSUM; to mark te vast expanse of the soul and power of His Majesty, which find no bounds in themselves, and are only limited by those subjects on which they can extend and apply themselves.

An unparalleled progress followed my birth;
By a marvellous and secret power,
One will always see me rise;
There is no obstacle, nor limit,
That may delay my sudden actions,
Or can limit my course.[47]

To 'mark the vast expanse of the soul and power of His Majesty', the ivy in François Charpentier's madrigal accompanying this device refers to 'une merveilleuse & secrette puissance' ('a marvellous and secret force') that has elevated Louis XIV from his birth onwards. This force may seem to have been impeded by certain obstacles, such as political enemies or domestic issues, but still keeps extending itself beyond these apparent limits.

To recapitulate the claims of the *Tapisseries du Roy*: Louis XIV radiates an intrinsic sublimity, which has nothing borrowed and is visible to all, which ravishes the spectator and surpasses the forces of nature and the ordinary scope of man, and thus remains a secret and striking mystery. The early use of the

47 Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roy* 73. English translation mine.

French word '*sublime*' by Perrault and his colleagues as applied to Louis XIV, alludes to a quality *inherent* in certain things and beings, instead of created through words or images.

In that respect, it already prefigures the parallel Bouhours would later establish in his *Entretiens* between the *je ne sais quoi* and the King's *magnificence*. But most importantly, this notion of the sublimity of virtues and actions in Félibien's *Tapisseries* constitutes an early version of the idea of the 'Sublime en toutes choses' that would later return in the writings of René Rapin and Pierre-Daniel Huet during the 1680s.[48] In his 'Lettre [...] à M. Le Duc de Montausier' from 1683, Huet would make a categorisation of four types of sublimity;[49] above the Longinian 'sublime des pensées', he places the 'sublime des choses' ('sublime of things'), which is an intrinsic sublimity that 'depends solely on the grandeur and dignity of the subject that is treated, and manifests itself without the author even needing to use artifice (rhetoric) to make it as grand as it really is.'[50] Huet, who sees God as the ultimate example of this fourth type, concludes the following—and here we recognise the same ideas that were expressed in the aforementioned Lily device (*Rejetton glorieux d'une tige sublime* [...] [Je] *brille d'un éclat qui n'a rien d'emprunté*):

> [L]e sublime des choses est le véritable sublime, le sublime de la nature, le sublime original, et les autres ne le sont que par imitation et par art. Le sublime des choses a la sublimité en soi-même, les autres ne l'ont que par emprunt [...].
>
> The sublime of things is the true sublime, the sublime of nature, the original sublime, while the other ones are sublime only by means of imitation

48 Rapin René, *Du Grand ou du Sublime dans les Moeurs et dans les Differentes Conditions des Hommes* (Amsterdam, Pierre Mortier: 1686) 16.

49 Huet Pierre-Daniel, *Mémoires de Daniel Huet Évèque d'Avranches*, ed. C. Nisard, *Mémoires de Daniel Huet* (Paris: 1853) 286. He distinguishes the following four categories: 'le sublime des termes' (an apparent elevation of discourse by choice of beautiful or grand words), 'le sublime du tour de l'expression' (elevating by a certain arrangement or disposition of words), 'le sublime des pensées' (a sublimity that immediately departs from the mind, and is felt just by itself, given that it is not weakened by low words or a wrong arrangement, and 'le sublime des choses' (which depends solely on grandeur and dignity of the subject that is treated, without needing artifice (rhetoric) to make it as grand as it really is).

50 Huet, *Mémoires* 287. The original French reads: 'Pour le sublime des choses, il dépend uniquement de la grandeur et de la dignité du sujet que l'on traite, sans que celui qui parle ai besoin d'employer aucun artifice pour le faire paraître aussi grand qu'il est [...]'.

> of art. The sublime of things has sublimity in itself, the other ones as a result of borrowing […][51]

Three years later, in 1686, René Rapin published his *Du Grand ou du sublime dans les mœurs et dans les différentes conditions des hommes*, in which he argued that the sublime Longinus found in discourse can also be found in things and people.[52] According to Rapin, the most elevated sublimity of human beings resides in the person of Louis XIV. The sublimity cannot be understood, he claims, only felt:

> Vous trouverez, Monsieur, […] que vous n'aurez pas de peine à comprendre ce que c'est que ce Sublime dont je vous parle, tout incompréhensible qu'il est : & ce sera par l'admiration & par l'étonnement qu'il vous causera, que vous le comprendrez.
>
> You will find, Monsieur, […] that you will have no difficulty in understanding this Sublime of which I speak, although it is incomprehensible: only through the admiration and astonishment it will cause you, you will be able understand it.[53]

The same idea of the inexplicable and elevating miracle of Louis XIV is already visible in the *Tapisseries du Roy*, where it is employed as the culminating final device in the Season of *L'Hiver*, which is dedicated to the theatre and spectacle under Louis XIV [Fig. 10.8].[54] In the *pictura*, a heavenly palace emerges amidst rays of light radiating from a cloud that hovers above the stage. Both the explanation and the madrigal by Cassagnes express the incomprehensible and supernatural virtues and deeds of the king as follows:

---

51 Huet, *Mémoires* 288. English translation mine.

52 See Rapin, *Du Grand* 13. 'Car je prétens mettre à tout ce Sublime de la mesme maniere que Longin l'a mis au seul discours, & vous faire trouver de nouvelles graces, & de nouvelles beautez, en ce qu'il y a de plus ordinaire & de plus commun dans les différens estats de la vie. […]'.

53 Rapin, *Du Grand* 23. English translation mine.

54 Represents fourth scene from the opera *Ercole Amante* by Francesco Cavalli (1662) which inaugurated the Salle des Machines in the Tuileries on the occasion of the marriage of Louis XIV and Maria Theresia. I want to thank Dr. Bram van Oostveldt for this valuable insight.

POVR LES BALLETS
ET COMEDIES
DIVERTISSEMENT DANS LA PIECE
DE LA SAISON DE L'HYVER
Vne Machine, auec ce Mot, NATVRAM SVPERAT; pour dire qu'vne Machine par ſes mouuemens ſurprend & charme les ſpectateurs, & ſurpaſſe les effets ordinaires de la Nature. Ainſi Sa Majeſté par ſes vertus & ſes actions heroïques, étonne & rauit tous ceux qui en ſont les témoins, & ſurpaſſe les forces naturelles, & la portée ordinaire des Hommes.
NATVRAM SVPERA
Quel merueilleux objet, quel auguſte miracle,
Par ſon rapide cours ſurmontant tout obſtacle,
Rauit les yeux, & les eſprits?
D'vn art victorieux ſa force eſt animée,
Et de ſes mouuemens la Nature charmée,
L'admire, & luy cede le prix.
CASSAGNES.

FIGURE 10.8 *Sébastien Le Clerc, Theatrical Machine device for the tapestry of Autumn. From: André Félibien,* Tapisseries du Roy (*Paris, Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy: 1679*). *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.*
IMAGE © HERZOG AUGUST BIBLIOTHEK, WOLFENBÜTTEL.

Pour les Ballets et Comedies, Divertissement. Dans la pièce de la saison de l'Hyver.
Une Machine, avec ce mot, NATURAM SUPERAT ; pour dire qu'une Machine par ses mouvemens surprend & charme les spectateurs, & surpasse les effets ordinaires de la Nature. Ainsi Sa Majesté par ses vertus & ses actions heroïques, étonne & ravit tous ceux qui en sont les témoins, & surpasse les forces naturelles, & la portée ordinaire des hommes.

Quel merveilleux objet, quel auguste miracle,
Par son rapide cours surmontant tout obstacle,
Ravit les yeux & les esprits?
D'un art victorieux sa force est animée,
Et de ses mouvemens la Nature charmée,
L'admire, & luy cede le prix.

For the Ballets and Comedies, Entertainment. In the piece of the season of Winter.
NATURAM SUPERAT. A machine, through its movements, surprises and charms the spectators, and surpasses the ordinary effects of Nature: So his Majesty, by his virtues and heroic actions astonishes and ravishes all those who witness it, and surpasses the forces of nature and the ordinary scope of man.

What marvelous object, what august miracle,
Overcoming all obstacles by its rapid course,
Ravishes the eyes and spirits?
Its force is animated by a victorious art,
And Nature, charmed by its movements
Admires him and gives him the prize.[55]

The king surpasses the ordinary forces and effects of the natural world, an idea that returns in the device's *motto* 'Naturam Superat' ('He Surpasses Nature'). Moreover, he even transcends the ordinary scope of man, thereby elevating the mind of the recipient. Just like the miraculous qualities of the theatrical *machines*, Louis XIV himself astonishes and ravishes the eyes and soul of the spectator.

55 Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roy*, 89. English translation mine.

Maintaining Transcendence: The Question of Louis XIV's Eternal Sublimity

Louis XIV is elevated himself, but neither Félibien nor the *Petite académie* are able to explain it. Through the *Tapisseries du Roy*, the writers confront the reader with a rhetorical question on the nature of the king. Here, as Goldstein argues, lies the 'irresolvability of the project', which, paradoxically, resolves the problem.[56] The writers of the *Petite académie* employ the rhetorical device of preterition or *praeteritio*; one praises by stating the impossibility of praising. Since the sublimity of the king operates on such a high level, those who witness this elevation are left speechless. Thereby, that what is omitted—the impossible explanation of this sublimity—is emphasised. This absence not only confirms the king's sublimity, but also reinforces its mysterious nature. Thus, the problem that is raised by the confrontation with his elevation is shaped into a solution. Just like the device (as a metaphor) always maintains a certain amount of distance with regard to its referent, a rhetorical question operates in a similar manner. This use of preterition in the texts added by Félibien and the *Petite academie* reminds us of the speech that Jean Racine would later pronounce before the *Académie française* in 1678, when he was confronted with the same issue of praising Pierre Corneille and, ultimately, the king himself. Like the reader and listener of Racine's speech, the reader of Félibien's book—and here I quote Lockwood on Racine—'is not merely trapped, […] but figured, as the question of the sublime shows particularly clearly.'[57] As in the case of Racine's preterition, both the author (Félibien and Cassagnes) and the reader of this device become, as Lockwood explains, 'rapt onlookers at the King's marvelous, miraculous, and inexpressible public activities.'[58]

The *Tapisseries du Roy* employs and presents the unsolvable mystery itself *as its own solution*. This construction would later develop into one of the most successful mechanisms of French laudatory literature in the following decades. Rapin, in his *Du Grand ou du sublime dans les mœurs* […] had no trouble describing Louis XIV as the most sublime human being, but stresses elsewhere in his book that the king's miraculous level of elevation will need to be represented accordingly:

> Toutes ses actions passeroient pour des miracles, si elles estoient bien représentées. On aura de la peine à les croire à l'avenir, parce qu'on n'a

56 Goldstein, *Vaux and Versailles* 107.

57 Lockwood R., *The Reader's Figure: Epideictic Rhetoric in Plato, Aristotle, Bossuet, Racine and Pascal* (Geneva: 1996) 192.

58 Lockwood, *Reader's Figure* 193.

> rien veû de pareil dans le temps passé ; & si j'avois toute la force de genie que demanderoit un si grand sujet, je ferois peut-estre un portrait de LOUÏS LE GRAND, que l'envie respecteroit, & où le temps n'oseroit toucher. Mais je laisse faire ceux qui méditent sa vie pour en rendre compte à la posterité. C'est à eux à dire les merveilles d'un Regne si admirable, & de mettre en œuvre le Sublime de son ame & de son cœur par tout le Sublime de leur éloquence.
>
> All of his actions would pass for miracles, if they could be well represented. Future generations will have difficulty believing them, since we have not seen anything like it in the past; and if I had all the force of genius that such a great subject would demand, I would perhaps make a portrait of LOUIS LE GRAND, which envy would respect and time would not dare to touch. But I will leave it to those who contemplate his life to narrate this for posterity. It is their task to express the wonders of such an admirable Reign, and to implement the Sublimity of his soul and of his heart by all the Sublimity of their eloquence.[59]

Rapin here states that the transfer of the king's miracle to the reader depends on a correct representation. In the description of Louis XIV, Ann T. Delehanty explains, 'language finally fails for Rapin himself', since '[r]ules, art and even nature are dismissed in the case of the sublime since the sublime is beyond the independent powers of intellection of humankind.'[60] The sublime king would need a powerful sublime rhetoric in order for the reader to realise that his actions are truly miracles. This problem seems to function here as a clever rhetorical paradox, but there is an actual issue addressed here. After the immanent death of the king, the spectacle of his overwhelming reign will cease to exist. Therefore it is crucial that his sublimity will be preserved, in order to ensure that future generations will eternally be confronted with his transcendence.

Félibien's decision to accompany the devices with explanations seems to derive from the same issue. Although Félibien knows and explains that the publication's images are more powerful than words—'C'est par ces Peintures ingénieuses qu'on veut apprendre la grandeur de son nom à ceux qui viendront aprés nous, & leur faire connoistre par ces Images allégoriques ce que des paroles n'exprimeroient pas avec assez de force'—he nevertheless deems it essential to resort to the less powerful means of language. He is well aware of the fact that the book will reach a much larger public than the tapestries

59 Rapin, *Du Grand* 95–96. English translation mine.

60 Delehanty, *Literary Knowing* 119–120.

themselves, and that it will circulate and be preserved for many centuries to come. In the book's 'Avertissement', Félibien explains that it was the king's own wish that these books 'one day may become precious Monuments of all that is happening today, and that those who come after us will be, in a sense, spectators of the wonders that we witness.'[61] The concerns that Rapin would later bring forward, do not play a role in the *Tapisseries du Roy*; according to Félibien the book will continue to evoke the miracle of Louis XIV for future generations.

Even so, dogmatic explanatory texts accompanying the devices must have been almost a necessity; the *pictura* can easily be misinterpreted, and the *motto* can easily be reversed by opponents and satirical writers. A telling example of this subversive nature is the device of the Ivy-covered Pyramid in the tapestry of *L'Automne,* a similar version of which already was used by Claude de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine during the sixteenth century. In his *Memoires,* Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme writes that the *motto* of the cardinal's device (an ivy-covered pyramid with the words 'As long you endure, I will flourish') at one point elicited the derogatory word pun: 'If you endure, I will perish':

> Charles le Cardinal de Lorraine, lequel portoit pour devise, une piramide entournée de lierre avec ces mots, *Te stante virebo*. Mais le Pasquin le tourna au contraire, *Sed te virente peribo*. Estant le naturel du lierre de ruïner & faire perir ce qu'il estraint.
>
> Charles Cardinal de Lorraine, who had a pyramid covered in ivy as his device, with the words *Te stante virebo*. But the *pasquin* turns it around, to *Sed te virente peribo*. It is in the ivy's nature to ruin and destroy that which it constraints.[62]

One cannot escape the reputation of ivy as a destructive, uncontrollable plant, gravely damaging and destroying the structure on which it proliferates. Other devices that feature in the *Tapisseries du Roy* also share this ambivalent

61 Félibien André, *Tapisseries du Roi, où sont representez les quatre éléments et les quatre saisons* (Paris, Imprimerie Royale: 1670). Quoted from the "Avertissement" by Saunders, "Emblems to Tapestries" 251. The original fragment reads: 'C'est dans cette Pensée que Sa Majesté […] fait mettre au jour des Recueils pareils à celuy cy […] afin qu'ils soient un jour de precieux Monumens de tout ce qui se fait aujourd'hui & que ceux qui viendront aprés nous soient en quelque sorte spectateurs des merveilles dont nous sommes témoins'.

62 Bourdeille Pierre de, *Memoires de Messire Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantome. Contenans les vies des hommes illustres & grands capitaines estrangers de son temps*, vol. 1 (Leiden, Jean Sambix le Jeune: 1666) 8. English translation mine.

character, since almost all plants and animals are perishable and corruptible. For example, in the device of the Tree struck by lightning (in the Element of *Le Feu*) or the Falcon attacking its prey (in the Season of *L'Automne*), an unsuspecting viewer or political opponent could easily view the tree and the prey themselves as metaphors for the French king. In other words, the power of the original tapestries largely depended on the viewer's participation as a spectator in the king's overwhelming and mystifying system of cultural politics. The publication, Félibien argues, ensures that this spectatorship is and will forever be maintained.

However, around the turn of the century, Louis XIV's failed Nine Year War, and the country's famine and financial shortages, accelerated a process that separated and isolated the monarch himself from his elevated image. In spite of France's rigorous policies of repression, the king's imagery in the visual arts began to stir sharp criticism among both French and foreign writers during the 1680s, sparking further debates on the image's pagan character, on its boldly outspoken political iconography, and on the very source of its far-reaching idolatrous effects.[63]

It is therefore not surprising that critical reactions to Félibien's publication began to appear in this period. An interesting case is the Dutch bilingual edition of the *Tapisseries du Roy* dating from around 1700. The publisher Pieter van den Berge opens the publication by presenting his 'Dedication' to a group of four Dutch gentlemen (probably authors or publishers), in which he openly expresses his disregard concerning the exceptionally high level to which Félibien and his colleagues have elevated Louis XIV:

> Myne Heeren, De geneegentheid en liefde, die U Ed^{d} alle konsten en voornamentlyk de Historien toedraagt, verschaft my heden, de gelegentheidt om U Ed^{d}: deese Tafereelen en Zinnebeelden op te offeren, die hoewel de Roem van den Koning van Vrankryk daar te ver in getrokken is, (die de Franschen onderdanen eigen zyn) evenwel alle Liefhebbers van schone Tekeningen aangenaam moeten voorkomen; want de vleyeryen aen een zyde stellende, so moet een ieder zich verwonderen over de ryke uitvindingen, die men daar in aanmerkt.

63 See Eck C.A. van, *François Lemée et la statue de Louis XIV. Les origines des théories ethnologiques du fétichisme* (Paris: 2013) and the chapter 'Idolatry' in Weinshenker A.B., *A God Or a Bench: Sculpture as a Problematic Art During the Ancien Régime* (Bern: 2008) 123–158. In an attempt to defend the king against charges of idolatry, François Lemée publishes his *Traité des Statues* in 1688. Focusing on the king's statue on the Place des Victoires in Paris, Lemée argues that the viewer is a confused victim in front of a persuasive image, not a persuasive monarch.

> *Messieurs*, your inclination for all the arts and mainly for History, provides me today with the opportunity to present to you these paintings and these emblems. Although these images push the glory of the King of France too far, they still appear pleasant to the eyes of all those who love beautiful paintings, because putting aside the customary flattery of the French, everyone has to admire the rich inventions that can be found here.[64]

In the foreword, Van den Berge expresses a similar message addressed to the reader of the book. Although he is at pains to convince the reader of the great quality and splendour of Le Brun's designs, his disgust regarding the all-transcending sublimity of the king is equally well represented:

> Een ider zal kunnen oordelen hoe hoog de Roem van den Koning hier in getrokken is, door deze uitvinders die zich niet ontzien hebben dezelve selfs boven 't menschelyke te verheffen, doch 't zy hoe het zy, men sal sich over de schoone Kunst en groote uitvinding moeten verwonderen, en stellen de swakheid en sucht, die de onderdaenen in 't gemeen, en wel voornamentlyk de Franzen, hunnen Koning toedragen, aan een zyde.
>
> Everyone can judge whether the glory of the King has not been pushed a bit too far by the artists, who apparently did not have any problem with elevating him even above the human; but one should still be astonished by these beautiful and magnificent inventions, and put aside the weak tenderness that the King's subjects and mainly the French bear for him.[65]

The ease with which Van den Berge dismantles the innate sublimity of Louis XIV, primarily by pointing at the writers and artists (instead of a divine source) as being responsible for this transcendence, renders the carefully

64 Félibien André, *Tapisseries du Roi, ou sont representez les quatre elements, avec les devises qui les accompagnent & leur explication. Tapyten van den Konink van Vrankryk verbeeldende de Vier Elementen, Beneffens haar wonderlyke Zinnebeelden, en uytlegging op dezelve* (Amsterdam, Pieter van den Berge: ca. 1700) v–vi. English translation mine. In the second volume, the publisher's 'Dedication' features a similar statement: 'de grootste Meesters van Vrankryk zyn hier van de uitvinders geweest, niet alleen om de roem van haaren Koning tot op den hoogsten top, maar zelfs (God vergeeve het haar) ver boven 't menschelyke te verheffen […]' ('the greatest Masters of France have been its inventors, not only to elevate the fame of her King to the highest peak, but even (God forgive her) far beyond the human …' Félibien – Van den Berge, *Tapyten* v–vi.

65 Félibien – Berge P. van den, *Tapyten* viii. English translation mine.

constructed preterition of the *Tapisseries du Roy* even more superficial. Here, Félibien's dependence on rhetoric, which was employed to be able to approach and maintain the king's sublimity, excites a completely opposite response.

Conclusion

The publication of the *Tapisseries du Roy* mirrors the contemporary discourse on the sublime, which would increasingly characterise French intellectual and artistic development during the second half of the seventeenth century. A renewed interest in Longinus's treatise, the revival of heroic or epic poetry, and the unprecedented spectacle of absolute politics led French writers to increasingly conceptualise the notion of sublimity. Moreover, as I have tried to demonstrate in this paper, these developments led writers and artists to explore a new use of this notion, in order to respond to the almost supernatural status of the king.

Félibien's book betrays an early awareness of the power of sublimity, since it reflects two currents of this development in early modern France. Firstly, the tapestries themselves make use of the striking power of the device, which has resulted in some of the earliest and most vibrant examples of this genre produced during the king's reign. They were conceived and received in a milieu that emphasised their potential to overwhelm and elevate; on the one hand through their apparent brevity and simplicity, and on the other hand, by masking their referent behind a marvellous veil. Félibien immediately realised their importance: the earliest copies of Félibien's text already coexisted with the earliest tapestry sets of the *Éléments* and *Saisons*. Secondly—and this is Félibien's main goal—the publication shifts towards a different understanding of the sublime, as a virtue that is manifested within the king himself. The natural world plays a crucial role in this development: it not only offers examples through which the virtues and deeds of Louis XIV are metaphorically represented, but in addition, it also figures in a much larger comparison, in which the natural world itself is placed opposite the king's competing sublimity. Ultimately, the book deploys the natural world in order to demonstrate that Louis XIV transcends this natural world. This may seem paradoxical, but paradoxes are very appropriate in evoking a sense of transcendence. Through metaphors and figures of speech, the publication's representation of the king can only approach the sublimity that resides in Louis XIV himself.

The *Tapisseries du Roy* thus constitutes a source that enables us to understand the developing notion of the sublime in a period just before Boileau's conceptualisation in 1674 and the subsequent aestheticisation around and

after the turn of the century. Félibien's contemporaries theorised and problematised the terms of *le merveilleux*, *le je ne sais quoi* and *le sublime* in search for a single, all-encompassing concept, and the *Tapisseries du Roy* does the same things. The book forms part of this development, drawing from the semantic field of the sublime in order to respond to the incomprehensible reign of the French king.

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CHAPTER 11

'Maiestatis Hungariae Aquila': Christoph Lackner and the Hieroglyph of the Habsburg Eagle

Agnes Kusler

The most remarkable emblematic oeuvre of early seventeenth-century Hungary is that of Christoph Lackner. Lackner was born a son of a local goldsmith in Sopron, and after an extensive education he graduated from the University of Padua as a doctor of both civil and church laws. Lackner was granted nobility by Rudolph II, and after returning to his hometown in 1599 he was appointed to Sopron's senate and subsequently became a judge. Between 1613 and his death in 1631 he was almost uninterruptedly re-elected as mayor of the town.[1] During his career, Lackner composed several emblematic and hieroglyphic works. Lackner's affinity for the symbolic language was unique amongst his contemporaries in Hungary; however, his emblematic oeuvre could be interpreted within the context of late Mannerist humanism in the Central European region. Lackner's printed works include several hieroglyphic and emblematic mirrors of princes for which, as an accomplished engraver, he also produced the illustrations. He was also the *concettist* of several projects in applied emblematics for Sopron's public buildings. Although these monumental emblematic cycles had been demolished by the late seventeenth century, the moral and political substances of Lackner's "emblems" once present in Sopron were preserved in the collective *memoria* of the following generations and could be reconstructed through several contemporary descriptions. Lackner's emblematic works culminated in the elaboration of the emblematic decoration of the town gates as well as the façade, and the council hall of the old town hall, executed around 1622.[2]

1 For the biography of Christoph Lackner, see Mikó Á. – Verő M. – Jávor A. (eds.), *Mátyás király öröksége. Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (16–17. század)* [The Legacy of King Matthias. Late Renaissance Art in Hungary], exh. cat. (Budapest: 2008) vol. I, 119–124, and II, 179–181; and Kovács J.L., *Lackner Kristóf és kora (1571–1631)* [Christoph Lackner and His Age] (Sopron: ^{2}2004). For an overview of his emblematic oeuvre, see Knapp É. – Tüskés G., *Emblematics in Hungary: A Study of the History of Symbolic Representation in Renaissance and Baroque Literature*, Frühe Neuzeit 86 (Tübingen: 2003) 31–32 and 54–55.

2 The decoration must have been executed no later than 1627, as the Chronicle of Georg Payr for that year listed the renewal of the town hall among the important achievements of Lackner: 'hat er daß rathauß schön won inet wnt malln lasen'. Heimler K. (ed.), *Payr György*

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During the first decades of the seventeenth century, Lackner's *concetto* played a quite complex political role. While popular on public buildings of other towns of the empire, such as Augsburg or Nuremberg,[3] the decoration in Sopron evoked the revulsion of the patriotic Lutheran nobility who faced extensive religious and political conflicts during the era. Their disinclination was further increased by the images of the "Habsburg eagle" reportedly painted on the gates of the town by Lackner. The following paper intends to analyse Lackner's use of the hieroglyphic image of the "Habsburg eagle" as political strategy and contextualise it within "Habsburg emblematics". Drawing on contemporary sources and Lackner's own treatises, the polemics around the content of the emblematic Sopron decorations are to be confronted with Lackner's *concetto* through critical analysis.

Political Iconography of the Sopron Town Hall

Lackner's artistic programme for the Sopron town hall was explicitly subordinated to his political *credo* during the first half of his career, i.e. the emphasis of the town's unconditional loyalty to the Habsburg crown for the protection of its religious freedom. The reign of Matthias (as Hungarian King Matthias II, reign 1608–1619) ensured religious freedom in his realm, bringing relative conciliation between the denominations, but after the coronation of Ferdinand II (reign 1619–1637), a committed propagator of the counter-reformation, tension increased rapidly. Sopron, as a town with Lutheran majority, was exponentially exposed to the feud. During the first act of the Thirty Years' War the Protestant army of the Transylvanian prince Gabriel Bethlen briefly conquered the town.[4] Lackner strived to propitiate the relation with the Habsburg court

és Payr Mihály krónikája 1584–1700 [The Chronicle of György Payr and Mihály Payr between 1584 and 1700] (Sopron: 1942) 20–21.

3 Mödersheim S., "Matthäus Rader und das allegorische Programm im Augsburger Rathaussaal", in Daly P.M. – Dimler G.R. – Haub R. (eds.), *Emblematik und Kunst der Jesuiten in Bayern: Einfluß und Wirkung*, Imago Figurata: Studies 3 (Turnhout: 2000) 227–250; and Mödersheim S., "*Duce virtute, comite fortuna.* Das emblematische Programm des Goldenen Saals im Nürnberger Rathaus", in Strasser G.F. – Wade M.R. (eds.), *Die Domänen des Emblems. Außerliterarische Anwendungen der Emblematik*, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 39 (Wiesbaden: 2004) 29–54.

4 Dominkovits P. – H. Németh I., "Bethlen Gábor 1619–1621. évi hadjárata és Sopron" [Gabriel Bethlen's 1619–1621 Campaign and Sopron], in Ólmos I. (ed.), *Bethlen Gábor és kora* [Gabriel Bethlen and His Age] (Budapest: 2013) 36–48.

diplomatically, as a result of which the diet of 1622 was held in Sopron, accompanied by the coronation of Eleonora Gonzaga, the emperor's second wife.[5]

The Sopron town hall's monumental emblematic cycle could be reconstructed through two written sources. The most detailed description is a sermon by the evangelic pastor Johann Konrad Barth that was held on the occasion of the election of officials on Saint George's Day in 1670. Published under the title *Oedenburgisches Rath-Haus*, his oration contains a complex interpretation of the town hall's decoration.[6] Lackner's emblematic pictures and inscriptions were quoted as moral parabolas and explications in Barth's preaching in order to raise awareness in virtuous citizenship, in accordance with the motto of his sermon: 'Der Stadt bestes zusuchen' (To strive for which is best for the town, *Jer*. 29:7). Another description is found in the collection of laudatory orations held by the students and alumni of the evangelic lyceum in Sopron during the centenary commemoration of Lackner's election as mayor in 1714.[7] The publication, edited by the lyceum's rector Johannes Fridelius, contains six orations, five of them vividly recalling the decoration of the town hall destroyed in a fire in 1676.

According to sources, the main theme of Lackner's programme for the town hall's decoration was the maintenance of civic duties. Paraphrasing a passage of Michael Pamer's oration from the 1714 collection, Lackner recognised the 'usefulness' of emblems, with their function in the moral guidance of the citizens similar to that of 'the hieroglyphs of the ancient Egyptians and the moralising books or portrait-medals'.[8] The sources of the inscriptions could be traced back to the Bible, antique authors, passages of civil law, or early modern adages, but most of them mirror the mayor's own neo-stoic theories on righteous leadership.[9] The sentences on the façade principally invoked *Divine*

5 Pálffy G., "Egy elfelejtett kiegyezés a 17. századi magyar történelemben. Az 1622. évi koronázódiéta Sopronban" [A Forgotten Conciliation in Seventeenth-Century Hungarian History: The 1622 Diet in Sopron], in Dominkovits P. – Katona Cs. (eds.), *Egy új együttműködés kezdete. Az 1622. évi soproni kornázó országgyűlés* [The Beginning of a New Cooperation. The 1622 Sopron Diet], Annales Archivi Soproniensis 1 (Sopron: 2014) 17–56.

6 Barth Johann Konrad, *Oedenburgisches Rath-Haus* (Bratislava, Gottfried Gründer: 1670).

7 Fridelius Johannes, *B<oni> Domini Christophori Lackneri, J<uris> U<triusque> Doctoris et consulis quondam civitatis Semproniensis, vitae curriculum* (Regensburg, Johann Georg Hofmann: 1714).

8 Fridelius, *Christophori Lackneri* […] *vitae curriculum* 33–34.

9 For a detailed analysis of the town hall's decoration and a complete reconstruction of the inscriptions and *picturae*, see my forthcoming essay: "The Uses and Reception of Hieroglyphs in Early Seventeenth-Century Hungary: The Case of Christoph Lackner and the Decoration of the Former Sopron Town Hall", in Chardin J.J. (ed.), *"The Hieroglyphist Prejudice" in Western Thought from the Renaissance to the Great War* (Strasbourg: 2018).

providence, including the motto of Sopron chosen by Lackner: 'Consilium et Fortitudo mea Deus' (paraphrasing the Psalm verse 'For Thou hast been a shelter for me and a strong tower from the enemy', *Psalm* 61:3), and pointed out the function of the edifice as the place of justice.[10] Besides several Latin and German inscriptions, the only described *pictura* of the façade is the 'hieroglyphic depiction of the Hungarian coat of arms' on the gates: a double-cross drifting in the tempestuous sea, threatened by the Leviathan with the inscription resembling the motto of Paris: 'Mergitur, non submergitur' (Tossed but not sunk).[11] The staircase and the first-floor corridor were devoted to Habsburg propaganda, presumably executed during the preparations for the 1622 diet. Two inscriptions demonstrated the harmfulness of revolts against the king and the dangers of alliance with the Ottoman Empire as references against the Protestants.[12] The symbolic peak of the corridor's decoration was the 'emblematic figure' of Ferdinand II accompanied by the Habsburg device A.E.I.O.U. on the gothic ribbed vaults of the ceiling.[13]

The council hall was decorated with a frieze of portraits of the Habsburg emperors, and several inscriptions quoting Cicero, Horace, Cato the Elder, and Propertius, as well as the *Corpus iuris civilis*.[14] The programme of these was to provide patriotic advice for the nobility in favour of Lackner's Habsburg propaganda. The emblems of the council hall referenced good and bad government[15] and addressed the town officials, encouraging them to lead a

10 Lackner Christoph, *Vitae Christophori Lackhner I<uris> U<triusque> D<octoris> Hominis, brevis consignatio*, ed. G. Tóth (Sopron: 2008) 128–131; Barth, *Oedenburgisches Rath-Haus* fol. F1r.

11 Barth, *Oedenburgisches Rath-Haus* fol. H2r; Fridelius, *Christophori Lackneri* […] *vitae curriculum* 42. The version 'Fluctuat nec mergitur' was used as the motto of Paris.

12 'Gentis etiam civitatis frequentes inter se seditiones et discordiae gloriam eius, incrementum, res pulchre gestas corrumpunt' (after Polybius, *Histories*, Book II, as quoted in Alsted Johann Heinrich, *Encyclopaedia Cursus Philosophici* [Herborn: 1630], vol. IV, 1469) and 'Quicunque subeunt iugum Turcicum, nunquam exuunt capistrum'. Lackner, *Vitae Christophori Lackhner* 136–137; Barth, *Oedenburgisches Rath-Haus* fols. E4v and F3v; Fridelius, *Christophori Lackneri* […] *vitae curriculum* 98–99.

13 'In […] Regis Ferdinandi honorem, emblematica figura […] depingi curavit'. Lackner, *Vitae Christophori Lackhner* 136–137; Barth, *Oedenburgisches Rath-Haus* fols. B3r and F4v; Fridelius, *Christophori Lackneri* […] *vitae curriculum* 57.

14 Barth, *Oedenburgisches Rath-Haus* fol. F3v.

15 These emblems were the following: a burning candle in a candlestick with the motto 'Sum, ut prosim / Alliis inserviendo ipse consumor' (I am, that I may serve / While I serve others, I consume myself); cranes flying in a row after their leader with the motto 'Sequere me!' (Follow me!); a beehive with a crown and sceptre, inscribed 'Hoc exemplo!' (Take as an example!), and a horse bit covered with bunches of grapes, inscribed 'Regit, sed ad

virtuous life.[16] As contemporary sources contain descriptions of the pictures of these emblems as well, it is possible to search for possible emblematic sources for Lackner. The *pictura* of the emblem with the motto 'A pari virtus et livor' (Virtue and envy walk hand in hand) was most probably inspired by an emblem of Joachim Camerarius's *Symbola et emblemata* [Fig. 11.1].[17] The picture shows a snake crawling out of an antique altar on which a fire is burning. The emblem of Camerarius is against the blind trust in divine signs, such as the depicted snake, because with strong will one could achieve anything. Lackner interpreted the picture through the motto quite differently: 'Sicut ignis fumum, ita gloria invidiam excitare solet' (Glory causes envy, just as fire causes smoke). Another emblem, with the motto 'Vivit post funera virtus' (Virtue lives after death) showed a skull with a sword and a book roll with ears of wheat growing out of it. Visual analogies with differing meaning could be found in Lackner's own emblematic works;[18] however, there are more exact references in contemporary emblem books for Lackner's visualisation of postmortem glory. An emblem of *Symbola et emblemata* depicts a pile of bones with wheat growing out of them, while another, in *Nucleus emblematum* by Gabriel Rollenhagen, shows a skull with some wheat growing and a candle, which is placed atop an hourglass in front of a wide scene of a cemetery [Fig. 11.2].[19] The imagery and the moral content of these emblems are clearly linked, but Lackner's interpretation omits the eschatological dimension in favour of the symbols of active and contemplative life, referencing the necessity of both aspects in the life of town officials. A third emblem of the council hall reminded the officials of the importance of straight talk, trustworthy behaviour, and distinguishing abidance from insolence. Its motto was most presumably the commonplace 'Qualis clamor adit silvas, talis et inde redit' (The voice you shout into the woods is the voice that will come back from it). The picture showed a peacock bitten

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perniciem' (They govern it to declension). See Barth, *Oedenburgisches Rath-Haus* fols. D1r, G3r, G3v, G4v; and Fridelius, *Christophori Lackneri* [...] *vitae curriculum* 63, 90, 91, and 45, respectively.

16 See Barth, *Oedenburgisches Rath-Haus* fols. C3r, D2r, and G1v; and Fridelius, *Christophori Lackneri* [...] *vitae curriculum* 58, 68, and 87.

17 Camerarius Joachim, *Symbola et emblemata*, vol. IV, *Aquatilibus et reptilibus* (Nuremberg: 1604), Emblem 80, "Velle monstrat iter".

18 Lackner Christoph, *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio* (Lauingen, M. Jacob Winter: 1615) 92–97; Lackner Christoph, *Galea Martis* (Tübingen, Eberhard Wild: 1625) 27–32.

19 Camerarius Joachim, *Symbola et emblemata*, vol. I, *Herbaria* (Nuremberg: 1590), Emblem 100, "Spes altera vitae"; Rollenhagen Gabriel, *Nucleus emblematum* (Arnheim, Crispijn de Passe: 1611), Emblem 21, "Mors vitae initium".

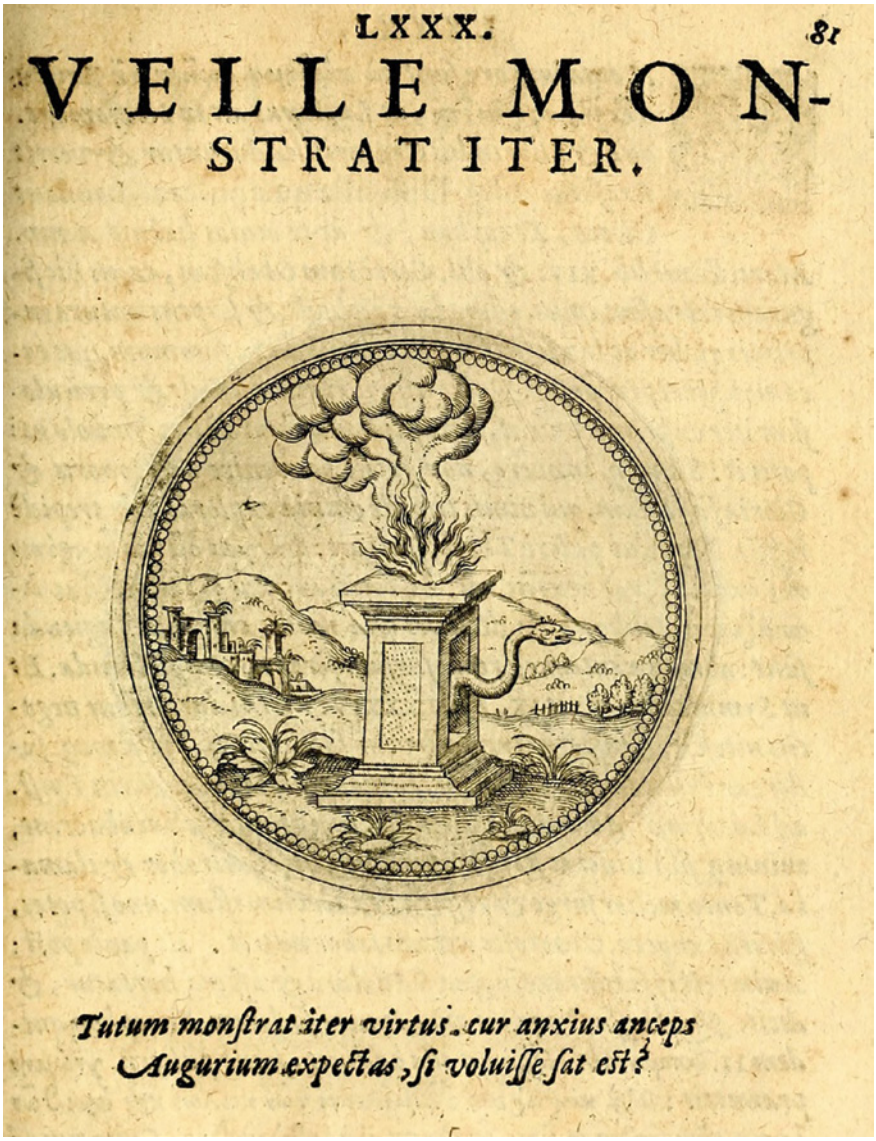

FIGURE 11.1 *Joachim Camerarius the Younger*, Symbola et emblemata, *vol. IV*, De Aquatilibus et reptilibus (*Nuremberg: 1604*), *emblem no. 80.*

FIGURE 11.2 *Gabriel Rollenhagen*, Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum (*Arnhem: 1611*), *emblem no. 21.*

by a scorpion with the rhetorical question: 'Numquid injuste?' (Does it do it unduly?). As the emblem does not have any closer visual analogy in contemporary emblem books, it is possible that Lackner utilised his coat of arms for a moral example. His self-designed coat of arms consisted of the same figures: a scorpion and a swan shown above a river divided by a stem of bulrush, with the image referring to Lackner's scholarly excellence and poetic talent.[20]

Lackner's Emblematic Interpretation of the Hungarian Holy Crown

According to his *Curriculum vitae*, Lackner, acting as a delegate of Sopron, saw the Hungarian Holy Crown during the coronation of Matthias in 1608,[21] and, inspired by his sketches drawn after the ceremony, in 1612 wrote his first emblematic work, entitled *Coronae Hungariae Emblematica descriptio* (The emblematic description of the Hungarian Crown).[22] Lackner's book is a 'mirror of princes', the description of royal virtues through thirty-two emblems placed on the 'emblematic crown', illustrated by Lackner.[23] Instead of epigrams, Lackner accompanied all emblems with lengthy explanatory treatises including quotations from antique and early modern authors [Figs. 11.3–11.4].[24] According to Lackner's interpretation, the sun in the centre of the front side of the crown reminds the viewer that the emperor is the 'dux et moderator'. On the rim of the crown there are four gemstones: diamond stands for strength, emerald for purity, amethyst for temperance, and sapphire for piety. There are also emblematic pictures on the front side of the crown: the eagle guarding swords stands for the responsibilities of the ruler; the crane holding a stone for vigilance; the torches jointed by a crown for right leadership; the candles for the distribution of heavenly light; and the Hungarian coat of arms for patriotism. The skull represents vanity; the scales placed atop a sword, justice; the morning star, the

20 See Lackner's etching of his coat of arms in Lackner Christoph, *Florilegus Aegyptiacus in agro semproniensi* (Keresztúr, Imre Farkas: 1617) fol. A1v.

21 Lackner, *Vitae Christophori Lackhner* 116.

22 'In quantum illam Coronam cum suis externis delineamentis ex obtutu et aspectu in ipso Regio actu (cui prope et praesens sui) observare potui, in tantum etiam eandem depinxi.' Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio* 41.

23 Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio* 38–39.

24 Juhász J., "Adalékok Lackner Kristóf szellemi műveltségéhez" [Supplements to the Literacy of Christoph Lackner], *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcinensis. Sectio Philosophica* 14, 2 (2009) 265–285.

emanating power of virtue; cranes flying in rows, discipline; the sceptre and sword on a book, obeying the law; and the palm branch, glory.[25]

In the centre of the reverse side's rim, the lion-headed shield stands for the rigour of the ruler, and it has three gemstones on its sides: turquoise for thoughtfulness and federal loyalty; agate for adaptability; and lodestone (magnes) for the power of virtue. The winged hourglass stands for correct time management; the hands holding a sword with laurel branch and a skull for agreement; the Janus head for the ruler's comprehensive caution; the hands washed by heavenly water for public chastity; the two sceptres in a crown for peace; the crown above two anchors for trust in Divine providence; the ant for diligence; the horse bit for the selection of the right method of rule; the thurible for piety; phoenix for the service of eternal values; and the church encircled by the ouroboros for the eternal glory of the righteous ruler.[26]

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25 Emblem 1, "Taliter saluti publicae invigilandum", Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio* 42–52 (Cf. Valeriano Bolzani Pierio, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* [Basel, Michael Isengrin: 1556] fols. 326r–328r, Lib. XLIV, "Sol"); Emblem 2, Adamas, "Ubi fortitudo, ibi tutela" 52–57 (Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVII, 15; Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fol. 306r, Lib. XLI, "Adamas"); Emblem 3, Smaragdus, "Casta decent reges" 57–61 (Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVII, 16; Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fol. 307r, Lib. XLI, "Smaragdus"); Emblem 4, Amethystus, "Ubi sobrietas, inibi sapientia" 61–64 (Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVII, 40; Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fols. 307v–308r, Lib. XLI, "Amethystus"); Emblem 5, Saphyrus, "Ubi pietas, ibi et reliqua" 64–69 (Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVII, 39; Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fol. 306v, Lib. XLI, "Saphyrus"); Emblem 6, "Ubi honos, ibi onus" 69–74 (Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fols. 137–144, Lib. XIX, "Aquila"); Emblem 7, "Sic tuis invigiles" 74–78 (Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fol. 128v, Lib. XVII, "Grue", "Custodia"; Camerarius Joachim, *Symbola et emblemata*, vol. III, *Volatilibus et insectis* [Nuremberg, Joachim Camerarius: 1596]; Emblem 27, "Ne improviso"; Rollenhagen Gabriel, *Selectorum emblematum centuria secunda* [Utrecht, Crispijn de Passe: 1613], Emblem 15, "Non dormit qui custodit"); Emblem 8, "Ubiclara incendia, ibilumen" 78–83; Emblem 9, "Ubi lumen, transeant tenebrae" 84–88; Emblem 10, "In hoc signo vinces" 88–92; Emblem 11, "Hic finis omnium" 92–97; Emblem 12, "Discite iustitiam moniti" 97–103 (Cf. Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum* Emblem 83, "Manet immutabile fatum"); Emblem 13, "Virtute sic emineas" 103–108 (Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fols. 330r–331r, Lib. XLIV, "Stella"); Emblem 14, "Ex inordinato gignitur confusio" 108–112; Emblem 15, "Legibus solutus lege vivat" 112–119; Emblem 16, "Juste certanti laurea" 119–124.

26 Emblem 17, "Si non clementia, potentia", Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio* 126–130 (Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fol. 3r, Lib. I, "Leo", "Vigilantia"); Emblem 18, Turchesia, "Quae docent, non nocent" 130–135 (Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVII, 68); Emblem 19, Turchesia, "Data fides servanda" 135–138 (Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVII, 68); Emblem 20, Achates, "Varius propter varios" 138–140 (Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVII, 54); Emblem 21, Magnes, "Virtus omnia regit" 140–143 (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVI, 16); Emblem 22, "Temporis honesta a varitia" 143–146 (Cf. Rollenhagen,

FIGURE 11.3–11.4 *Christoph Lackner, "The Emblematic Hungarian Crown", illustration to* Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio (*Lauingen, Jacob Winter: 1615*) *38–39. Budapest, Széchényi National Library,* RMK III, *1156.*
IMAGE © SZÉCHÉNYI NATIONAL LIBRARY.

Coronæ Hungariæ. 39
dextra
pars aversa
læva
DIADEMA HVNGARIÆ
MATTHIAS II
PETRVS REWAY
STEPHANVS PALFFY

The *concetto* of the Sopron town hall's façade decoration could be interpreted as a monumental scene for the coronation of Queen Eleonora Gonzaga, which took place in the town hall during the 1622 diet. The Holy Crown, recently regained from Gabriel Bethlen's possession, was taken from its traditional repository in the Bratislava castle to Sopron, where the newly elected Lutheran palatine Stanislav Thurzó ceremoniously presented it to the crowd from the window of the town hall.[27] According to laws originating from the Middle Ages, the legal entity of the ruler of Hungary was the Holy Crown instead of the person of the king, so the inscriptions on the façade could refer to the crown itself as well. In the context of his 'mirror of virtues' for the good ruler, the façade of the town hall could also be interpreted as the visualisation of Lackner's strict ideas on the duties of both kings and their subjects. Lackner's programme on the façade of the town hall reaches its peak if one considers Lackner's 'emblematic crown' as a part of its *concetto*, or the façade as monumental scenery for the Holy Crown.[28]

Selectorum emblematum Emblem 77, "Vive memor lethi, fugit hora"); Emblem 23, "Concordia bello praeferenda" 146–151 (Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fols. 253–254, Lib. XXXV, "Manu"); Emblem 24, "Undique prospiciat" 151–155; Emblem 25, "Castis subveniunt casta" 156–160 (Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fol. 251r, Lib. XXXV, "Manu", "Innocentia"); Emblem 26, "Sceptra gladio sunt praeferenda", 160–165 (Cf. Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum* Emblem 66, "Regni corona rex"); Emblem 27, "Deus anchorae iactum secundet" (Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fols. 335v–336r, Lib. XLV, "Anchora") 165–169; Emblem 28, "Sit calcar industriae" 169–172 (Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fols. 57v–58r, Lib. VIII, "Formica", "Labor indefessus"); Emblem 29, "Fraenum quale, regnum tale" 172–176 (Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fol. 355r–v, Lib. XLVIII, "Frenum"); Emblem 30, "Pietas summum necessarium" 176–180 (Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fol. 253r, Lib. XXXV, "Manu", "Pietas"); Emblem 31, "Pro vita moritur" 180–183 (Cf. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fols. 144r–145r, Lib. XX, "Phoenix"); Camerarius, *Symbola et emblemata*, vol. III, Emblem 100, "Vita mihi mors est"); Emblem 32, "Ubi victoria, ibi gloria" 184–189 (Cf. Rollenhagen, *Selectorum emblematum* Emblem 23, "In se sua per vestiga volitur").

27 Pálffy G., "A Szent Korona a 17. századi Sopronban" [The Holy Crown in Seventeenth-Century Sopron], *Soproni Szemle* 67, 4 (2013) 400–411.

28 It is important to mark that the main source of Lackner's emblematic work was the hieroglyphic *corpus* of Pierio Valeriano. Although there is no surviving inventory of Lackner's library, it is known that he lent the *Hieroglyphica* ('Chirogliphia Pierii') from the library of Mark Fauth the elder. Fauth possessed copies of Joachim Camerarius's *Symbola et emblemata* and Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* as well, presumably read by Lackner. See Grüll T. et al. (eds.), *Lesestoffe in Westungarn I. Sopron (Ödenburg) 1535–1721*, Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez 18/1 (Szeged: 1994) 17–23; and Grüll T., "Lackner Kristóf könyvtárának maradványai" [The Remains of the Library of Christoph Lackner], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 106, 2–3 (1990) 132–133.

Lackner's Hieroglyph of the "Habsburg Eagle"

Lackner utilised humanist hieroglyphics for the visualisation of Sopron's loyalty towards the Habsburg rulers. Besides the complex decoration of the town hall, the *leitmotif* of Lackner's visual propaganda was the "Habsburg eagle" that, at his request, was augmented to the coat of arms of Sopron in a *diploma* issued by Ferdinand II during the 1622 diet.[29] Lackner had been using the hieroglyphic image of the "Habsburg eagle" for official representation since 1612, when he reportedly painted its image on the front gate of the walls of Sopron. In his *Curriculum vitae*, Lackner declared that he created the 'Emblematic eagle of the homeland' or the 'Aquila Sopronienses' in honour of Matthias, the newly elected king.[30] Besides the notice of Lackner, the 1739 manuscript itinerary of Daniel Haynóczi contains a detailed description of the eagle.[31] According to Haynóczi, Lackner depicted the two-headed "Habsburg eagle" ('Aquila biceps') with golden plumage. Above its head the Holy Crown could be seen, with the inscription 'Fulgeat aeternum decus hoc et gloria regni' (May this splendour and glory of the kingdom shine forever). The coat of arms of Sopron with the motto 'Sempronii Deus est turris et auxilium' (God is Sopron's tower and defence) was painted under the eagle, supplemented with the oath of Lackner for peace: 'Pax agros et prata beat pax ornat et urbem pax vites dites laeta vireta facit' (Peace makes the fields and pastures rich, peace embellishes the town, peace creates rich grape harvest and flowering).

29 Tóth G., "Az 1622. évi soproni címerbővítés" [The Extension of the Coat of Arms of Sopron in 1622], in Dominkovits – Katona (eds.), *Egy új együttműködés kezdete* 293–310.

30 'In honorem Regis noviter creati Invictissimi Matthiae II. Hungariae Patris, ad portam primariam patriae emblematicam adinvenit Aquilam, quam postea vel ideo descripsit et hieroglyphice declaravit, quo multorum sinistra interpretatio acquiescere valeat, cuproque vel aeri incidi eleganter et studiose ad posteritatem eandem curavit'. Lackner, *Vitae Christophori Lackhner* 114.

31 '[Etiam] intrisceus visitur aquila biceps, longe venusitor, aureo vellere cincte, subjectis urbis insignibus'. The town's gates were re-edified during the decade after Lackner's death; the rear gate during the reign of Ferdinand III in 1642 and the front gate during the reign of Ferdinand IV in 1647. During this process, the painted gates of Lackner must have been relocated as Haynóczi described them as a part of another gate. Haynóczi Daniel, *Iter Neosoliense* (Manuscript, Széchényi National Library, Quart. lat. 1166) fol. 196, quoted after Waigand J. – Csatkai E. (eds.), "Hajnóczi Dániel 1739. évi városleírása Sopronról" [The Description of Sopron by Dániel Hajnóczi from 1739] *Soproni Szemle* 19, 4 (1965) 364–365.

A year later Lackner decorated the "porta secundaria" with another two-headed "Habsburg eagle",[32] which is described in detail both by Lackner's *Curriculum vitae* and Michael Pamer's 1714 oration.[33] According to Lackner and Pamer, the emblematic eagle bore mottoes divided on three feathers of its wings: 'In hoc signo vinces' (With this sign, you will conquer), 'Et plurimum salutis et plurimum spei' (Lot of good and lot of hope), and the motto of Sopron ('Turris et fortitudo mea Deus'), respectively. On the two sides of the eagle, Sopron's coat of arms and a palm branch ('the sign of the cross') were to be seen, the latter surrounded by a laurel wreath. The sun and the moon on its sides—'the signs of eternity'—accompanied the eagle, with the motto 'Felix diu decus Virtutum stabile Coniugium' (The firm covenant of virtues is long-lasting glory). In the middle of the gate a biblical verse was inscribed, referring to the emperor: 'Vicisti famam Virtutibus tuis' (You have exceeded your fame by your virtues, 2 *Chron.* 9:6). On the sides of the gate, the Muses held two boards with inscriptions written in Latin and German, and also with 'hieroglyphs' ('exstant scripta hieroglyphiceque denotata'): 'Honos et supplicium fidelissimi sunt rerum custodes' (Reward and punishment are the two most faithful guardians of the state) and 'Felix magistratus, qui tempore pacis de bello cogitat' (Blessed is the council which thinks of war in times of peace),[34] the latter being a popular commonplace that was reportedly written on the gates of the Venice *Arsenal* and the cathedral of Banská Štiavnica during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The presence of the 'Aquila Sopronienses' caused much aversion within the local nobility due to the supererogation of the mayor towards the emperor, such that Lackner was obliged to give an apologetic plenary oration to the *Foedus Studiosorum Nobilium Semproniense* (Society of Learned Noblemen of Sopron) on 18 November 1616. According to Lackner, his 'Aquila Sopronienses'

32 The expression 'porta secundaria' could refer either to the rear gate of the town or to one of the inner gates of the compound front gate. Lackner, *Vitae Christophori Lackhner* 167, note 156.

33 'Eodem anno [1613], non modo aquilam Soproniensem in porta primaria descripsit emblematice, pro Regio honore; verum et postmodo Rege eodem Matthia salutato Imperatore Romanorum, eius in honorem publicitus in secundaria porta bicipitem aquilam emblematice, non sine singulari patriae ornamento, pingi curavit, cuius figura inibi et alibi videre est'. Lackner, *Vitae Christophori Lackhner* 124; Fridelius, *Christophori Lackneri* […] *vitae curriculum* 34–40.

34 'Wo recht gethan belohnet wird, / Das bös Ding nicht ohn Straf regirt, / Allda Recht und gutt Regiment / Zu hoffen ist, weil Gott das sendt'. And 'Voll Heils und Glücks billich die Stadt / gepreiset wird, wo weiser Rath / bewacht in Fried des Unfrieds Not / Ruef an und Schutz den wahren Gott'. Lackner, *Vitae Christophori Lackhner* 124.

was 'ridiculed and taunted' because of 'the mayor's overanxious loyalty towards the Imperial Majesty' and 'the grotesque appearance of the eagle itself'. Several noblemen criticised the eagle because of its enigmatic nature. They said that it was 'incomprehensible', and therefore its 'obscure figure' would become unpopular with the commoners. Lackner even quoted individual opinions of his antipodes. A Sopron humanist quoted with the name Titius said that 'the eagle had a very fierce look with tyrannical lynx-eyes'. Maevius criticised 'the enormous and curved beak of the eagle'. Numerius addressed the improper colours of the depiction, while Seius criticised the presence of the red double cross, as it was traditionally absent in the Sopron coat of arms. Lackner's fictional antagonists were criticising the 'emblematic eagle' because of their own lack of humanist education. 'I am Davus', quotes Lackner one of his opponents, 'not Oedipus', referring to the character of the 'plain man' in *Andria* by Terence. All other pseudonyms bear negative connotations as well, Tityus being one of the *Quattro Dannati*, stretched out and tortured by two vultures feeding on his liver in the depths of Tartarus, while Maevius was the name of the 'bad poet' in Virgil's third Eclogue, espousing malicious criticism of superior writers.[35]

Through the judgments attributed to his antagonists, Lackner also denounced their literacy, as some of them point to the *Adages* of Erasmus. In the treatise for the adage 'Scarabeus aquilam quaerit' (A dung-beetle hunting an eagle, III.vii.1), Erasmus wrote at length on the features and habits of the eagle, referencing its 'lyncean' (sharp) eyesight, as well as its custom of drinking only blood during its old age, when its upper beak grows so long that it cannot eat flesh. Besides Erasmus, an extensive source for Lackner was the third volume of Joachim Camerarius's *Symbola et emblemata*. Camerarius denoted the eagle's ability to bring about its own reformation through dipping itself in water and looking into the sun, a tradition originating from *Physiologus*. Epiphanius's interpretation says that the multitude of our sins oppresses us, but through the water of the tears of repentance one can be renewed.[36] Through these religious interpretations of the antique connotations of the bird of Jove, the eagle became a symbol of Christ.[37] In his *Ornithologia*, Ulisse Aldrovandi also supported this view.[38] Aldrovandi devoted his first book to the eagle where,

35 Lackner Christoph, *Maiestatis Hungariae Aquila* (Keresztúr, Imre Farkas: 1617) 35–38.

36 Camerarius, *Symbola et emblemata*, vol. III, Emblem 16, "Vetustate relicta". Cf. Cohen S., *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Leiden – Boston: 2008) 43–45.

37 Muñoz Simonds P., *Myth, Emblem, and Music in Shakespeare's Cymbeline: An Iconographic Reconstruction* (London: 1992) 295.

38 Aldrovandi Ulisse, *Ornithologia, hoc est de avibus historiae libri XII* (Bologna, Franciscus de Franciscis: 1599) 1–107, esp. 63–107, s.v. "Mystica".

in addition to the scientific description of his observations of living eagles, he also provided a philological essay on the occurrence and meaning of the eagle in antique and early Christian authors. Aldrovandi emphasised that while in ancient Egypt the hieroglyph of the eagle denoted the king, but in modern times it could refer to Christ as well.

> Aldrovandi cites as his source Saint Ambrose, who pointed out three major similarities between Christ and the bird that flies higher than the other: (1) as the eagles eats snakes, Christ conquers the devil; (2) as the eagle protects its nest, Christ hovers defensively over Church; and (3) as the eagle pushes its young out of the nest if they cannot stare directly in the sun, Christ turns away from those who are lacking in faith.[39]

Artists used Aldrovandi's corpus as manuals for mythological and ecclesial compositions, which therefore broadened the recognition of the eagle as a symbol of both kings and Christ.

In his treatise published under the title *Maiestatis Hungariae Aquila* (The Majestic Hungarian Eagle) in 1616, Lackner explained the emblematic meaning of the 'Aquila Sopronienses', legitimating its presence on the town gates by unfolding its direct relation to the sacred Egyptian hieroglyphs. However, Lackner described a slightly different picture from those, reportedly painted on the town gates: his etching, published as the frontispiece of the book [Fig. 11.5]. The most substantial difference between the eagle referred to by Lackner and the one described by Haynóczi is that Lackner's 'Hungarian eagle' has only one head.[40] The eagle sits on a globe representing Hungary, inside of which a beehive with the coat of arms of Sopron and a sceptre atop the hive could be seen. The justice of the 'Aquila Sopronienses' is ensured through the balanced scale hanging from its head, as 'Reward and Punishment are the two most faithful guardians of the state'.[41] Red and white inscriptions on the left wing of the eagle refer to King Matthias in the form of an acrostic: 'Maiestas Augusta Tibi Hungaria Imperat Anxie Semper' (Your imperial majesty will always command Hungary anxiously), while on its right wing the names of the Royal Hungarian free cities are represented: Cassovia (Košice), Pisonium (Bratislava), Tyrnavia

39 Muñoz Simonds, *Myth, Emblem, and Music in Shakespeare's Cymbeline* 295.

40 Although one cannot be sure whether the eagle depicted by Lackner is identical to the one painted on the Sopron front gate, it is clear that the critiques were not addressing the two-headed version, painted on the rear gate as reported by Haynóczi (see note 31 above).

41 Lackner, *Maiestatis Hungariae Aquila* 77–80, and Lackner, *Vitae Christophori Lackhner* 124.

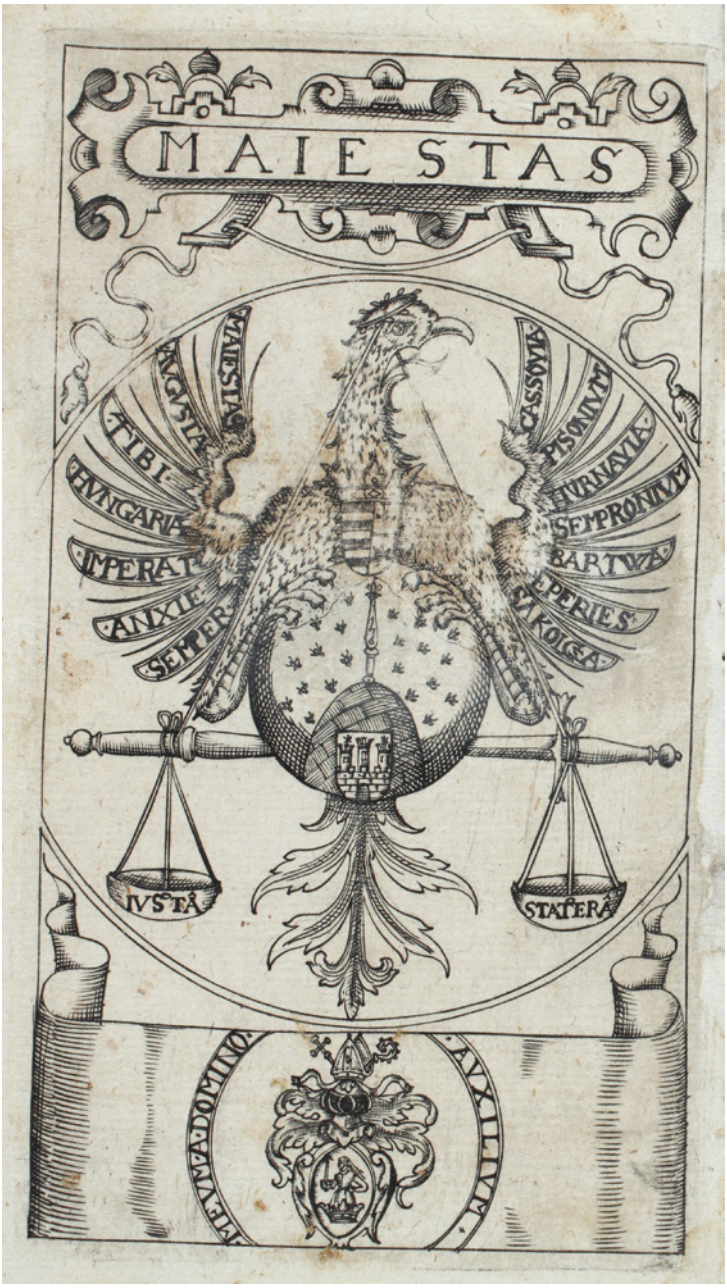

FIGURE 11.5 *Christoph Lackner, frontispiece illustration from* Maiestatis Hungariae Aquila (*Keresztúr, Imre Farkas: 1616*). *Budapest, Széchényi National Library, RMK III, 373.*
IMAGE © SZÉCHÉNYI NATIONAL LIBRARY.

(Trnava), Sempronium (Sopron), Bartwa (Bardejov), Eperies (Prešov), and Sakolca (Skalica).[42]

Lackner had already engraved an image of his two-headed emblematic eagle in 1615, printed as the frontispiece of his first book, the *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio* [Fig. 11.6]. That eagle has some of the features of the one painted on the rear gate of Sopron and described by Lackner and Pamer; however, they are not completely identical. On the engraving, the eagle bears a sceptre and a sword, the Holy Crown with a star atop it, and the signature of Matthias on a shield. A laurel wreath forming the ouroboros encircles it, while in the four corners the motto of the king appears: 'Vicisti famam Virtutibus tuis'. The feathers of the eagle are the same as those in *Maiestatis Hungariae Aquila*, with an acrostic referring to Matthias on the left side, and the coats of arms of the royal free cities on the right side.[43]

In *Maiestatis Hungariae Aquila*, Lackner enumerated the various interpretations of the 'Aquila Sopronienses'. As he emphasised, the eagle was not only the symbol of the emperor, but had several hieroglyphic meanings as well. Besides being the symbol of John the Evangelist, it is also a hieroglyph of God, height, victory, blood, soul, the flame of youth, keen eyesight, tenacious memory, and vehemence.[44] While the interpretations presented here are found in the treatise on the eagle in Conrad Gesner's *Historiae animalium*,[45] Lackner's main source of the symbolism was Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*. In the same year that the debate on his 'Aquila Sopronienses' took place, Lackner published a hieroglyphic dictionary, a practical extract of the *Hieroglyphica* entitled *Florilegus Aegyptiacus in argo Semproniensi* (Egyptian flower-gatherer in the meadows of Sopron). His dictionary reverses the system of Valeriano, as Lackner ordered the *notions* alphabetically, and then the *things* that could denote them hieroglyphically.[46] In the foreword, Lackner encouraged his readers to 'use' his dictionary to 'write with hieroglyphs' as well as to apply them by 'drawing emblematic figures'.[47] According to his dictionary, the eagle could denote the emperor and nobility, dominance over the world, justice, the profound thoughts of

42 Lackner, *Maiestatis Hungariae Aquila* 66–68.

43 The eagle is once again present in the *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio*; in the sixth emblem the eagle guarding swords stands for the responsibilities of the ruler, with the motto "Ubi honos, ibi onus" (With honour comes burden). Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio* 69–74.

44 Lackner, *Maiestatis Hungariae Aquila* 53–56.

45 Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* fols. 137r–143v, Lib. XIX, "Aquila"; Gesner Conrad, *Historiae animalium liber III qui est de avium natura* (Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1555) 162–190.

46 Lackner, *Florilegus Aegyptiacus* fol. A5v.

47 Ibidem, fols. A5v–A7v.

FIGURE 11.6 *Christoph Lackner, frontispiece illustration from* Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio (*Lauingen, Jacob Winter: 1615*). *Budapest, Széchényi National Library, RMK III, 1156.*
IMAGE © SZÉCHÉNYI NATIONAL LIBRARY.

the ruler, the ruler's solitude and studies, a lucky omen, and benignity, but also starvation and pernicious intent. In the dedication of his *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio* to the Lutheran palatine George Thurzó, Lackner included a list of twelve hieroglyphic meanings for the eagle on the frontispiece, indexing the *Hieroglyphica*.[48] The two treatises by Lackner include nearly all of the interpretations given by Valeriano, as seen in the concordance below:

Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*	**Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio***	**Lackner, *Florilegus Aegyptiacus***
(Lib. XI, Lynce) Acutissimus obtutus (fol. 85r–v)		Visu acri praeditum Lynx denotat, item Aquila (fol. E8v)
(Lib. XVIII, Vultur) Iustitia (fol. 133r)		Iustitia per Vulturem; Vultur enim nihil quod vivit attingit, nec animatum quicquam interficit; quod accipiter et aquila faciunt, cadaveribus quae contenta nullius unquam avis pastione pollui visa est (fol. C6v)
(Lib. XIX, Aquila) Rerum prosperitas (fols. 137v–138v)	3. Volans aquila faustissimum augurium significabat (8) 12. Aquila sedens praeclarae alicuius rei magno labore peragendae indicium putatur (9)	Augurium faustum per Aquilam volantem (fol. B2v)
Imperatoria Maiestas (fols. 138v–139v)		Imperatorem per Aquilam (fol. C6r)
Rex pius et misericors (fol. 139v)		
Benignitas (fols. 139v–140r)	11. Aquilam pingentes cum alia quavis alite ex eadem olla cibum capientem, benignitatem hieroglyphice denotarunt (9)	Benignitatem per Aquilam cum alia quavis alite ex eadem olla cibum capientem (fol. B4r)

48 Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio* 8–9.

Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*	**Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio***	**Lackner, *Florilegus Aegyptiacus***
Convitiorum Contemptor (fol. 140r)	10. Aquila iuxta cornicem depicta, convitiorum contemtorem hieroglyphice referebat. Cornicem enim aiunt solere Aquilam lacessere, et in certamen quodammodo provocare: illam vero non pluris convitia illa facere, quam elephas culicem, hinc diverbium: Aquila non captat muscas (9)	Convitiorum contemptor per Aquilam iuxta cornicem depictam (fol. B5r)
Paterna difficultas (fol. 140r)		
Solitudo Regni (fol. 140r)		Solitudo Regni per pullum aquilae (fol. E4v)
Perniciosa Potentia (fol. 140r–v)		Societatem perniciosam per Aquilae pennas (fol. E4v)
Eruditus impurus (fol. 140v)		
Malus daemon (fol. 140v)		
Princeps sibi tantum studens (fols. 140v–141r)		Regem suis rebus intentum per aquilam in nido adstruendo sollicitum (fol. E3v)
Prae fame moriens (fol. 141r)		Fame periturus per aquilam, cuius rostrum enormiter est incurvatum (fol. C1v)
Iuventus renovata (fol. 141r)		
Apostoli (fol. 141r)		
Ingenium Velox (fol. 141v)	9. Pindarus ingenii promtitudinem et velocitatem per Aquilam ostendit; quod praedam etiam valde distantem mira pernicitate nanciscatur, visuque ita polleat, ut profundissima quaeque prospecter (8)	
Nilus (fol. 141v)	8. Aquila Nili fluminis hieroglyphicum in sacris Aegyptiorum literis fuit habita, ob velocitatem cursus Nili (8)	

(cont.)

Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*	**Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae emblematica descriptio***	**Lackner, *Florilegus Aegyptiacus***
Alta cogitatio (fol. 141v)	7. Nonnulli, Aquilam Promethei cor adrodentem, pfundae cogitationis Principem significare, contenderunt (8)	Principem profundae cogitationis per Aquilam, cor Promethei adrodentem (fol. D7v)
Divus Ioannes (fol. 142r)	1. Theologi Ioannem Evangelistam per hieroglyphicum Aquilae praemonstratum deprehendere (8)	Ioannem per Aquilam (fol. C6r)
Statuta Firmiter Sedes (fol. 142r–v)		Possessionatum sive sede firma locatum per Aquilam lapidem gestantem (fol. D7v)
Terrarum Dominatio (fol. 142v)	2. Item orbis terrarum dominium (8)	Dominatio orbis terrarum per Aquilam (fol. B7v)
Terrarum umbilicus (fol. 143r)	6. Apud Delphos duae ex Auro Aquilae denotarunt terrarum umbilicum, quem Iupiter ita explotavit, ut Aquilas duas, unam ab oriente, alteram ab occidente demiserit, quae pernici volatu in adversum lapsae, supra Pythona sibi factae sunt obviat unde collegerunt, terrae medium inibi esse (8)	
Lacedaemonii (fol. 143r)		
Clearchus (fol. 143r)	4. Aquila aurea Cleardo Heracliensium tyranno praelata, argumentum generis erat (8)	
Herculani iuniores et seniores, Ioviniani iuniores et seniores, Quatrodecimani (fol. 143r–v)	5. Aquila etiam fuit insigne quarundam cohortium, ut 1. Herculeanorum iuniorum. 2. Herculanorum seniorum. 3. Iovinianorum. 4. Decimanorum (8)	

However, Lackner used the lists of the possible hieroglyphic interpretations of the eagle for the justification of his own political interests, where the eagle referred to the Habsburg ruler. The "Hungarian eagle" was not even the only case in which Lackner had to defend his political imagery against the town's nobility. In 1618 Lackner renovated the fire tower of Sopron's first gate and reportedly painted 'clever and elegant pictures' on its walls.[49] On the inner side of the tower the allegorical figures of Strength and Peace were depicted with the Holy Crown surrounded by two angels holding a laurel wreath and a trumpet. Lackner depicted the coat of arms of the Hungarian Kingdom as well, albeit with some minor 'improvements': he included the crucified Christ on the double cross. In 1619 the town council opposed this depiction, as they were afraid that the Hungarians—i.e. the Protestants—would harm the town due to the presence of the crucifix in the coat of arms.[50]

Lackner's Eagle in the Context of Habsburg Emblematics

While Lackner referred to a one-headed eagle instead of a more explicitly Habsburg two-headed one in order to exempt himself from accusations by the local Lutheran nobility, he also drew on a tradition of depicting the coats of arms of subordinated states or cities on the feathers of the two-headed eagle established by Hans Burgkmair's 1510 woodcut, the so-called *Quaternion Eagle*. In the political iconography of the Turkish wars, the eagle was explicitly connected with the Habsburg dynasty. Joris Hoefnagel depicted the eagle as an allegory of Rudolph II on several miniature paintings, including a lavishly decorated folio in the third volume of Ottavio Strada's *Simbola imperatorum Romanorum*,[51] or the allegorical depiction of the 1593 Sisak battle in the *Bocskay-Schriftmusterbuch*, where a one-headed eagle wearing the Rudolph

49 Lackner, *Vitae Christophori Lackhner* 136–139.

50 Póda E. (ed.), *Sopron sz. kir. város monographiája, 1. kötet, Forrás-anyag* [The Monograph of Sopron, vol. I, Sources] (Sopron: 1890) 425.

51 Ottavio Strada, *Simbola imperatorum Romanorum*, fol. 126v, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 9423. Cf. *Prag um 1600. Kunst und Kultur am Höfe Kaiser Rudolfs II.* (Vienna – Freren: 1988), vol. II, 133–135. The Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest holds a drawing by Jacopo Strada depicting one of the *imprese* of Rudolph II, later included in Jacobus Typotius's collection: an imperial eagle holding a spear, with the motto 'ADSIT'. See Ibidem, vol. I, 399–400, and Gerszi T. (ed.), *Művészet II. Rudolf udvarában* [Art in the Court of Rudolph II] (Budapest: 1991) 19–20.

crown grasps the Ottoman crescent with its claws.[52] The eagle was present in the same function as a 'real allegory' on the pictures of the Turkish wars by the court artist Hans von Aachen (Sisak, Schellenberg, and Székesfehérvár, painted around 1603–1604). On these pictures the eagle is present as a prognostication of the victorious outcome of the battles: a device conceived by Rudolph II personally.[53]

Besides the formal similarities with the representative imperial eagles, Lackner's hieroglyphic eagles were also closely connected with the contemporary practice of courtly emblematics. The political iconography of Matthias utilised emblematics frequently. The personal device he used most was taken from the sixteenth line of Catullus's *Carmen LXII*, 'Amat Victoria curam' (Victory loves concern), accompanied by differing emblematic *picturae*. Collected by Jacobus Typotius in his 1602 'hierographia' entitled *Symbola divina et humana*, Matthias's several devices are centred around a crane bearing a stone in his talons as a symbol of vigilance, accompanied by trophies and laurel wreaths.[54] The etching of Aegidius Sadeler from 1614 depicts the *Allegory of the Reign of Matthias* with his portrait in the centre and the figures of Mars, Minerva, and Fama on the sides, with the three graces and horns of plenty above them [Fig. 11.7]. In the lower part of the picture, personifications of envy and ignorance are depicted with enemies around them, defeated by the eagle of victory. In the upper corners two figures carry devices of the house of Habsburg printed on flags: 'Firmatum coelitus omen' (An Omen confirmed by the heavens) and the device of Matthias: 'Amat Victoria curam'. Here, a tree in the clouds and a dragon in front of a gate accompany the motto. It is the garden of the Hesperides, where the tree bearing the golden apples is guarded by the dragon Ladon, who never sleeps. The same emblem is denoted by Camerarius as a sign of Vigilance against sin.[55] The other device, with the motto 'Firmatum coelitus omen', also assigned to Matthias, shows an eagle that

52 *Bocskay-Schriftmusterbuch*, fol. 108, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv. no. 975. According to Jacobus Typotius, this device was already used by Maximilian I, however it regained its actuality during the Fifteen years' war. Galavics G., *"Kössünk kardot az pogány ellen." Török háborúk és képzőművészet* [The Turkish wars and the visual art] (Budapest: 1986) 29–30. See Typotius Jacobus, *Symbola divina et humana* (Prague, Balthasar Caymox: 1601) vol. I, 48–49.

53 See Fusenig T. (ed.), *Hans von Aachen: Hofkünstler in Europa* (Vienna: 2010).

54 Typotius, *Symbola divina et humana*, vol. II, 98–105. For more details, see Kleisner T., "*Amat victoria curam*: The Device of Archduke Matthias on His Medals", *Studia Rudolphina* 9 (2009) 87–99.

55 Camerarius, *Symbola et emblemata*, vol. IV, Emblem 78, "Sacros custodit in arbore fructus".

SAC. CAS. EIVSDEM MAI. SCVLPTOR EGIDIVS SADELER, AD VIVVM DELINEAVIT, ET IN DEVOTI ANIMI SIGNVM D.D.
PRAGAE ANNO CHRISTIANO M. DC. XIIII.
Marin Sadler excudit

FIGURE 11.7 *Aegidius Sadeler, "Allegory of the Reign of Matthias" (1614). Engraving, 668 × 420 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-70.082.*
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM.

is holding a sceptre, standing on a globe next to a crown and a sword, and looking towards the sun.[56]

The dynastic representation of the House of Habsburg brought to life a specific subgenre of emblem books during the seventeenth century, i.e. those devoted almost exclusively to the motif of the eagle and its different connotations. The first of these emblematic works was the book of *nuda* emblems by Willich Westhovius, who presented his collection to Matthias during the Reichstag of 1613, when he received the patent of nobility.[57] Johann Georg Maichel, the Vienna Jesuit friar, wrote his book of emblems on the occasion of the death of Emperor Ferdinand III in 1657; the work was illustrated by Melchior and Matthäus Küsel.[58] The frontispiece of the book resembles the hieroglyphic eagle of Lackner, but here the eagle is supplemented with attributes of *vanitas*: an hourglass embellishes its bone crown, and it holds a crucifix as a sceptre and a skull as an orb [Fig. 11.8]. In the book all emblems are framed by cartouches that are held by mourning imperial eagles, resembling an aquarelle of Joris Hoefnagel in the *Bocskay-Schriftmusterbuch*.[59] The emblem book of Maichel consists almost exclusively of emblems represented by eagles that perform the majestic deeds and virtues of the dead emperor; however, on one of the emblems the emperor is actually present, playing a game of chess with death.[60] An emblem book of the same themes was written for Leopold I in 1705 by an anonymous Jesuit emblematist in Vienna.[61] Both of these books relied heavily on the emblems of Camerarius, reinterpreting his mottoes and *picturae* as subjected to the deceased emperors.

The most important monumental manifestation of the eagle theme in applied emblematics is the decoration of the Katharinenkirche in Graz, the

56 The original composition, attributed to Aegidius Sadeler, is in the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Inv. no. GM 93/1. See also the etching of Lucas Kilian depicting Matthias's portrait from 1632 with the same devices and symbolic figures.

57 Westhovius Willich, *Emblematum liber divo Matthiae, Romanorum Imperatori* (Regensburg, Matthias Myll: 1613). See Wade M.R., "Emblems in Scandinavia", in Harper A.J. – Höpel I. (eds.), *The German-Language Emblem in Its European Context: Exchange and Transmission*, Glasgow Emblem Studies 5 (Glasgow: 2000) 23–40, esp. 36–37.

58 Maichel Johann Georg, *Cenographium Piis Manibus Ferdinandi III* (Vienna: 1657).

59 The siege of Nógrád (1549), *Bocskay-Schriftmusterbuch*, fol. 118, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv. no. 975. For more details, see Gulyás B., *Egy "magyar Zeuxis" Bécsben. Bocskay György kalligráfus tevékenysége* [A Hungarian Zeuxis in Vienna. Art and Life of the Calligrapher George Bocskay], Ph.D. dissertation (Eötvös Loránd University: 2009).

60 Maichel, *Cenographium Piis Manibus Ferdinandi III* Emblem 29, "Et populum et regem".

61 *Aquilae Virtutum Leopoldinarum Symbolicae Imagines Oeniponti* (Vienna: 1705).

FIGURE 11.8 *Melchior and Matthäus Küsel, frontispiece illustration from Johann Georg Maichel*, Cenographium Piis Manibus Ferdinandi III (*Vienna: 1657*).

Mausoleum of Ferdinand II. Giovanni Pietro de Pomis designed the church in 1614, but the building took more than forty years and was finished by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach in 1688.[62] The inner decoration was therefore

62 See Kodolitsch G., "Drei steirische Mausoleen – Seckau, Graz und Ehrenhausen", in Novotny A. – Sutter B. (eds.), *Innerösterreich 1564–1619* (Graz: 1968) 325–357; and Villenave

adjusted to the current Habsburg ruler, Leopold I, and his deeds in the expulsion of the Ottomans from Hungary. The frescoes of the dome, attributed to Franz Steinpichler, show the apotheosis of the house of Habsburg, while on the pendentives the personal devices of Maximilian II, Rudolph II, Matthias, and Ferdinand II are represented, taken from Typotius's collection. The device of Maximilian II shows an eagle seated on a globe spanned with lattice, snatching a snake in its beak. According to Typotius, the device, with the motto 'Deus Providebit' (The Lord will provide), calls for the help of Divine Providence in ruling the empire.[63] The device of Rudolph II also shows an eagle with a star and the Capricorn holding the globe, with the motto 'Fulget Caesaris Astrum' (The emperor's star shines).[64] The device of Matthias, with the motto 'Firmat victoria curam', shows a crane bearing a stone in his talons as a symbol of vigilance.[65] Ferdinand II's device shows the crown of Saint Wenceslas appearing between clouds and crossed by two palm branches. Its motto, 'Legitime certantibus' (To him who fights with honour), paraphrases a sentence from Paul's second letter to Timothy: 'Non coronatur nisi legitime certaverit' (Not to be crowned, unless he has fought properly, 2 *Tim*. 2:5).

> Typotius writes that the crown belongs to those who fight with honour; two palm branches pass through it, for the ancient Greeks used to be rewarded with a palm and crowned with a golden wreath; furthermore, the spiritual struggle with the flesh, the world and the devil promises a reward of the never fading crown of virtue.[66]

The fresco-cycle of the nave shows the emblematic interpretation of the glorious deeds of Leopold I, most importantly the recapture of Hungary from the Ottoman Empire [Fig. 11.9]. The monumental central panel of the ceiling depicts the first major event of the campaign for the liberation of Hungary, the battle of Kahlenberg in 1683, after the unsuccessful siege of Vienna by the Ottoman army. Above the battlefield, the personification of Christian Faith in a chariot drawn by two eagles runs across the heavens, ruled by the bust of the deceased emperor appearing as Hesperus ('Cum te consumptum putaveris, orieris ut Lucifer', When thou shalt think thyself consumed, thou shalt rise as the

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L., *Der innerösterreichische Maler Franz Steinpichler (1630–1714)*, Ph.D. dissertation (Graz University: 1996).

63 Typotius, *Symbola divina et humana*, vol. I, 50–51.

64 Ibidem 56–57.

65 Cf. note 54 above.

66 Kleisner T., "Giovanni Pietro de Pomis' Medal of the Battle of the White Mountain", *Studia Rudolphina* 8 (2008) 88–103, here 90; Typotius, *Symbola divina et humana*, vol. II, 106–107.

FIGURE 11.9 *Franz Steinpichler, "The Glorious Deeds of Leopold I", fresco cycle in the nave of the Katharinenkirche in Graz (end of the 1680s).* WIKIMEDIA COMMONS, (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/file:graz_katharinenkirche_innen_gewölbe.jpg).

day star, *Job* 11:17).[67] On the ten emblematic compositions framing the battle, the hieroglyphic eagle represents the glorious house of Habsburg. The mottoes and pictures are partly taken from Camerarius's *Symbola et emblemata* and emblem books dedicated to Habsburg rulers. The composition above the battle of Kahlenberg shows the eagle of Austria renewing its youth ('Renovata iuventus') by flying away from the tree besieged by snakes towards the sun and the 'spring of antidote'. The source of the depiction is the already mentioned sixteenth emblem on the eagle by Camerarius, while the eagle shedding its plumage was interpreted as the temperance of the Emperor in the 1705 Jesuit

67 Hesperus was also present in the decoration of the Sopron town hall: Lackner used it as the symbol of justice and good leadership with the motto 'Nec Hesperus nec Lucifer formosior est iustitia' (Neither Hesperus nor Lucifer is better than justice). Fridelius, *Christophori Lackneri* [...] *vitae curriculum* 41.

emblem book.[68] On the panel under the central composition, the eagle is seen as casting thunder on a garden full of tulips and lilies, demolishing its gate crowned by a crescent with the motto 'Fulminat ex altis et hiant fastigia portae' (It thunders from above and crashes the gable of the gates).

On the two sides of the battle of Kahlenberg, four emblematic compositions thematise the victory of Austria over the Ottoman Empire. One of the two panels on the right side shows a ship drifting in the rough seas towards a lighthouse, with the motto 'Intentant omnia mortem' (Swift death for the mortal men, Virgil, *Aeneid* 1, 91). On the other picture, with the motto 'Haec lumen ademit' (This takes the light away from it), the "Habsburg eagle" holds a shield marked by the letter 'L' (i.e. Leopold), casting a shadow on the moon. In the foreground two men in royal ornate dress, the personifications of Austria and the Holy Roman Empire, watch the sky through a telescope, while on the other side a group of frightened Ottoman soldiers gaze at the celestial phenomenon. On the opposite side, the upper panel depicts the victorious Habsburg lion, crowned with the Rudolph crown, leaning over its defeated enemies, a panther, a wolf, and a dragon ('Sic rex leo victor in hostes', And so the Lion king defeats its enemies). The lower panel shows the chariot of Apollo augmented by the Austrian coat of arms flying through the skies. Sunflowers and opened sea clams with the coats of arms of the provinces of the Habsburg Empire are following its path, while the motto ('Aut sponte aut iussa sequuntur', They are following either voluntarily or constrained) clarifies the absolutistic idea of the composition.

In the four corners, oval compositions complete the programme of the ceiling. In the upper right corner, the antique god of marriage, Hymen stands between a cypress and a pomegranate tree, which are joined through the Rudolph crown. Above Hymen the coats of arms of Leopold's three wives are shown with the motto 'Austriaco vos sidera caelo' (Their stars in the Austrian sky). The next picture shows the inner court of the Vienna *Hofburg*, with two columns symbolising two sons of Leopold. The motto 'Multiplici staterma domus munimine prolis' (The House [of Habsburg] stands on the ground of its diverse descendants) emphasises the importance of sustaining the dynasty, similarly to the previous composition. On the opposite side, the picture with the motto 'Austriaci stat globus imperii stat fonte perenni' (Austrian authority rests upon an inexhaustible spring) shows Ganymede riding Juppiter in the form of an eagle as a fountain, symbolising the everlasting power of the Habsburg dynasty through Leopold.[69] The last composition is possibly an allusion to the

68 *Aquilae Virtutum Leopoldinarum* Emblem 15, "Quod nimium, abjicio". Cf. Maichel, *Cenographium Piis Manibus Ferdinandi III* Emblem 5, "Servat historiae".

69 In *Aquilae Virtutum Leopoldinarum* the figure of Ganymede refers to the religiousness of Leopold, Emblem 13, "Sacris assistere gaudet".

Magnate conspiracy of 1664 against Leopold, led by the Hungarian Francis Wesselényi. The picture shows Orpheus playing his cithara in a forest, where heavenly hands point to the personification of hypocrisy, hiding in between the trees ('Fraudum pandit fiducia scenam', Trust opens up the scene of intrigues).[70] Besides the actual political allusions, the main *concetto* of the Graz cycle is the Apotheosis of the House of Habsburg through the glorious deeds of Leopold. The extensive use of the emblematic tradition in the nave of the Katharinenkirche marks it as one of the most important monumental manifestations of Habsburg emblematics; however, these frescoes are the last instances of the series of hieroglyphic eagles defining imperial emblematics during the seventeenth century.

Conclusion

One of the most important examples of hieroglyphic imperial eagles is the frontispiece of Athanasius Kircher's *Ars magnetica* (1643), dedicated to Ferdinand III [Fig. 11.10].[71] Here, the magnetic "Habsburg eagle" is crowned by the Rudolph crown and holds three lesser crowns and three sceptres in its claws, all linked magnetically one to the other. The inscription around the eagle's feet, 'Et Boreae et Austri-acus', is a play on words linking the compass needle (The needle of both North and South) to the house of Habsburg. As Paula Findlen remarks,

> of all the early modern natural philosophers, Kircher exhibited the most skill at transforming his works into political hieroglyphs. [...] Kircher prominently displayed the double-headed eagle on many of his frontispieces, reminding readers of the status of his patrons. [...] While other collectors included portraits of princes in the museum, Kircher made the crest of his most important patron a leitmotif of the display.[72]

70 On the fresco cycle of the Katharinenkirche, see Schreiner G.F. – Muchar A. – Unger F., *Grätz. Ein naturhistorisch-statistisch-topographisches Gemählde dieser Stadt und ihrer Umgebungen* (Vienna: 1843) 177–180, and Lesky G., *Barocke Embleme in Vorau und anderen Siften Österreichs. Ein Vademecum für den Kunstwanderer* (Graz: 1962) 54.

71 Kircher Athanasius, *Magnes sive de arte magnetica opus tripartitum* (Cologne, Jodocus Kalkhoven: 1643).

72 Findlen P., *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: 1994) 379.

FIGURE 11.10 *Athanasius Kircher*, Magnes sive de arte magnetica opus tripartitum (*Cologne, Jodocus Kalkhoven: 1643*), *frontispiece.*

Kircher's use of the "Habsburg eagle" is closely related to that of Lackner, who utilised the image of the eagle in Sopron as a diplomatic tool to emphasise Sopron's loyalty to the Habsburg crown. The mayor, however, always emphasised Hungarian patriotism and dedicated his emblematic works not to Habsburg, but Hungarian political and ecclesiastical leaders. The political hieroglyphs of Lackner painted on the gates of Sopron, while the cause of controversies amongst the local noblemen, successfully protected the religious and political freedom of the town during the reign of Ferdinand II.

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CHAPTER 12

The Secretion of a Pearl as a Symbol for the Birth of a Prince

Aline Smeesters

This article will focus on an emblem conceived by the French Jesuit François Mangot on the occasion of the birth of Louis of France, the first son of Louis XIV. The young prince was born on the first of November 1661 at the castle of Fontainebleau, quite soon after the marriage of his parents (Louis XIV and Maria Theresa of Spain, married in June 1660). Just as for the birth of Louis XIV himself 23 years earlier (1638), the French Jesuits produced a large amount of genethliac literature to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin. Among many other authors, François Mangot SJ, as a professor of rhetoric at the Jesuit college of Toulouse,[1] published a booklet of twelve emblems, entitled: *Delphini Galliarum Serenissimi ortus, XII inscriptionibus, totidemque emblematis atque elogiis celebratus* (*The birth of the most serene Dauphin of France, celebrated by twelve inscriptions, emblems and praises*).[2] The twelve emblems are related to twelve qualifications of the 'partus' (a word referring both to the childbirth and to the offspring itself): the 'partus' is said to be 'laetificus', 'pacificus', 'dives', 'purus' and so on. Each qualification is illustrated by a symbolic motif. The motifs are mainly taken from the natural world: We find celestial phenomena (sunrise (twice), rainbow, parhelion,[3] Delphinus' constellation), plants, real or

1 The two professors of rhetoric of the college of Toulouse for the year 1661–1662 were P. Petrus Rodelle and P. François Mangot (ARSI, TOLOS 6 (Catal. breves 1651–1680), fols 131v–132v). Through the *litterae annuae,* we have a quite detailed description of the rejoicings staged at the college for the birth of Louis of France (ARSI, TOLOS 18 (Hist. 1640–1762), fol. 129v: *Collegium Tolosanum*): The school organized an emblematic *affixio* on the topic "Delphinus publica Felicitas"; in the middle of the schoolyard, an ephemeral temple was erected to the goddess Felicitas, with on top, a representation of the goddess bearing the Child in her arms. Moreover, the two professors of rhetoric each published a *poeticum opus.* Last but not least, on the occasion of the visit of Armand Bourbon de Conty and his wife, a play was staged, with as its argument the question of whether the education of the Dauphin should better be entrusted to Mars (i.e. the War) or to Pax (i.e. the Peace).

2 Mangot Franciscus S.J., *Delphini Galliarum Serenissimi ortus, XII inscriptionibus, totidemque emblematis atque elogiis celebratus* (Toulouse, Jean Boude: 1662).

3 A refraction of the sun's image in the sky.

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mythological (rose, lily, *ramus aureus*), animals, real or mythological (oyster, phoenix), as well as one hero (Hercules) and one geometrical motif (a circle's centre and *radii*). I will concentrate here upon the oyster-and-pearl emblem (no. XI),[4] whose motto is: "Delphini partus caelestis". As we will see, the emblem relies on two postulates from the natural sciences: The fact that pearls are generated by dew, and the fact that this dew falls from the stars. But neither of these postulates corresponds to the state of natural sciences at the time of the poet.

Mangot's Pearl Emblem: A First Reading

Illustrating the topic "Delphini partus caelestis", the image of emblem XI has the inscription "Unio e concha" ("A pearl from an oyster shell"). The engraving shows a shell on a shore, next to a reed; the shell is partially open, and a pearl is visible inside; drops are falling from the sky and entering the shell. Under the engraving is the subscription: "Caelitus in terris nascor" ("I was born on earth coming from heaven") [Fig. 12.1].

The rather lengthy epigram (35 hexameters)[5] first suggests that some terrestrial things are actually celestial both in origin ('ortus ducunt, exordia debent') and in 'material composition' (the elementa) (lines 1–3). The poet gives as example the 'birth' of the oyster pearl (line 4: 'ortus gemmae'), which takes place in seaweed but is actually due to the stars, forming the pearl with dew (line 6: 'formant sidera rore'). Mangot then comes to the French Dauphin. He is in the same position of being born on earth ('terrae', lines 7 and 11) but of having a celestial origin ('caelum', 'sidera', 'caelitus' in lines 9 and 11)—line 11 quotes the emblem's subscription. In the following lines, the poet develops the various ways in which the Dauphin can be considered to be of celestial origin: The marriage of his parents was celestial, since it happened under the auspices of God (lines 11–16); the parents themselves are celestial by reason of their virtue, and have certainly transmitted their 'dotes' and 'mores' to the child (lines 17–25);[6] and lastly, the birth is a heavenly gift in response to the many prayers and vows formulated to this end by the royal family, but also by the whole of Europe (lines 26–28). Only the last of these three explanations matches the pearl symbolism; it is followed by a repetition of the story of the generation of the pearls (lines 29–31), and by its application to the Dauphin.

4 Mangot, *Delphini Galliarum Serenissimi ortus* pp. 21–22.

5 An edition of the full Latin text is given in the appendix.

6 A marginal note recalls that Louis XIV was 'Adeodatus'.

FIGURE 12.1 *Franciscus Mangot S.J.,* Delphini Galliarum Serenissimi ortus, XII inscriptionibus, totidemque emblematis atque elogiis celebratus (*Toulouse, Jean Boude: 1662*) *21.*

Lines 32–35 cleverly mix the two levels of comparison: Some syntagmas refer to the compared realities (the pious words uttered by the French people lines 32–33, the 'gremium' of Theresa line 34), some to the comparing motifs ('the dripping stars' line 35), and some mix both (the Dauphin as 'gem of the House of Bourbon' ('o Borbonidum gemma'),[7] line 32; and the 'seaweed of wealthy Europe' ('Europae ad divitis algam'), line 34). We may reconstruct the allegorical correlations in this way (only point 3 of the table is somewhat hypothetical):

7 For the use of 'gemma' cf. line 4.

Pearl	Dauphin
Shell	Theresa
Movement towards heavens[8]	Prayers of the people
Shore with seaweeds	Europe
Stars dripping with dew	Heavenly intervention in the birth

Pearls Generated by Dew

The most popular version in the classical tradition regarding the origin of pearls[9] seems indeed to have been that of the dew. It is fully told by Pliny, whose narrative is paraphrased by Ammianus Marcellinus[10] and Solinus,[11] and then adopted by the medieval western tradition. Following Pliny, pearls are a kind of *partus* (offspring) of oysters. At certain periods of the year, the oysters come to the surface of the sea and open their valves to be fertilized by the dew. The quality of the pearls depends on the quality of the dew and of the sky—clear or cloudy, in the morning or in the evening:

> Has [=conchas] ubi genitalis anni stimularit hora, pandentes se quadam oscitatione impleri roscido conceptu tradunt, gravidas postea eniti, partumque concharum esse margaritas, pro qualitate roris accepti: si purus influxerit, candorem conspici, si vero turbidus, et fetum sordescere. Eundem pallere caelo minante: conceptum ex eo quippe constare, caelique eis maiorem societatem esse quam maris, inde nubilum trahi colorem aut pro claritate matutina serenum.[12]

> These [shells], we are told, when stimulated by the generative season of the year gape open as it were and are filled with dewy pregnancy, and subsequently when heavy are delivered, and the offspring of the shells

8 Cf. line 30: 'dum [concha] pandit ad aethera pectus'.

9 A useful survey of the various traditions is provided by Donkin R.A., *Beyond Price. Pearls and Pearl-Fishing. Origins to the Age of Discoveries* (Philadelphia: 1998), chapter 1: "Folklore and Observations to the Advent of Scientific Enquiry".

10 Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII, 85–86.

11 Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* 53.

12 Pliny, *Natural History* IX, 107.

> are pearls that correspond to the quality of the dew received: if it was a pure inflow, their brilliance is conspicuous but if it was turbid, the product also becomes dirty in colour. Also if the sky is lowering (they say) the pearl is pale in colour: for it is certain that it was conceived from the sky, and that pearls have more connexion with the sky than with the sea, and derive from it a cloudy hue, or a clear one corresponding with a brilliant morning.[13]

Pearls are further believed to be sensitive to storms, lightning and thunder—they are afraid of it and may even have a miscarriage (*Naturalis Historia* IX, 108). Pliny also says that pearls are sensitive to sunrays, which make them redden and lose their whiteness (*Naturalis Historia* IX, 109). As we can see, 'considerable significance was attached to the effects, favourable or otherwise, of contrasting atmospheric conditions'.[14] So in general, as Pliny says, pearls were believed to have 'more connexion with the sky than with the sea'.

This set of ideas is taken up in medieval encyclopaedias and lapidaries: Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* XVI, 10), Marbod of Rennes (*De lapidibus* lines 632–636 and 642–645), Thomas of Cantimpré (*Liber de natura rerum* VII, 51), Bartholomaeus Anglicus (*Livre de propriétés des choses* XVI, 63).It remained the dominant theory in Europe until about the middle of the sixteenth century,[15] and survived to at least the 1680s.[16]

Other Explanations

Other models of explanation were given in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and Early Modern times. An alternative ancient theory was that oysters conceive pearls through the action of lightning, or in greater quantity when thunderstorms are frequent.[17] The main sources in Antiquity are Aelian[18] and Isidorus of Charax quoted by Athenaeus.[19] This tradition lived on mainly in Christian patristic literature: The union of fire and water, and procreation through

13 Transl. by H. Rackham, 1947, 235.

14 Donkin, *Beyond Price* 4.

15 Donkin, *Beyond Price* 7.

16 Donkin, *Beyond Price* 8.

17 On this model, see Ohly F., "Die Geburt der Perle aus dem Blitz", in idem, *Schriften zur Mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung* (Darmstadt: 1977) 293–311.

18 Aelian, *On the characteristics of animals* X, 13.

19 Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* III, 93.

celestial lightning, were popular symbols of Christ's incarnation.[20] Less popular theories considered pearls as bones,[21] as little stones that had fallen inside the shell,[22] as eggs,[23] as verrucae.[24]

But the interpretation most in favour among early modern naturalists is that of pearls as internal concretions, or 'animal stones'. Pearls were then compared to tubercles in the flesh of swine (in Latin *grando* (in the first sense: hail, hailstone)) or to kidney stones (renal calculi). The main ancient source here is Androsthenes as quoted by Athenaeus.[25] Other ancient sources in a similar vein are phrases in Pliny[26] and Aelian.[27] Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* XVI, 10) tells of a 'stone born in the flesh of the shellfish, like a tubercle in the brain of a fish' ('inest enim in carne cochleae calculus natus, sicut in cerebro piscis lapillus')—but he immediately goes on: 'it is generated by the heavenly dew, which the shellfish absorbs at a certain period of the year' ('gignitur autem de caelesti rore, quem certo anni tempore cochleae hauriunt'). Most early modern naturalists, in particular the French Guillaume Rondelet (1507–1566),[28] favoured

20 The French Jesuit Théophile Raynaud gives an anthology of such passages (Raynaud Théophil s.J., *Nomenclator Marianus* (Lyons, heirs of Georges Boissat – L. Anisson: 1639) 11–12; idem, *Opera omnia. Tomus primus: Christus Deus Homo* (Lyons, Horace Boissat – Georges Remée: 1665) 359–360.

21 Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists,* III, 93 (referring the words of Chares of Mitylene).

22 John Tzetzes, *Historiarum variarum chiliades* XI, 480–488.

23 The comparison between pearls and eggs seems to appear only in the sixteenth century (Donkin, *Beyond Price* 13) and to have enjoyed some favour in the seventeenth (Donkin, *Beyond Price* 14).

24 Tertullian, *De cultu feminarum* I, 6. This explanation can be assimilated to the following one.

25 Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* III, 93 (transl. by C.B. Gulick, 1961, 401): 'Androsthenes, also, in the *Voyage round India,* writes as follows: "[…] The jewel occurs in the flesh of the mollusc, like the tubercle in swine"'.

26 Pliny, *Natural History,* 9, 115: 'Juba tradit Arabicis concham esse similem pectini insecto, hirsutam echinorum modo, ipsum unionem in carne grandini similem' (transl. by H. Rackham, 1947, 240): 'Juba also records that the Arabs have a shell resembling a toothed comb, that bristles like a hedgehog, and has an actual pearl, resembling a hailstone, in the fleshy part').

27 Aelian, *On the characteristics of animals,* X, 13 (transl. by A.F. Scholfield, 1959, 301): 'The pearl, it seems, is like a stone produced by petrifaction'.

28 Rondelet Guillaume, *Universae aquatilium historiae pars altera, cum veris ipsorum imaginibus* (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme: 1555), liber I "De testaceis", caput XXXV "De concha matre unionum", p. 33–34) and LI "De margaritis", p. 55–61). A slightly shorter version of the text is taken up in Gesner Conrad, *Historiae animalium liber IV qui est de piscium et aquatilium animantium natura* […] *Continentur in hoc volumine Gulielmi Rondeletii quoque,*

this interpretation of the internal concretion, as appears from the two following passages:

> Eadem ratione arbitror unionem in conchis concrescere, qua grandinem in porcis, calculum in renibus vel vesica.[29]

> I think that the pearl grows in the oyster in the same way as the tubercle in the swine, or the stone in the kidneys or the bladder.

> Androstheni assentior [...] Grandinem autem in porcis intelligere oportet, grana compacta et satis dura, per carnem sparsa, ex crassa et viscida pituita concreta atque exsiccata [...] Quemadmodum igitur in porcis grando, ita in conchis quibusdam uniones efficiuntur ex humore crasso et viscoso, puro tamen nec luto aut sordibus externis infecto, qui vel alimenti convenientis redundantia est, vel excrementorum.[30]

> I agree with Androsthenes. [...] The tubercles in the swine must be understood as dense and quite hard grains, scattered through the flesh, coming from a thick and sticky humour which has solidified and dried. [...] In the same way as the tubercles in the swine, pearls are created in some shells from a thick and sticky humour, which is however pure and not soiled by mud or external dirt, and which is an overflow either of convenient food, or of excrement.

Rondelet is often quoted as a reference in this matter, and his opinion was widely shared by early modern naturalists.[31] However, all of them did not agree on the question of the origin of the liquid (the *humor*) whose concretion was supposed to form the pearls. As we have just seen, Rondelet thought it to be an

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medicinae professoris regii in schola Monspeliensi, et Petri Bellonii [...] *de Aquatilium singulis scripta* (Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1558) 319 and 620–623.

29 Rondelet, *Universae aquatilium historiae* 34.

30 Rondelet, *Universae aquatilium historiae* 56–57.

31 For example in the *Dispensatorium medicum* by Joannes Renodaeus (Frankfurt, Paulus Jacobi: 1615), whose chapter about pearls (= "De materia medica", III, 23) ends with the indication: 'doctam apud Rondeletium lectionem habes' (326). Aldrovandi, *De reliquis animalibus exanguibus libri quatuor, post mortem eius editi, nempe de mollibus, crustaceis, testaceis et zoophytis* (Bologna, Giovanni Battista Ferroni: 1642) 422) summarizes: 'alii [existimarunt] concharum grandinem, quorum opinio multis et Rondeletio admodum adridet' ('others think it to be a tubercle of the shell: this explanation pleases many authors, and in particular Rondelet').

excess of food or of excrement. Cardano in his *De varietate rerum* (1559) talks about a 'liquid expressed from the shell' ('liquor expressus e testa').[32] Gabriele Fallopio (*De medicatis aquis atque de fossilibus,* 1569) thinks of a 'a pure sap that the oysters extract from the stones on which they are fixed' ('succus quidam purus, quem ostreae attrahunt ex lapidibus quibus haerent').[33]

In addition, Rondelet insists on the fact that the pearl cannot be a 'partus' of the oyster—that it is not 'procreated' *stricto sensu*—for a series of scientific reasons: The shells in general are not procreated by others and do not procreate something else; the same offspring cannot be generated by various species of shells (as it is the case for pearls); and if it was a true procreation, then it would be regular and seasonal (p. 56). Anselmus de Boodt (*Gemmarum et lapidum historia,* 1609)[34] makes the same point, but with different arguments; if pearls were the 'partus' of oysters, then all the 'genus' of the shells would procreate in the same way, which is not true; moreover, pearls have neither the oblong shape we would expect from a future oyster shell, nor the softness and flexibility which would enable them to take any figure and extension, and hence fit 'ad fabricam animalis' (p. 84).

The idea that this concretion happened as a defence mechanism against an irritant inside the shell (which corresponds to our present-day explanation) only appeared later, at the beginning of the 18th century, with the paper published by René-Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences* (Paris: 1717).[35]

Symbolic Uses and Scientific Truth

Emblematists and other authors using symbolic material were conscious that the progress of knowledge in the natural sciences affected the value of their stock of natural symbols. I will give here two examples of authors acknowledging the clash, but deciding to use the traditional motif all the same.

Joachim Camerarius, in his *Symbola et emblemata ex aquatilibus et reptilibus desumpta* (= *Centuria quarta*, first published posthumously in 1604), devotes chapter 59 to the oyster pearl. After summarizing Pliny's version, he goes on:

32 Cardano Girolamo, *De rerum varietate* VII, 37, in *Operum tomus tertius, quo continentur Physica* (Lyons, Huguetan-Ravaud: 1663) 126.

33 Falloppio Gabriele, *De medicatis aquis atque de fossilibus* (Venice, Avanti: 1569), fol. 98v.

34 Boodt Anselmus Boetius de, *Gemmarum et lapidum historia* (Hanau, Christian Wechel: 1609).

35 Donkin, *Beyond Price* 15–16.

'But Hieronymus Cardanus considers this as a ridiculous fable'.[36] Camerarius however considers it right and pious to accommodate the old Plinian story to a moral and religious message ('Nos utut ea sint, recte tamen et pie, opinor, ad hoc accomodabimus …'). He proposes the following equivalences, on which his own emblem n°59 is built:

Small and not yet beautiful pearls	Our weakness and lack of intelligence
The Sun	Jesus Christ (eternal Sun, Sun of Justice)
A serene sky	God propitious and favourable towards us
The dew	The Holy Spirit
Brightly shining pearls	The infused gifts: piety, faith, religion

The French Jesuit Théophile Raynaud also tackles the question of the origin of pearls, in his exploration of the symbols related to Christ (often compared to a pearl by the Church Fathers). He acknowledges three main theories: the procreation of pearls (1) through lightning and water, (2) through the dew falling from heaven, and (3) from the very substance of the oyster shell, without any male intervention.[37] Raynaud is even more concerned with the changes in the natural sciences, as he is talking about questions of dogma and about the authority of the Church Fathers.[38] He accepts the fact that the Fathers of the Church have sometimes used 'false' stories to symbolize Christian truths, and he considers that they do so 'citra culpam':

> Quamvis autem proposita margaritae generatio minus vera habeatur, tamen Patres, quod circa alia pleraque mysteria faciunt, ex ea, quae sive vere sive falso circumfertur, margaritarum procreatione, excepto intra concham caelesti rore, declarant Christi domini productionem ex Virgine. Sic ex Phoenice, cuius narrationibus fabulae sunt attextae,

36 Camerarius Joachim, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex aquatilibus et reptilibus desumptorum Centuria quarta* […] (s.l.: 1604) 59v: 'Sed hoc ut fabulosum Hieronymus Cardanus deridet'.

37 Raynaudus, *Opera omnia. Tomus primus* 359: 'una [sententia] ex fulgetra et aqua gigni ait margaritam; altera ad rorem caelitus immissum procreationem eius refert; tertia ex substantia conchaelii margaritiferi absque mare procreari statuit margaritam'.

38 Cf. Ohly F., "Tau und Perle. Ein Vortrag", in idem, *Schriften zur Mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung* (Darmstadt: 1977) 274–292, esp. 278.

> exponunt et confirmant resurrectionem. Sic [...] de Pelicano [...] Quare citra culpam, hoc quoque loco, productionem nitentissimam Christi Domini per vulgatissimam margaritae intra ostreum ex caelesti rore procreationem declarant.[39]
>
> Even if the proposed model for the generation of pearls [= the dew theory] is considered less true, the Fathers do however (in the same way as for many other mysteries) explain the production of Christ the Lord from the Virgin by using the story of the procreation of pearls through the reception of celestial dew inside the shell—a story that circulates, be it true or false. In the same way, they explain and confirm the resurrection by talking about the Phoenix, even if the accounts about this bird are intertwined with fables. And equally with the Pelican [...]. Therefore, they are not either guilty to explain the very bright production of Christ the Lord by using the very widespread story of the procreation of a pearl inside an oyster through celestial dew.

But Raynaud takes the time to explain how the 'true' natural explanation of pearls' origin is all the same adapted to symbolize the conception of Christ—and thus, how the religious symbol remains valid even in the latest state of the natural sciences:

> Supposita autem hac vera et germana margaritarum procreatione ex sola conchilii cui innascitur substantia, manifestus est effectionis Christi ex sola Deiparae substantia consensus cum margaritae effectione: quem praesertim spectarunt quotquot anteriores, dicendi modos revera falsos sectati, inde Christum cum margarita contulerunt, quod intra concham margaritiferam absque semine extrinsecus invecto conceptus sit.[40]
>
> But if we adopt the true and authentic theory of the procreation of pearls from the only substance of the shell inside which they are born, the agreement of this story with the creation of Christ from the only substance of Mary is obvious: and it is mainly this point that the previous authors had in view, when, adopting manners of speaking which were actually false, they compared Christ with a pearl for the very reason that pearls are conceived inside the oyster shell without any seed brought from outside.

39 Raynaudus, *Opera omnia.* Tomus primus 361.

40 Raynaudus, *Opera omnia.* Tomus primus 361.

We may note, however, that Raynaud transforms the 'scientific explanation' to retain the notion of procreation (explicitly rejected by Rondelet), because it suits best the idea of 'parthenogenesis' he wants to defend about the Virgin Mary.

Mangot, on the other hand, was probably not at all interested in the 'scientific' rightness of his emblem. He plays the witty game which consisted in finding, in the whole range of motifs, anecdotes, stories coming from the classical tradition, history, the natural world or daily life, the best candidate to be the 'emblem' of the proposed idea—a visual motif able both to veil it and to unveil it. The chosen motif had to be well suited, witty, embedded in the general knowledge or in the literary erudition of the reader—but it did not have to be true. Other emblems from the series include the myth of Hercules, the Phoenix, and so on.However, there is one major element in Mangot's emblem which pertains neither to the traditional Plinian theory, nor to the early modern 'scientific' one, and that is: the stars.

Dew Falling from the Stars

If we remain in the field of the natural sciences, the connection with the stars can occur at two places: Either dew is always considered as emanating from the stars, or there is a specific kind of dew responsible for pearl-generation which falls from the stars.

What was the traditional explanation of the origin of dew? Plutarch gives two of them, both in association with the moon: Either the moon liquefies the air (*Moralia, Table talk,* 659B and *The face on the moon,* 940A), or it attracts the humidity of the earth, but not powerfully enough to absorb it, so that the vapour condenses again and falls back to earth in the guise of dew (*Moralia, Quaestiones Naturales,* 918A). A version of the second explanation was still to be found in early modern natural philosophy textbooks.[41] Following this explanation, dew was related to the sublunary atmosphere; it was not considered to originate from the higher celestial bodies, nor even to be impregnated by their

41 For instance: Eustachius a Sancto Paulo, *Tertia pars summae philosophicae, quae est Physica* (Paris, Chastellain: 1609) 238: 'fit enim ros cum vapor modicus noctu paululum a terra evehitur, cumque non possit defectu caloris altius elevari, in minutissimas guttulas resolvitur'; Du Pleix Scipion, *La Physique ou Science des choses naturelles* (Lyons, Rigaud: 1620) 321: 'en laquelle [région de l'air] s'engendrent la rosée et la gelée de peu de vapeurs attirées par les corps célestes pendant une nuit: lesquelles à faute de chaleur ne pouvant s'élever guère haut, viennent à se résoudre en petites gouttelettes d'eau'.

virtues, as clearly appears, for example, in the introductory lines of the chapter on dew in the *Essay des merveilles de Nature* by Etienne Binet. So as to be able to offer more praise of the beauties of dew at a later stage, Father Binet starts by emphasizing its insignificance at the strict level of the natural sciences, following which dew is no more than:

> une méchante petite fumée, et bien souvent puante, enlevée de quelque mare pourrie, portée au second étage de l'air [...], si toutefois elle y arrive, où étant elle se morfond aussitôt, et se ramassant dans soi-même, de là à peu s'épaissit, et se change en petites larmes ...[42]
>
> a nasty little vapour, often smelly, emanating from some rotten pond, brought to the second level of the air [...]—if it even gets there—, where it suddenly gets colder, condenses, becomes thicker and turns into little tears ...

Would the dew involved in pearl-generation be of a different kind? It seems that the traditional answer was no. In their respective accounts for the birth of oyster-pearls, Ammianus Marcellinus and Solinus describe the dew as 'lunaris aspergo' ('lunar sprinkling') or 'lunaris imber' ('lunar rain').[43] Following a single ancient source, the shells opened at night.[44] The detail is also in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* XII, 6, 49–50: 'at night they go to the shore and conceive a pearl through the celestial dew'[45]—repeated by Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de Natura rerum* VII, 51: 'they go to the shore at night' ('nocturno tempore littus adeunt'). But the stars as such seem almost never to be mentioned in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and early modern times as related to pearl generation. Aldrovandi[46] produces a synthesis of almost all that has been written about pearls, in natural history, ancient history, poetry, symbolical literature, the Bible, laws, narratives from the discovery of the New World, but he never

42 Binet Etienne (ps. René François), *Essay des merveilles de Nature et des plus nobles artifices*, neuvième édition (Paris, Jaques Dugast: 1632) 600.

43 Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII, 85: 'humores ex lunari aspergine capiunt'; Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* 53: 'cum maxime liquitur lunaris imber, oscitatione quadam hauriunt umorem cupitum'.

44 Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* III, 93 (transl. by C.B. Gulick, 1961, p. 403) [it is not clear whether Atheaneus is still quoting Isidorus of Charax in these lines]: 'In winter the mollusks have a habit of entering recesses at the bottom of the ocean; but in summer they swim about, with shells open at night but closed by day'.

45 'Nocturno tempore litora appetant, et ex caelesti rore margaritum concipiunt'.

46 Aldrovandi, *De reliquis animalibus* 420–445.

mentions the stars as related to the generation of pearls. Even the engraving of Mangot's emblem does not clearly show stars in the sky.

There is however one textual place (?) where the stars are mentioned by name in relation to pearl generation—namely, in some versions of the Greek and Latin *Physiologus*:

> Quomodo autem nascitur margarita pronuntiabo: est lapis in mari qui vocatur sostoros; et venit a mari matutino ante lucanum; et aperit conchas (id est os suum), et degluttit caelestem rorem, et radium solis et lunae et quae sursum sunt siderum; et sic nascitur margarita de superioribus astris.[47]

> I will tell how the pearl is born: there is a stone in the sea which is called *sostoros*; it comes from the sea in the morning before daybreak, and it opens its shell (that is, its mouth) and aborbs the heavenly dew and the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars that are above; and so the pearl is born from the upper celestial bodies.

But Aldrovandi and the early moderns in general seem never to quote the *Physiologus*' version of pearl generation. Even the medieval bestiaries and encyclopaedias did not follow it. To my knowledge, the relevant versions of the *Physiologus* were not available in any edition in the seventeenth century. Mangot may perhaps have had access to a manuscript version of it. He may also have read the chapter *De margaritarum inventione et procreatione* of the *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, which closely follows the version of the *Physiologus*. The *De bestiis* had been integrated into the *opera* of Hugh of Saint Victor, and as such it had several editions in early modern times.[48]

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47 F.J. Carmody (ed.), "Physiologus latinus versio Y", *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 12 (1944) 103–134: 120. For a Greek version, cf. *Physiologos: Le bestiaire des bestiaires*, ed., transl. and comm. by A. Zucker (Grenoble: 2004) 241: 'Il y a dans la mer un coquillage qu'on appelle huître. Ce coquillage sort de la mer aux premières lueurs du jour, et il ouvre alors la bouche. Il absorbe la rosée céleste et reçoit en lui les rayons du soleil, de la lune et des étoiles, et il fabrique la perle <à partir des luminaires d'en haut>'.

48 Cf. Clark W.B., "Four Latin Bestiaries and *De bestiis et aliis rebus*", in Van den Abeele B. (ed.), *Bestiaires médiévaux. Nouvelles perspectives sur les manuscrits et les traditions textuelles* (Turnhout: 2005) 49–69, esp. 49–50. Early modern editions include: Paris, 1526; Venice, 1588; Mainz and Cologne, 1617; Rouen, 1648. I consulted the last one: Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Opera omnia* II (Rouen, Jean Berthelin: 1648) 452 (*De bestiis et aliis rebus* III, 57): 'Quomodo autem nascatur margarita, pronuntiabo. Est lapis vel piscis qui vocatur conchus, et venit ad littus maris per matutinum ante lucanum et aperit os suum, et

It is possible, but not necessary, to suppose such a kind of influence. Mangot might indeed also have come to the stars another way, not linked to the natural sciences, but to poetical tradition.

In poetical texts, dew could indeed be more directly associated with stars. This is notably the case in the *Pervigilium Veneris*, an anonymous poem which attracted much attention from the humanist philologists. Line 20 describes dew as follows: 'Humor ille, quem serenis astra rorant noctibus' ('this liquid, which is spread by the stars on serene nights'). The verse was imitated by Fulgentius, *Mythologiae* I, 11: 'Humor algens, quem serenis / astra sudant noctibus' ('the cold liquid, which is sweated by the stars on serene nights'). In his very detailed commentary to the *Veneris Pervigilium* (1644),[49] Andreas Rivinus notes the imitation by Fulgentius, wherein he underlines the change in the verb: '*sudant* pro *rorant*'; he himself proposes the emendation 'plorant' in Fulgentius' text, on the authority of other classical passages using the metaphor of tears to describe the surging of natural water drops (Lucretius, *De rerum natura* I, 349: 'flere' for water permeating through stones; Columella, *De re rustica* X, 25: 'illacrimare' for a surging spring). But Rivinus does not comment on the stars, and this absence suggests that the poetical idea of 'dew falling from the stars' did not appear to be anything special at the time. We also read of 'roscida astra' ('stars wet with dew') in Statius, *Thebais* VI, 238. Furthermore, the very expression 'rorantia astra' is found in Vergil (*Aeneis* III, 567), but in another sense: In the vicinity of Charybdis, huge waves cause the stars to drip.

So the poetical tradition allowed Mangot to make a link between pearls and the higher spheres of the sky. And this link was essential to his purpose. The theme he had chosen to illustrate was that of a 'partus caelestis', of a child given by God. The stars, not the moon, were the poetic symbol of the Christian heavens. Moreover, when Mangot talks about the 'cognata sidera' (line 9), the stars from the same family as the child, he is probably thinking of the members of the royal family who had already gone to heaven—and in particular of Saint Louis, a 'star' in the 'heavenly court'. At least, this kind of consideration is frequent in the Jesuit 1661 genethliac production, because of the fact that the child was born on a first of November, on All Saints' Day. The syntagm 'cognata sidera' is borrowed from Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV, 839, where Jupiter predicts that Augustus will have a glorious life and will, after his death, go to heaven and

deglutit rorem caelestem et radium solis et quae sursum sunt, siderum: sicque nascitur margarita de superioribus astris'.

49 Consulted in the edition: *Pervigilium Veneris, ex editione Petri Pithoei* [...] *accessit ad haec Andreae Rivini commentarius* (The Hague, Hendrik Scheurleer: 1712).

join 'his related stars' (including the 'star' of Caesar whose apotheosis is related by the poet a few lines below).

Conclusion

In his evocation of the pearl's birth, Mangot is not concerned with the 'scientific' rightness of the data from which he draws symbolic meanings. He does not follow at all the opinion of the early modern naturalists. He does not even follow the traditional view derived from Pliny, prevailing through the middle ages and still commonly referred to at the time: A view which postulated a strong relation between pearls and the sublunary atmosphere with its climatic phaenomena, in particular the dew formed under the effect of the moon.

By giving a key role to the stars, Mangot does not hesitate to change the 'natural science' data in order to increase their symbolic power. His modifications however are authorized by poetic tradition and embedded in literary erudition. The version he proposes of the generation of pearls is designed to suit his own goal: to link the child with the heavens and present it as a gift from God—a gift obtained thanks to the numerous prayers uttered among others by the Jesuit *patres* themselves,[50] as true and devoted servants of the French Crown.

Appendix: Edition of the Latin Poem[51]

Res ortus non usque suos elementaque ducunt
Hinc ubi nascuntur, sed nobiliore volatu
Altius assurgunt caeloque exordia debent.
Ortus hic est gemmae, reflui quae littore ponti,
Natales quamquam vilem sortitur ad algam,[52]
Non tamen hanc alga, sed formant sidera rore.
Haud aliter, Delphine, oreris: tu numine terras
Augusto dignere licet, tamen arduus infers[53]

50 One might wonder if the 'patres' in line 32 refer to the Jesuits themselves.

51 Spelling and punctuation have been modernized.

52 The expression 'vilior alga' is from Virgil (*Bucolica* 7, 42) and Horace (*Sermones* II, 5, 8).

53 The expression 'sese arduus infert' occurs twice in Virgil (*Bucolica* 9, 53 and *Georgica* II, 145).

Caelo colla puer, cognataque sidera[54] monstras,
Ut celebrare tuos possis hoc lemmate partus:
'Caelitus in terris nascor'. Quis namque verendo
Abnuat astra tuos thalamo sociasse parentes,
Si memor est horum taedas arsisse jugales
Dum Bellona suis consumeret omnia flammis,
Et cecinisse choros 'o Hymen, Hymenaee'[55] frequentes
Cum fremerent caeco gens Franca et Ibera tumultu?
Et dubitare nefas haesisse medullitus omnes
Magnorum dotesque tibi moresque parentum,
Quos caelo genitos moles terrena fatigat Delphini parens Adeodatus
Nulla, sed affinis sustollit ad aethera virtus;[56]
Quaeque resederunt, o formosissime rerum,
Semina virtutum[57] puerilibus insita fibris,
Ora per et nitidos vultus erumpere pergunt;
At spirant mortale nihil, teque omine certo
De magnis eadem signant heroibus unum.
Te quoque roratum caelo flagrantia late
Vota probant avidaeque preces, quibus exoravit
Quam cito uterque parens et tota Europa Tonantem!
Nam veluti concham geniali rore subactam,
Argento rutilum dum pandit ad aethera pectus,
Sidereus fecundat amor stellante monili,
Sic, o Borbonidum gemmam, populusque patresque
Dum properant ambire pio te munere vocis,
Theresiae in gremio, Europaeque ad divitis algam,
Formavere tuos rorantia sidera[58] partus.

English translation

Things have not always sprung, and do not always draw their elements,
From the place where they are born; but in a nobler flight,
They rise higher and owe their beginnings to the heavens.

54 'Cognata sidera': cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XV, 839.

55 Clear allusion to Catullus 61.

56 Virgil, *Bucolica*, 6, 130: '[…] aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus'.

57 The concept of *semina virtutum* appears notably in Cicero, *De finibus* V, 7, 8 and *Tusculanae disputationes* III, 1, 2.

58 Cf. Virgil, *Aeneis* III, 567: 'rorantia astra'.

This is the kind of birth experienced by the gem that, while
Born at the shore of the ebbing sea, amidst worthless seaweed,
Has nothing in common with seaweed: the Stars shape it with Dew.
This is also the way you were born, little Dauphin: even if you consider Earth
Worthy of your venerable majesty, you however proudly raise
Your neck into the sky and you show that the stars are related to you,
So that this motto is well adapted to your birth:
'I was born on earth coming from heaven'. Who indeed would refuse to admit
That the Stars have joined your parents in wedlock,
If one remembers that their wedding torches have burnt
At the time when Bellona was consuming everything with her flames,
And that numerous choirs have sung 'O Hymen Hymenaeus'
At the moment when the French and the Spanish people roared in a dark chaos?
Moreover, it would be sacrilege to doubt that you have received,
Fixed in your very substance, all the gifts and habits of your great parents,
They who were born of heaven[59] and are not slowed down
By any terrestrial mass, but uplifted to the ether by their ally, Virtue;
And the seeds of virtue, O most beautiful creature,
That have been sowed in your childish fibres,
Go on surging in your face and your bright features;
They do not show anything mortal, and reveal with sure omen
That you are one out of those great Heroes.
Another proof that you have been sprinkled by heavenly dew,
Are the widely ardent wishes and eager prayers through which
Both your parents and all Europe so quickly convinced the Thunderer!
Just as the shell submitted to the fertilizing dew,
When it opens its breast shining with silver towards heaven,
Is fecundated by astral love with its starry garland,
In the same way, O dear gem of the House of Bourbon,
When the people and the fathers were insistently soliciting you with pious prayers,
In the womb of Maria Theresa[60] and amidst the seaweed of wealthy Europe,
Your generation was due to the dripping stars.

59 Marginal note: The father of the Dauphin was God-given.

60 Another possible interpretation of lines 32–34 would be: 'while people and fathers hurry to visit you and give you a pious verbal homage, you who are still in Theresa's bosom'—but it would fit less well with the pearl's allegorical counterpart.

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CHAPTER 13

The Taming of the Lion: Passions, Power and Religion in Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicae Quaestiones* (Bologna, 1555)

Anne Rolet

In Achille Bocchi's book of emblems, the *Symbolic Questions*, published in 1555 in Bologna with engravings by Giulio Bonasone, the lion plays a prominent part. Be that as it may, far from shedding light on the natural observable qualities of the king of animals, the emblems choose to trap the terrifying beast in a very tight web of metaphorical hints, references to ancient literary or pictorial sources and allegorical commonplaces. The boundaries between nature and culture seem to have been blurred for the benefit of the latter.

As expected while leafing through the book, the familiar technique of allegoresis is widespread: for example the Nemean lion overpowered by Hercules (*Symb*. 107) has to be read as a metaphor of virtue dominating the wrath that leads to disparagement, in accordance with the teaching of the Stoics. In the picture [Fig. 13.1], the monster's mouth is torn apart up to the throat and both its jaws are dislocated by the strong hands of the Greek hero, whose club is lying on the ground. The action takes place in an unsettling, exclusively mineral landscape. In other emblems, the presence of the lion in cities' coats of arms is instrumental to the spreading of a static image of the animal petrified in heraldic attitude, as we can notice in the Bologna's blazon in *Symb*. 115 [Fig. 13.2] or with the legendary lion of Venice in *Symb*. 135 [Fig. 13.3].

However, Bocchi sometimes strays from the beaten track and regularly finds scope for a real touch of originality. This paper is an attempt to show how the lion's figure is often embedded in a complex and symbolic architectural programme that confers multifarious meanings to it. I will also try to determine which philosophical and religious beliefs could possibly underpin such aesthetic choices.

Not only is architecture a very important pattern that provides a sizeable allegorical material for Bocchi's emblems, but it is also a metaphor of the book as a whole and has to be linked to the edification of Bocchi's palazzo in

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FIGURE 13.1 *Giulio Bonasone, engraving to Achille Bocchi's* Symbolicarum Quaestionum de universo genere libri quinque (*Bologna, in aedibus novae academiae Bocchianae: 1555*), *Symbolum 107* (*erroneously numbered 105*).
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FIGURE 13.2 *Giulio Bonasone, engraving to Achille Bocchi's* Symbolicarum Quaestionum de universo genere libri quinque (*Bologna, in aedibus novae academiae Bocchianae: 1555*), *Symbolum 115* (*erroneously numbered 113*).
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FIGURE 13.3 *Giulio Bonasone, engraving to Achille Bocchi's* Symbolicarum Quaestionum de universo genere libri quinque (*Bologna, in aedibus novae academiae Bocchianae: 1555*), *Symbolum 135* (*erroneously numbered 133*).
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Bologna from 1546 onwards:[1] opening with the bucranium's shape (*Symbolum Symbolorum*), frequently carved as a façade's ornament since antiquity, the book closes simultaneously with the gates of the Janus temple in Rome shown in the last emblem's picture, an explicit promise of peace and imminent return of the Golden Age under prominent statesmen.[2]

As one can notice, the subdued lion appears three times in architectural context, not always in an obvious way.

The Lion in the Device of Bocchi's Academy

One of the most fascinating pictures in Bocchi's book involving the tamed lion in architectural context is that of the famous Hermathena in *Symb*. 102 [Fig. 13.4], the *impresa* of Bocchi's academy,[3] which was meant to adorne a corner of his Bolognese palace but eventually did not.

Located at the junction of Via Goito and Via Albiroli, Bocchi's *palazzo*, whose construction began from 1546 onwards, was planned to accommodate the *Academia Bocchiana* and its meetings. I studied elsewhere this very complicated emblem, its textual and pictorial sources, and will not go again into all the specifics.[4] I will just point out a few outstanding features and give here some of the conclusions I reached, while focusing more specifically on the lion.

1 For the long-lasting and eventfull story of the palace's erection, see the unpublished correspondence between Bocchi and his friend Romolo Amaseo kept in the Ambrosian Library in Milan (D 145 inf.) and the excerpts I provide in *Les 'Questions symboliques' d'Achille Bocchi* (*'Symbolicae quaestiones,' 1555*), ed. and trans. A. Rolet (Tours – Rennes: 2015), 2 vols., here vol. I, 37–39. See also Watson E.S., *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form* (Cambridge, Ma: 1993; Kiefer M., *Emblematische Strukturen in Stein. Vignolas Palazzo Bocchi in Bologna* (Freiburg im Breisgau: 1999); Tuttle R. J., "Palazzo Bocchi" in Tuttle R. J. – Adorni B. – Frommel C.L. – Thoenes C. (eds.), *Vignola Jacopo Barozzi* (Milan: 2002) 149–152; Danieli M. – Ravaioli D. (eds.), *Palazzo Bocchi* (Bologna: 2006).

2 See my analysis of the two emblems in *Les 'Questions symboliques' d'Achille Bocchi* II, 27–46.

3 For the *Academia Bocchiana*, its members and its activities see *Les 'Questions symboliques' d'Achille Bocchi* I, 37–52; Watson, *Achille Bocchi* 56–66.

4 Rolet A., "L'*Hermathena Bocchiana* ou l'idée de la parfaite académie", in Deramaix M. – Galand-Hallyn P. – Vagenheim G. – Vignes J. (eds.), *Les Académies dans l'Europe humaniste. Idéaux et pratiques* (Geneva: 2008) 295–337.

SAPIENTIAM MODESTIA,
PROGRESSIO ELOQVENTIAM,
FELICITATEM HAEC PERFICIT[5]

Symb. CII

FIGURE 13.4 *Giulio Bonasone, engraving to Achille Bocchi's* Symbolicarum Quaestionum de universo genere libri quinque (*Bologna, in aedibus novae academiae Bocchianae: 1555*), *Symbolum 102.*
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5 'Moderation leads to perfection Wisdom, Progress Eloquence, this figure Felicity'.

To give a brief outline,[6] we can say that the 'body' of the *impresa*, as pictured in the engraving, looks beyond doubt like a threefold sculpture in high-relief at the intersection of two monumental walls. The lower part consists of a lion's head, whose mouth is curbed by a ring set with a diamond. This strange bit is linked to a bridle hold by the winged child Eros whose left leg is slightly stretched forward, allowing the little god to trample on the lion's head. These three elements (bit, bridle and foot on the head) explain the meaning of the first *motto* on the wall: *Sic monstra|domantur*, 'This is how monsters are tamed', inscribed on a baseboard on either side of the lion's head. Eros in the middle is looking us straight in the eye, while pointing over his shoulder at the goddess Athena behind him. Hermes and Athena, each placed on a different wall, are featured here as terminal figures, ending in the lower part as a square tapering pillar-like form. Their heads and busts are easily recognizable by conventional attributes: on one side Athena is equipped with helmet, shield bearing the *gorgoneon* emblem, and spear; on the other side Hermes displays his winged cap and caduceus. They look intensely at each other, arm in arm.

The whole composition, shaped like an upside down triangle, fits in harmoniously with its architectural support. Its main purpose is clearly to advertise outside the building in the most efficient way the ambitious intellectual and educational programme that the members of the *Academia Bocchiana* intend to carry out inside the walls. With impressive energy the lion's head seems to propel forward the peculiar carriage conveying two passengers, Hermes and Athena, under the surveillance of the coachman Eros. The lions's head represents here the notion of *progressio* quoted in the *motto* above the picture. The junction of the two walls, resulting in a salient angle that splits the picture in two, reinforces the impression that the whole figure is moving toward us. We understand that Eros does his utmost to entice the random passer-by to enter the palace. In the ecphrastic and dialogical epigram, inspired by the important tradition of the *Greek Anthology*, they even strike up a conversation: the anonymous passer-by asks questions about the paradoxical figure he is catching sight of during his stroll while Eros describes and explains to him the meaning of each item.

6 Sambiguccio's commentary on the emblem (*In Hermathenam Bocchiam interpretatio*), published by Antonio Manuzio in Bologna 1556, is essentially devoted to an account of the neo-Platonic philosophy of divine love and is not of great help to understand the symbolic, poetic and pictorial choices made by Bocchi to elaborate this *impresa*. See Drysdall D., "Gavinio Sambigucio and his Interpretation of Achille Bocchi's 'Hermathena'", *Emblematica* 13 (2003) 53–71.

STEPHANO SAVLIO
IN HERMATHENAM BOCCHIAM

Symb. CII

– Quis tibi, sancte puer, vires animumque ministrat
  Maximum ut exiguo monstrum adamante regas?
– Nonne vides summi eductam de vertice patris
  Auspice facundo Pallada Atlantiade?
Hanc cole totius mentis penetralibus ardens:
  Sic animo poteris quicquid et ore voles.
Incipe age! En virga te iam deus evocat Orco.
  Me duce perficies, tu modo progredere.
Iam pater en Stephanus te Saulius ille bonorum
  Praesidium atque decus macte animo esse iubet.

TO STEFANO SAULI
ON BOCCHI'S HERMATHENA

– Who is giving you, holy Child, the strength and the bravery
  To dominate this terrifying monster with your tiny diamond?
– Do you not see, born from the head of the Supreme Father,
  Pallas, under the protection of the eloquent grandson of Atlas?
Worship this deity while burning in the innermost parts of your whole soul:
  Thereby you will be able to act as you please with your mind and your mouth.
Come on, let's begin! Now the god is already summoning you out of the Orcus with his wand.
  Under my guidance you will reach perfection, just move forward.
The noble Stefano Sauli, protector and glory
  Of the good men, welcome you by blessing you for your courage.

The advertisement follows a three-stage procedure. First of all, the little god in the picture reassures the newbie with the first *motto*: there is no need to fear anything, for even a child can tame the monster ('sic monstra domantur'), and in spite of its small size, the diamond set in the ring hampering the lions's mouth is too hard a material to be crushed. Furthermore, the child is not alone and the couple behind him, made up of Athena and Hermes, seems to

watch over him with their weapons, as would protective parents do. Through a demanding upbringing, they give their son 'strength and bravery' (v. 1: 'vires animumque ministrat'). They are bound together in a perfectly happy family circle (the *motto* speaks of 'felicitas'). Then Eros (or perhaps only Hermes or even Athena and Hermes together) makes an attractive and far-reaching promise, phrased in the first part of the second *motto* below the lion's head: to lead his customer to perfection ('me duce perficies'). The epigram goes even further. If duly worshipped, the divine couple may grant the applicant the full command of his thought and speech (v. 5–6: 'Sic animo poteris quicquid et ore voles'). Lastly Eros formulates a prerequisite with the second part of the *motto* ('tu modo progredere'). The passer-by has only to take the trouble of moving forward, in the double meaning of the word *progredi*: to enter the building and to make progress. But it is not a simple movement in the space. It implies a sizeable shift in the way of living and it is more like crossing a border to venture into uncharted territories. The engraving puts indeed the emphasis on symbols implying the notions of limit and boundary: the walls of course, but also the architectural terms or *hermai* that were used as traditional boundary-markers in antiquity. The lion's head also, whose mouth is hampered by a ring, makes us think of a door knob. The epigram brings out the process by devising that Hermes psychopomp, the conductor of the souls, summons the passer-by out of the Orcus with the *caduceus* (v. 7), and invites him to join the realm of the living. Upon his arrival in the Academia Bocchiana, the layperson has become a victorious hero after a catabasis. The *patronus* of the academy, Stefano Sauli, congratulates him on his bravery and, as a reward, welcomes him among the prestigious assembly of good men (v. 9–10). But there is more in the composition than meets the eye.

The association between Eros and Athena or Eros and Hermes is an essential feature of the sculptural décor in the ancient Greek gymnasium and a distinctive mark of the peaceful concord and intellectual development promoted in the philosophical schools of antiquity, as Athenaeus tells us.[7] The association between Hermes and Athena to form an Hermathena, be it a single bust of Athena topping off an herm or a double bust of Hermes and Athena put back to back on a pillar, won glory through three letters of Cicero to Atticus.[8] The Arpinate warmly thanks his friend who is staying in Greece for having

7 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XIII, 12 Kaibel (561d).

8 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* I, 1, 2 (November 68); I, 4, 3 (January 66); I, 1, 5 (July 65). References provided in Watson, *Achille Bocchi* 145–146, unfortunately not quoted by Kiefer, *Emblematische Strukturen in Stein* 74 (footnote 30).

suceeded in finding a sculpture of an Hermathena, the most suitable statue Cicero could ever have dreamt of to adorn his academy in Tusculum. Bocchi mixes the two traditions and put under our eyes a complex figure that is at the same time a description of a very ambitious and idealistic programme for the future and also the very outcome this training has already achieved in the submissive disciple following the precepts.

But what exactly is the programme of Boccchi's academy as shown in the picture? We can distinguish two different aspects that are so intertwined that it is impossible to tell which takes place first or which is of prime importance. On one hand, the reuniting of Hermes and Athena implies that *ratio* and *oratio*, philosophy and eloquence, mind (or heart) and mouth, that had been once divided by Socrates, as Cicero explains,[9] are at last meant to make peace with one another and stand by each other. In different treatises such as the *Orator*, the *De Oratore* and the *De Inventione*, Cicero, as Martianus Capella and Guillaume Budé after him, urges the budding orator to retrieve the ancient unity of the Greek *logos*, intelligence and speech, the only way to reconcile in the most harmonious manner both active and contemplative life. In the engraving this gathering is celebrated through matrimonial symbols. Like a married couple, Hermes and Athena join their arms, gazing intensely at each other, unconcerned about the surrounding world. Eros conveys their strong feelings and the lion holds in its mouth the wedding ring with its diamond, an everlasting precious stone. The divine couple will soon merge to form a sole two-busts herm, as did the androgyne on Marcantonio Passeri's medal by Giovanni da Cavino (ca. 1549), with the help of philosophy: 'philosophia comite [or: 'duce' in some exemplars] regredimur' (philosophy accompanies/leads us back to our prior state) [Fig. 13.5]. The term *progredere* in Bocchi's *motto* probably makes a reference to Passeri's term *regredimur*.

On the other hand, the little Eros paradoxically dominating the lion in the engraving is a familiar picture since antiquity to describe the omnipotence of love: in Roman painting, coins or intaglios, the child rides on the monster's back or drives a chariot led by the harnessed animal,[10] proving himself to be the most powerful of all gods according to Plato.[11] In Bocchi's engraving, the

9 Cicero, *De Oratore* III, 60.

10 See Augé Ch. – Linant de Bellefonds P., art. "Eros" in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich – Munich – Düsseldorf: 1988), III.1; III.2, 850–952, in particular figs. 257–275, and Blanc N. – Gary F., art. "Eros/Amor/Cupido", ibidem, 952–1049 and figs. 335–339 and 361–362. Cf. Alciato Andrea, *Emblematum libellus*, "Potentissimus affectus Amor" (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531), fol. A4v.

11 Plato, *Symposium* 180b.

FIGURE 13.5 *Giovanni da Cavino (1500–1570), bronze medal of the Padouan philosopher and professor Marcantonio Passeri (1491–1565), 37,51mm; 28,75g. Obv/ M. ANTONIVS.PASSERVS.PATAVIN. R/ PHILOSOPHIA.DVCE. REGREDIMVR. Numismatica Genevensis SA, Auction 7 (27 November 2012). Stable link via Coins Archives Pro (Academic Edition): http://www.coinarchives.com/w/openlink.php?l=1330462|1221|1452|689ad41cbd79067eeff557dd3ae30ef5 (authorization by Numismatica Genevensis pending).*

god is clearly Athena and Hermes's well-equipped son. And there is nothing carnal to him: deprived of the traditional blindfold, his bow laying at his feet, he is spiritual love nurtured by intellectual if not contemplative disciplines. We now understand why entering the building of the Academia Bocchiana could be compared in the epigram to the return from a catabasis: the outside world is compared to matter which brings only death to the soul and maintains it in the Orcus, the underworld.[12] Nevertheless, when Hermes calls the soul indoors, it can be brought to life and freed from its shackles.

The diamond ring in the lion's mouth is also a gift offered to Eros by his parents which helps him to handle the monster. The epigram speaks of *adamas* (v. 1), that is steel but also diamond, a symbol of *fortitudo* (courage) due to its exceptional hardness: for Valeriano it has the magical power to free its

12 For this commonplace of Platonism and its posterity, see for example Macrobius's *In Somnium Scipionis commentarii* (1, 10, 9–1, 11, 18), who relates different philosophical doctrines where either the body or the different spheres the soul will be flying through during its journey to earth and incarnation are compared to Hades. See a fervent reader of Macrobius in the Renaissance, Cristoforo Landino, *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, 4, ed. P. Lohe (Florence: 1980) 218, lines 8–21, and Erasmus, *Enchiridion militis Christiani* 7, ed. A.-J. Festugière (Paris: 1971).

bearer from any fear.[13] But the Latin word also let us quietly hear underneath the Greek word δαμαζείν (to tame), especially well-fitted for the lion. Pliny the Elder also talks about a plant named 'adamantis' which draws its name from the fact that it can not be crushed[14] and, if placed in the vicinity of lions, makes them lie on their back and yawn with tiredness. With his foot and his bridle, Eros is not here the irrepressible feeling that leads his victim to madness. He brings *modestia* (moderation, restraint), a virtue that helps to improve wisdom (see the *motto* above the picture). He holds in check the *progressio* of the lion. The choice of this specific animal could be explained in many ways. Put in the lower part of the composition, it could be identified with the Platonic *epithymiai:* the lion's head is actually a constituent of the Chimaera, an heterogeneous figure like Cerberus or Scylla designed to describe the lower impulses or desires in the inferior soul.[15] But it also presents a living image of *ira* (wrath), one of the worst forms of the soul deseases for Seneca,[16] who often uses animals in his treatises as metaphors to describe the disorganised movements of the *hegemonikon* when induced by bad judgements to follow an excessive impulse (*impetus*). The lion can also embody the Devil, who 'tamquam leo rugiens circuit, quaerens quem devorat' (walks around like a roaring lion seeking for someone he may devour).[17] When Eros keeps a tight rein on the lion and enforces the rules of *modestia* upon its overflowing energy, he implements a variation on the Erasmian adage "Festina lente" (Make haste slowly):[18] Eros here plays the part of the anchor and the lion, that of the dolphin.

Moreover, insofar as the sculpture keeps watch and ward over the threshhold of an academy, Bocchi's *impresa* is in strong connection with the famous but probably fictitious Platonic device set above the entrance of his academy in Athens, 'ἀγεωμέτρητος μηδεὶς εἰσίτω' (Let no-one ignorant of geometry enter here).[19] In an ancient *scholion* to Aelius Aristides (perhaps Sopatros) or in the compilation of the 12th century Byzantine erudite John Tzetzes, not only is geometry a mathematical science that could offer a legitimate preliminary

13 Valeriano Piero, *Hieroglyphica* (Basel, Michael Isengrin: 1556) XLI, *"De adamante. Fortitudo"*, 306a-b.

14 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* XXIV, 162: 'Aliam deinde adamantida Armeniae Cappadociaeque alumnam. Hac admota leones resupinari cum hiatu lasso. Nominis causam esse quod conteri nequeat'.

15 Plato, *Respublica* IX, 588c–589a.

16 See for example Seneca, *De Ira* I, 1, 6.

17 1 *Petr.* 5. 8.

18 Erasmus, *Adagia* II, 1, 1.

19 For an explicite use of Plato's *motto*, see also Bocchi's *Symbolicae* CXXVI, dedicated to Stefano Sauli's brother, Girolamo.

training for philosophy,[20] it is also tightly linked to fairness and justice. For Plato, justice does not only apply to external matters like cities or laws, it also pertains to the psychological field. It means to put in the right place every component or function of one's soul, according to the scale of beings, and hold them together. In a very famous passage of the *Republic*, Plato gives an image of the soul and invites his readership to visualize what justice achieves in the inner man by mentally conjuring up three different pictures piled one above another: in the lower part where the desires (*epithymiai*) are dwelling, one has to 'model the form of a multitudinous, many headed monster, having a ring of heads of all manner of beasts, tame and wild'; in the middle, devoted to courage (*thymos*) he can 'make a second form as of a lion' and in the upper part, realm of the intellect (*nous*) 'a third of a man'. The righteous man who complies with justice 'should watch over the many-headed monster like a good husbandman, fostering and cultivating the gentle qualities, and preventing the wild ones from growing; he should be making the lion-heart his ally, and in common care of them all should be uniting the several parts with one another and with himself'.[21] Bocchi's engraving seems to be a very interesting variation on Plato's myth. The three divisions are undoubtedly recognizable but significantly altered. The lion has moved to the bottom and Eros has taken its place in the middle, while the single man featuring the noetic part has been replaced by the two busts of Hermes and Athena. They signify the acquisition of a twofold skill by the noetic faculty: the art of speaking with eloquence and the ability to think philosophically.

The reorganization of Plato's threefold figure is not mere coincidence and has to be placed in the troubled religious context of Italy in the first half of the sixteenth century. We know that Bocchi was open to heterodox trends and counted among his friends many persons accused of heretical beliefs. Stefano Sauli himself strikes up a friendship with Marcantonio Flaminio, translator of the red-hot book by Benedetto Fontanini da Mantova, the *Beneficio di Cristo*, and was also connected to cardinal Gregorio Cortese, close to the reformist movement of the Catholic Church led by high-ranking clergymen such as Giovanni Morone or Reginald Pole.[22] Bearing that in mind, we can interpret the

20 Aelius Aristides, *Orationes* 46, "Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων", 124, 14 Jebb: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄνισος καὶ ἄδικος. Ἡ γὰρ γεωμετρία τὴν ἰσότητα καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνεν τηρεῖ.'; Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, VIII, 977: "Ἰσότης γὰρ καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι γεωμετρία.

21 Plato, *Respublica*, IX, 588c–589a, transl. B. Howett on the site: http://www.literatureproject.com/republic/

22 For S. Sauli, see Hyde H., *Cardinal Bendinello Sauli and Church Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Woodbridge, UK – Rochester, NY: 2009) 54–56. For Marcantonio Flaminio

leading role played by Eros, Love, who has succeeded in silencing the lion, symbol of wrath, as a vibrant appeal for peace and tolerance towards the heretics. One of the virtues most praised by the evangelic movement, which claims the return to the authentic values of the first Christian age, is charity, that St Paul describes as God's love manifesting itself through the love of one's fellowmen. By providing adequate words and fine arguments, rhetoric and knowledge of philosophy could be of great assistance to Eros in his pacific crusade against violence: they can help rivals to reconcile and dispel the misunderstandings on religious matters. The allegorical language serves here as a subtle and cautious defence against the abuses of power perpetrated by an overzealous Inquisition. This irenist tendency is made manifest elsewhere in the emblem book. For example, Bocchi adresses his *Symbolum* 128 "Adversum iram" (against wrath) to Reginaldo Nerlio, the Domenican inquisitor in Bologna between 1551 and 1554. In *Symbolum* 107, dedicated to cardinal Giovanni Angelo de' Medici, the future Pope Pius IV, Bocchi urges the adressee to contain his tongue and his wrath ('Et linguam et iram contine'). To a certain extent, the towering walls of Bocchi's palace made of huge stone blocks, typical of the 'opera rustica' are akin to a protective stronghold where persecuted individuals may find shelter. The palace is also a metaphor of the 'inner citadel' of virtue described by Pierre Hadot.[23]

If we go back to the engraving, the lion, symbol of passions and strong irrational impulses, has however not been completely cast aside but is used as a corner stone on which Eros and the whole figure can find a foothold and maintain their balance. The *motto* above the engraving allocates to the wild beast the task of *progressio*, specifically in rhetoric, and lets him consequently participate in some way to perfection. It clearly shows the mixed influence of the academico-peripatetic ethics set out by Marcus Pupius Piso in the fifth book of the *De Finibus* by Cicero, which is much indebted to Antiochus of Ascalon's

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and his circle of *spirituali* and valdesian friends, see Maddison C., *Marcantonio Flaminio, Poet, Humanist and Reformer* (London: 1965); Pastore A., *Marcantonio Flaminio: Fortune et sfortune di un chierico nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Milan: 1981); idem, art. "Flaminio Marcantonio", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: 1997) XLVIII, 282–288; Gleason E. G., art. "Marcantonio Flaminio", in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* (Oxford: 1996) IV, 112. For Benedetto da Mantova, see Fontanini da Mantova B. – Flaminio M., *Il Beneficio di Cristo*, ed. S. Caponetto (Turin: 2009); Firpo M., "*Il 'Beneficio di Christo' e il concilio di Trento (1542–1546)*", *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 36 (1995) 45–72; idem, *Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento: un profilo storico* (Rome – Bari: 1993) 89–93.

23 For an interpretation of the three quotations carved on two of the walls of Bocchi's palace whose message bears the same meaning, see Rolet A., "L'*Hermathena Bocchiana* ou l'idée de la parfaite académie", and *Les 'Questions symboliques' d'Achille Bocchi* II, 533–536.

syncretic position. The main argument of Cicero's treatise is to determine the ultimate goal for human nature to achieve (*telos*): could it be virtue alone, or pleasure alone, or virtue enhanced by pleasure, or virtue enhanced by freedom from suffering, or virtue enhanced by the primary natural objects, as in the Carneadian division?[24] Cicero, who vigorously rejects Epicurean philosophy and is strongly attracted to Platonic ideal, aims at underscoring the discrepancies in the Stoic definition of supreme good. According to him, Stoics are not consistent with their own concept of οἰκείωσις (or Latin *commendatio*), a strong and innate feeling of self-appropriation which leads every individual to take care of himself as a whole during his lifetime. If *honestas* is the only good, it solely concerns the soul and exclusively shows the way to achieve virtue. Then what about the integrity of the body, its needs and its pleasures? The true philosophy must therefore help mankind to look after the two essential components of its nature: mind and body. For Cicero, the solution has already be revealed by the *Antiqui*, especially the Ancient Academy and Aristotle: it is true that intellectual life, that confers a divine status to man, must play a prominent role, but it is incumbent upon the wise man in search of happiness to leave room for the goods of the body and the goods of Fortune, and to be able to tell apart *vita beata* (happy life) and *vita beatissima* (most happy life). In the Renaissance, the rediscovery and spreading of Epicure's and Lucretius's works called into question the supremacy of Platonic and Stoic thought. I have demonstrated elsewhere that Bocchi's attempt to reconcile Pallas and Venus, Virtue and Pleasure, Aristotle and Plato around Epicurus in *Symbolum* 10 [Fig. 13.6] could easily be explained by an acute knowledge not only of Cicero but also of Beroaldus's *De Felicitate opusculum* (Bologna, Platonis de Benedictis: 1495) and above all Jacopo Sadoleto's *Phaedrus sive de laudibus philosophiae libri duo* or *Praise of Philosophy* (Lyons, Sebastianus Gryphius: 1538).

For Beroaldus, happiness depends on the acquisition of three kinds of goods: those of the soul; those of the body; those of Fortune.[25] For Sadoleto, man can

24 See Lévy C., *Cicero academicus: recherches sur les "Académiques" et sur la philosophie cicéronienne* (Rome – Paris: 1992).

25 Beroaldo Filippo the Elder, *De felicitate opusculum*, in idem, *Varia* […] *Opuscula* (Paris, Françoys Regnault: 1515), fol. 28r: 'Academici vero, id est Platonici, et Peripatetici, id est Aristotelici, qui philosophorum haud dubie nobilissimi sunt, tria genera bonorum esse tradiderunt, ex quibus foelicitas perficeretur. Prima animi bona ut virtutes. Secunda corporis ut valetudinem et pulchritudinem. Tertia extrema quae fortunae ascribuntur, ut divitias et honores. […] cumulata haec bona faciunt absolutam felicitatem' (Academics, that is Platonics, and Peripatetics, that is Aristotelicians, undoubtedly the most prominent of all philosophers, passed on that there are three kinds of goods which could achieve felicity. The first goods are those of the mind, such as virtues. The second ones are those of the body, such as health and beauty. The third group, which is to be put down

FIGURE 13.6 *Giulio Bonasone, engraving to Achille Bocchi's* Symbolicarum Quaestionum de universo genere libri quinque (*Bologna, in aedibus novae academiae Bocchianae: 1555*), *Symbolum 10.*

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find the supreme good while reconciling the three ways of life:[26] the sensual one; the useful one and the contemplative one, each devoted to the fulfilment of a specific part of the soul, the vegetative one, the animal one and the rational one. And he purports that the lower faculty or way of life, albeit deprived of any dignity, is however essential to the good functioning order of the whole human being by giving all the other constituents a sturdy basis to step on.[27] So the tamed lion, be it terrifying and cruel, has to be part of the philosophical programme of Bocchi's academy because its energy is that of life itself: if it does not move forward, the carriage will be stuck in the corner and Eros will be impeded to go and fetch disciples. Eros acts here as a Ficinian *vinculum*, a strong link but of heterogeneous nature that permits conflicting natures to peacefully and efficiently hang together.

So Bocchi's Hermathena is essentially designed to redefine the shape of human nature, the place and role of its components and a coherent ethical doctrine. The precise goal of this challenging endeavour is to seek an answer to a very disturbing question: how can one manage to put under severe control the strength of passions and at the same time use properly—that is in accordance with the other parts—the vital forces inside him, even though they are aroused in the wildest part of the human being?

The 'prothyron' of Bologna's Cathedral

The lion appears also in architectural context in *Symb*. 123, which consists of one engraving [Fig. 13.7] but two epigrams, each of whom dedicated to a member of the same illustrious family in Bologna: Alessandro Campeggi and his cousin, Giovanni Campeggi.

Alessandro Campeggi (1504–1554),[28] who studied law at the University of Padua, was elected bishop of Bologna in 1526, while his father, Lorenzo

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to Fortune, is made up of the outermost goods, such as riches and honours. If combined together, these goods breed perfect felicity).

26 The threefold division was of Pythagorean origin and was subsequently reappraised by Aristotle, Plutarch and Fulgentius. See Plato, *Respublica* IX, 581; Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* V, 8–9; Plutarch, *De Pueris educandis* 10 (8a); Fulgentius, *Mythologiae* II, 1 "*De iudicio Paridis*".

27 Jacopo Saldoleto, *De laudis philosophiae libri duo* (Lyons, Sebastianus Gryphius: 1538), II, 169–170.

28 See Prosperi A., art. "Campeggi, Alexandre", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* XVII (Rome: 1974) 432–435; Meluzzi L., *I vescovi e gli arcivescovi di Bologna* (Bologna: 1975) 179–382.

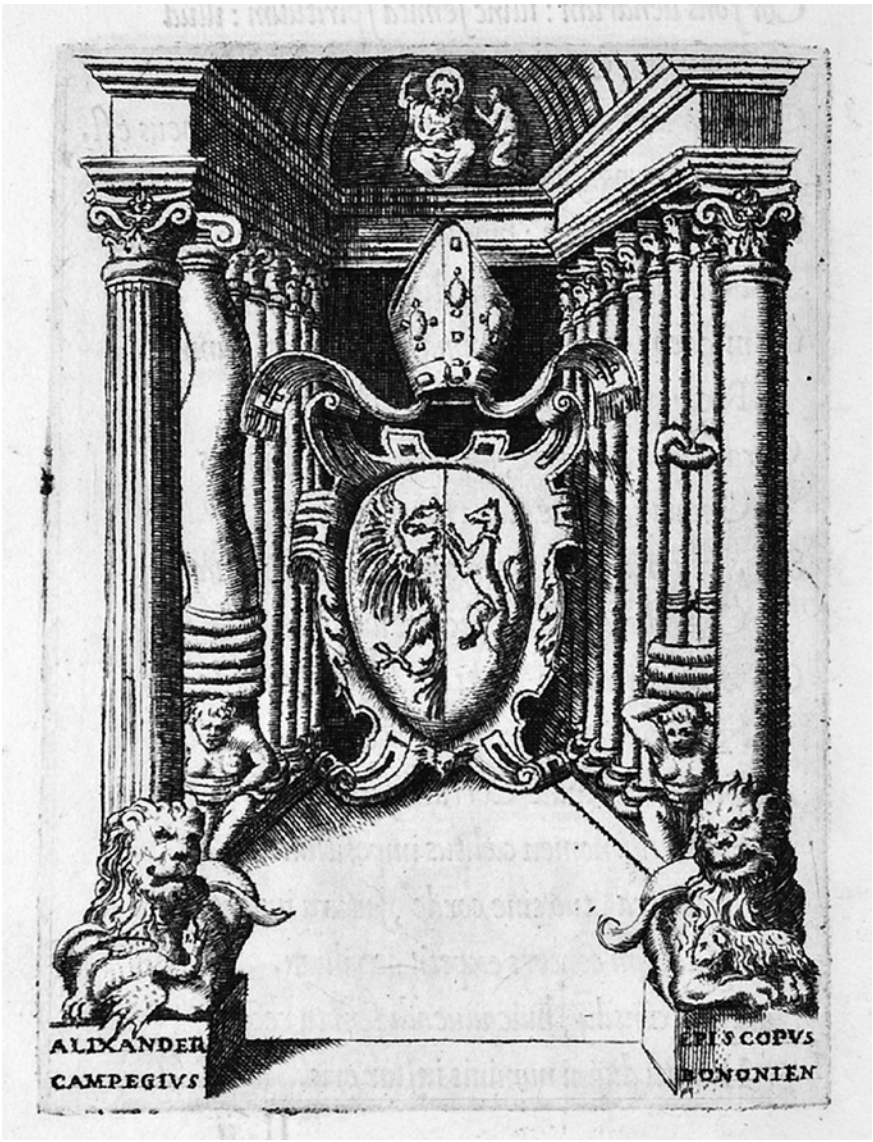

FIGURE 13.7 *Giulio Bonasone, engraving to Achille Bocchi's* Symbolicarum Quaestionum de universo genere libri quinque (*Bologna, in aedibus novae academiae Bocchianae: 1555*), *Symbolum 123* (*erroneously numbered 121*).
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Campeggi, the previous bishop of Bologna, continued to administer the diocese to give his son the possibility of starting a family of his own and perpetuate the family's name before becoming a bishop. The young man was officially ordained as a priest and consecrated as a bishop only in 1541, after the death of Lorenzo in 1539. But he left his flock because, in the same year, he was appointed lieutenant-governor and vice-legate for the papal territories of Avignon. Accused of corruption and misgovernment, he returned to Italy in 1545 and attended the sessions of the Council of Trent. He even hosted the council in his Bolognese residence (Palazzo Sanuti-Bevilacqua), when the council had to be transferred to Bologna in 1547. He was elevated to the status of cardinal-priest in 1551 but resigned in 1553 in favour of his cousin, Giovanni Campeggi.[29]

The epigram[30] begins with a famous quotation from Horapollo about a very strange faculty possessed by lions: to sleep with open eyes or to stay awake with closed ones (v. 1–2: 'Luminibus vigilat clausis leo, dormit apertis,/ Hinc sacris custos pervigil appositus'). This power of inexhausted vigilance explains the reason why they were posted as gatekeepers at the entrance of temples and later, of churches.[31] This paradoxical ability gives free rein to the writer

29 Meluzzi, L., *I vescovi*, 383–386; Dall'Olio G., *Eretici e Inquisitori nella Bologna del Cinquecento* (Bologna: 1999) 191–192.

30 Bocchi, *Symbolicae Quaestiones,* CXXIII, 1–2: 'Luminibus vigilat clausis leo, dormit apertis;/ Hinc sacris custos pervigil appositus./ Ac geminas valido geminus dorso ille columnas,/ Humana et divina omnia iura tenet./ Quisquis aues rerum custos bonus esse tuarum,/ Sic dormi ut vigiles intus et exterius./ In medio cum opus est mens alta labore quiescit:/ In media vigilat saepe quiete labor./ Iusto in Alexandri moderamine vita beata est,/ Irrequieta quies absque labore labor'.

31 Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, I, 19 in [...] *Vita et Fabellae Aesopi* [...], *Ori Apollinis Niliaci Hieroglyphica* [...], *Apologus Aesopi de cassita apud Gellium* (Venice, Aldus Manutius: 1505) 116: "Πῶς ἐγρηγορότα δηλοῦσι": Ἐγρηγορότα δὲ γράφοντες ἢ καὶ φύλακα, λέοντος γράφουσι κεφαλήν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ λέων ἐν τῷ ἐγρηγορέναι μέμυκε τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, κοιμώμενος δὲ ἀνεῳγότας τούτους ἔχει, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ φυλάσσειν σημεῖον. Διόπερ καὶ συμβολικῶς τοῖς κλείθροις τῶν ἱερῶν λέοντας ὡς φύλακας παρειλήφασι (How they denote a watchful person. To denote a watchful person, or even a guard, they pourtray the head of a lion, because the lion, when awake, closes his eyes, but when asleep keeps them open, which is a sign of watching. Wherefore at the gates of the temples they have symbolically appropriated lions as guardians [trans. A. Turner Cory on the site http://sacred-texts.com/egy/hh/index.htm]). The passage of Horapollo was very well-known during the Renaissance. See for example Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* I, "Leo", 3a and Alciato, *Emblematum liber*, "vigilantia et custodia", v. 5–6. Lions as gate-keepers can be traced back to the earliest civilizations. See Bloch P., art. "Löwe", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 3 (1971) 112–119 and Yoyotte J., s.v. "Lion" in Vernus P. – Yoyote J. (eds.), *Bestiaire des pharaons* (Paris: 2005) 152–166. Through the Middle Ages, the sleeping lion with vigilant eyes is a figure of Christ on the

to display a series of poetic variations on the same pattern. The epigram plays on couples of conflicting notions involving the state of sleep and its opposite: 'dormi'/'vigiles' (v. 6); 'labore'/'quiescit' (v. 7); 'quiete'/ 'labor' (v. 8); 'irrequieta quies'/ 'absque labore labor' (v. 10). Far from blaming as indecisiveness the ambiguous attitude of the adressee, Bocchi praises it as a key to the true happy life ('vita beata', v. 9) and a strong sign of political skill and subtlety ('iusto […] moderamine', v. 9). The epigram indeed could not be understood without its biographical frame. The lion sleeping with open eyes is a tactful way to mention the fact that the bishop has not been very often amid his Italian congregation: firstly it took him a long time to receive the holy orders, secondly he was appointed abroad and finally, once elected as cardinal, he resigned in favour of his cousin, as if he were asleep. But, as expected in an epideictic rhetoric, Bocchi purports that his flock never left the prelate's mind and that he was still looking after it with deep concern, hence the open eyes. The lion awake with closed eyes turns the tables and is likely a clever choice of symbol to extoll both the active part the bishop played in the Council of Trent transferred to Bologna (lion awake) and the modesty he showed while carrying out his task, shrugging off the appeal of honors and glory (closed eyes).

The first verses taken from Horapollo suggests a religious architectural context where two stylophoric stone lions are seated at both sides of a church's gate.[32] The poem indicates that each lion bears a column on its back ('Ac geminas valido geminus dorso ille columnas'), and that this pair of columns connotes civil and canon laws, another hint at the dedicatee's biography. Not only is the prelate a watchful one, but as a trained lawyer in both the secular and the religious field, he also contributes to supporting the church's hierarchy and standing for its values.

The engraving [Fig. 13.7] makes the most of the architectural design suggested in the text by portraying a real landmark, the *protiro* (*prothyron*) of the Bolognese Cathedral San Pietro, the episcopal see. This entrance, situated on

holy cross, whose mortal body is fading away while his divine nature stays alert, for example in Hugh of San Victor's *De Bestiis* (11, 1, 57), as shown in Jäckel D., *Der Herrscher als Löwe. Ursprung und Gebrauch eines politischen Symbols im Früh- und Hochmittelalter* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 2006) 175.

32 This is a very common motive in medieval art. See Deonna W., "Les lions attachés à la colonne", in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Picard* (Paris: 1949), vol. 1, 289–308; idem, "Salve me de ore leonis. À propos de quelques chapiteaux romans de la cathédrale Saint-Pierre à Genève", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 28 (1950) 479–511; Brétèque F. de la, "Les lions porteurs de colonnes. Évolution de la forme et du contenu d'un motif de l'art roman", *Le Moyen Âge* 85 (1979) 211–243; David Roy M. "Les lions stylophores des églises du Haut-Dauphiné", *Archeologia* 176 (1983) 12–19.

the south side, was also called *porta dei leoni* (lions gate) and had been built in the beginning of the XIIIth century by a so-called Maestro Ventura, one of the illustrious Maestri Campionesi, a group of well-reputed sculptors and architects working in the north of Italy at the time.[33] This monumental portal was pulled down in the first decade of the XVIIth century but was still standing at Bocchi's time and aroused Leandro Alberti's[34] and Vasari's[35] amazement, who both gave us a brief but very useful description. One of the dominant features of this doorway was the apotropaic presence of two lions supporting the first columns of a portico surmounted by a vault, probably like the *Porta Regia* in

33 See Manaresi A., "La 'Porta dei Leoni' nell'antica catedra di Bologna", *Bollettino della Diocesi di Bologna* 1 (1910–1911) 345–355; Medica M., "Il portali dell antica cattedrale di Bologna, tra XII et XIII secolo", in Medica M. – Battistini S. (eds.), *La cattedrale scolpita. Il romanico in San Pietro a Bologna* (Ferrara: 2003) 109–146.

34 See *Libro nono della deca prima de l'Historie di Bologna di F. Leandro degli Alberti Bolognese dell'ordine de predicatori* (Bologna, Bartholomeo Bonardo and Marc'Antonio Grossi: 1541–1543), fol. Yy iiir–v (anno 1220): 'Anche fu drizzata la porta di detta chiesa, che anch'elle mira al mezo giorno, nominata la porta de Lioni, per essere parte di essa sostenuta da due grandi Lioni di marmo, da ventura eccellente statuario, secondo quella eta. Certamente e quella molto artificiosa opera, conciosia cosa che apparcho nel primo prospetto due grandi Lioni (come dicemmo) di marmo rosso (cio è un perlato) sostentare le due prime due colonne, sopra lequali e piantato uno arteficioso arco, oltre cui uedensi due huomini a sedere, uno giovine, & l'altro uecchio molto barbuto, diuersamente con le spalle sostenendo una colonna perciascuno, molto egregiamente condotte, perche quella ch'è sostenua dal giouine ella è ritorta & striata, & quell'altra dal uecchio contenuta da mezo in giu a quattro colonne ella è cauata […] Denotano quelli due huomini, uno la prima metà dell'anno, cio é il giouine sostenendo la ritorta colonna, dimostrando questa parte esser molto dubiosa di quanto ha da seguitare, & il uecchio l'altra metà, che declina alla uechiezza, hauendo bisogno di solido sostegno, tenendo l'otto colonne nel mezo cancellate.Poi da amendue li lati della porta uedensi quelle sottili colonne poste sopra le base nel pauimento fermate, con li accomodati capitelli ornate, sostenendo alcuni artificiosi archi, nel mezo delli quali, sopra la porta appare la imagine di Christo nostra seruatore, uauendo alla destra la imagine di San Pietro con lo sole sopra lo capo, & alla sinistra San Pauolo con la luna, dinotando che per la dottrina de detti Apostoli e estato illuminato il mondo spirituale, si come e illuminato il mondo materiale dal sole & dalla luna'.

35 See Vasari Giorgo, *Le vite de'piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (Florence, Giunta: 1568), *Vita d'Arnolfo di Lapo, architetto fiorentino* 91: 'Fece anco Marchionne [Aretino], in que' medesimi tempi, la porta del fianco di S. Piero di Bologna, che veramente fu opera in que' tempi di grandissima fattura, per i molti intagli che in essa si veggiono, come leoni tondi che sostengono colonne et uomini a uso di fac[c]hini et altri animali che reggono pesi, e nell' arco di sopra fece di tondo rilievo i dodici mesi con varie fantasie, et ad ogni mese il suo segno celeste: la quale opera dovette in que'tempi essere tenuta maravigliosa'.

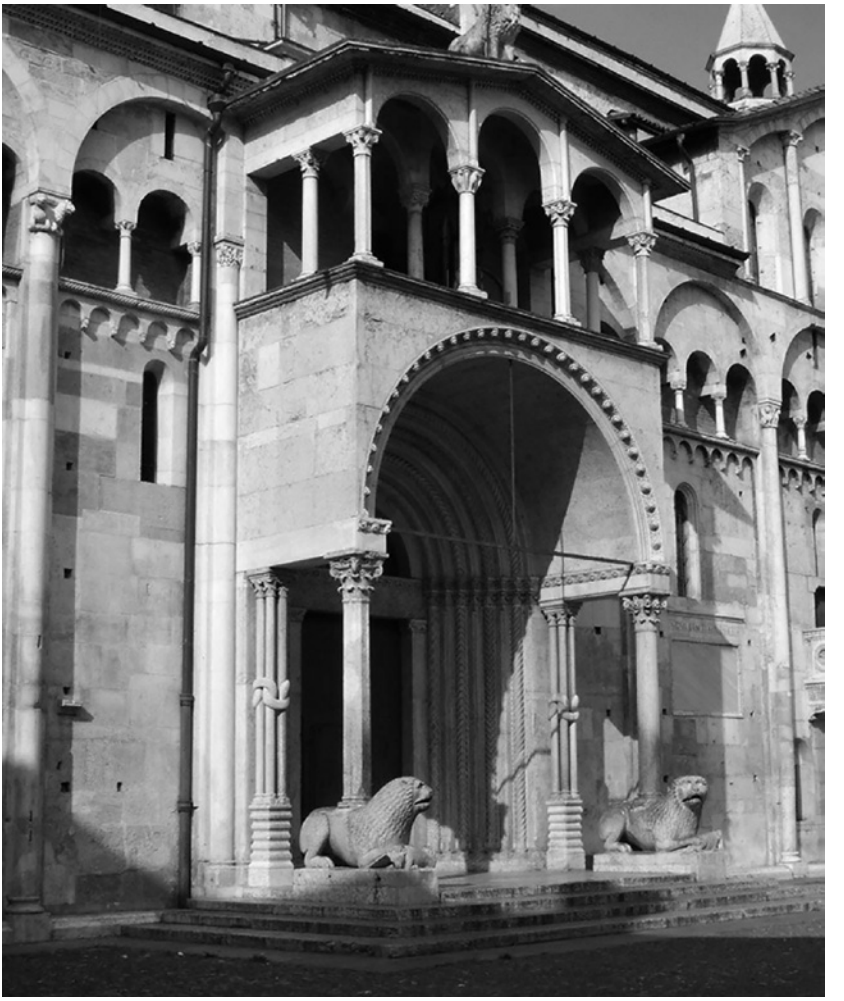

FIGURE 13.8 *Porta regia* (*Duomo di Modena*).
© SAILKO. PERMANENT LINK: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Duomo_di_modena_06.JPG.

the cathedral of Modena [Fig. 13.8], Piacenza, Como and many Lombardian churches.[36]

36 For the origins of this typical Lombardian porch, see Gandolfo E., "Il protiro lombardo: una ipotesi di formazione", *Storia della arte* 34 (1978) 211–220; idem, "Il protiro romanico: nuove prospettive di interpretazione", *Arte medievale* 2 (1985) 67–77; Verzár Bornstein C., *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: the Sculpture of Nicholaus in Context* (Parma: 1988).

Behind the two lions, two telamons were seated, a young one supporting a grooved spiral column, and an old one supporting a set of four smaller columns bound with a knot, also known as ophitic columns as we can see in the cathedral of Modena [Fig. 13.8]. On the tympan, a Christ in majesty was flanked by two apostles, St Peter and St Paul, with the sun above St Peter's head and the moon above St Paul's. The two stars were probably part of an astrological design and may have been interpreted in connection with the cycle of the twelve months carved on the arch above the gate, like in the *Portale Maggiore della pieve* in Arezzo.[37] According to Leandro Alberti, the young telamon embodied the first half of the year and the old one the second half. The two lions, the twisted column and the young telamon are still visible today inside the cathedral. [Fig. 13.9, 13.10, 13.11]

FIGURE 13.9 *Maestro Campionese*, Stylophoric lion holding a prey, *marble, Bologna, San Pietro Cathedral. After Massimo Medica, "I portali dell'antica cattedrale di Bologna tra XII e XIII secolo", in* La cattedrale scolpita. Il romanico in San Pietro a Bologna, *Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 13 dicembre 2003–12 aprile 2004* (*Ferrara: 2003*) (*109–146*), *fig. 30.*

37 See Maetzke A.M., "Il Portale Maggiore della Pieve di Santa Maria Assunta in Arezzo", in Armandi M. – Centrodi G. (eds.), *La bellezza del sacro. Sculture medioevali policrome, catalogo della mostra* (Arezzo: 2002–2003) 27–38.

FIGURE 13.10 *Maestro Campionese*, Stylophoric lion holding a prey, *marble, Bologna, San Pietro Cathedral. After Massimo Medica, "I portali dell'antica cattedrale di Bologna tra XII e XIII secolo" in* La cattedrale scolpita. Il romanico in San Pietro a Bologna, *Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 13 dicembre 2003–12 aprile 2004* (*Ferrara: 2003*) (*109–146*), *fig. 40.*

The emblematic engraving proves to be quite accurate: we recognize the two lions, the portico, the two telamons under their peculiar columns and the decorated tympan. The door is concealed by the Campeggi's family coat of arms, 'gold, per pale, salient dog dexter, half spread eagle sinister', and above the escucheon, a bishop's mitre.[38] One can read the name and title of Alessandro

38 The second epigram, adressed to Giovanni Campeggi, was undoubtedly composed before 1554: the dedicatee is still called a bishop (he was consecrated as a cardinal after his cousin's death in 1554). This encomiastic poem was added later to the emblem and in the 1555 edition it only appears on the *addenda* list. Its purpose is to explain the symbolic meaning of each element of the coat of arm: the golden field (v. 4: 'aurea planities'; v. 7: 'Immortale aurum') stands for Justice and Good which makes Piety and Faith thrive (v. 7: felix aequique bonique/ Campus, ubi et pietas floret et alma fides'); the dog, one of the charges (v. 3: 'latrator Anubis'), is also a 'hieroglyphic' sign of vigilance and fidelity

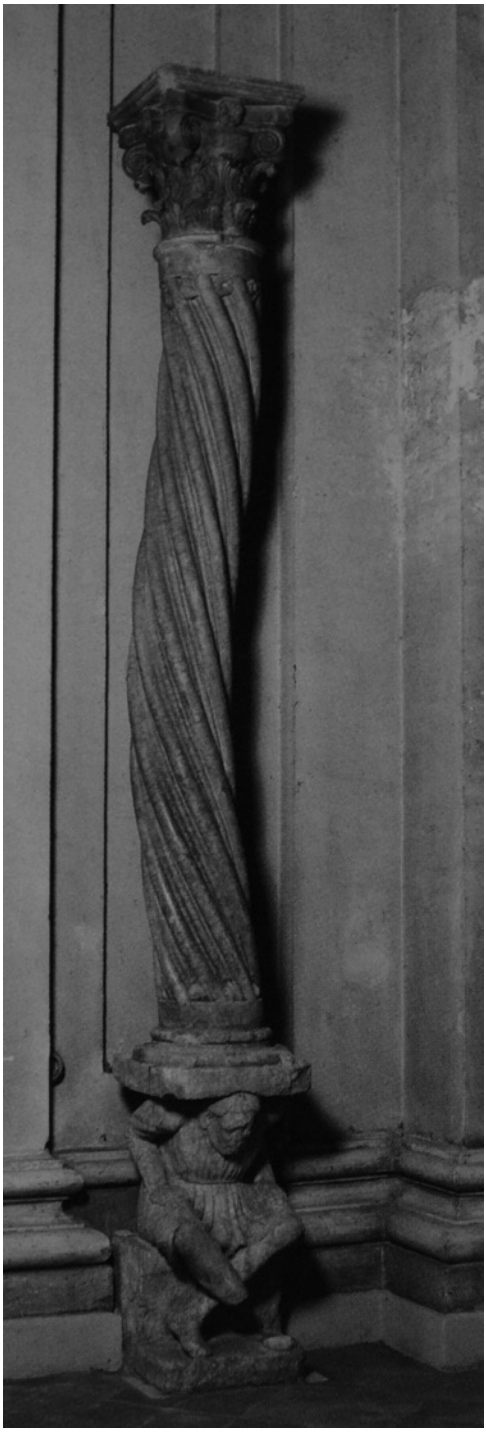

FIGURE 13.11
Maestro Campionese, Telamon supporting a helical or Solomonic column, *marble, Bologna, San Pietro Cathedral. After Massimo Medica, "I portali dell'antica cattedrale di Bologna tra XII e XIII secolo" in* La cattedrale scolpita. Il romanico in San Pietro a Bologna, *Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 13 dicembre 2003–12 aprile 2004* (*Ferrara: 2003*) (*109–146*), *fig. 40.*

Campeggi inscribed on the basis of the columns supported by the lions: he is still presented as a bishop, which leads us to the conclusion that the engraving must have been completed before Campeggi was appointed cardinal in 1551, without being touched up afterwards. If we pay closer attention to the engraving, we can see that the lion on the left holds a winged dragon between its forelegs and the lion on the right, a lamb. If compared to their real counterparts, the biggest discrepancy lays in the different nature of one of the preys: the two actual stone lions hold what seems indeed to be a curled up lamb between their pawns,[39] but there is no dragon to be seen.

Let's now see what interpretation of the engraving could be brought forward. A quick glance at Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* turns out to be useful. In the book about the lion, Valeriano devotes a paragraph to the description of an entry décor called *Leones Taruisini* (lions of Treviso), a very common architectural and sculptural programme that can be observed in many churches in the north of Italy between the eleventh and the thirteenth century:

> In Treviso there are two lions standing at the gate in the cathedral's pronaos, as in almost every church of major importance; the lion on the right squeezes a dragon [*or*: snake], striking it violently with its claws, but the dragon bents its neck back to bite the lion's chest: the devious thought tries thus to enter the heart but the brave mind at once repulses it away; the lion on the left has grabbed its cub and places him under its chest: it is true that a magnanimous mind succeeds in overcoming itself.[40]

(v. 5: 'Omnibus advigilat custos fidissimus iste') and Valeriano explains that the animal often accompanies the Roman *Lares*, an ancient version of the Christian guardian angels, to express their tutelary power (See Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, "Canis", fol. 40r–v, "arbiter geniusve"). The half spread eagle, the second charge, (v. 3: 'semiaquila') is a sign of divine election because the animal is well-appreciated by Jove or God (v. 6: 'grata sed illa Deo').

39 One of the two lions at the gate of the Duomo of Modena holds a ram, the other an ox. For Angheben M., "Les animaux stylophores des églises romanes apuliennes. Étude iconographique", *Arte medievale* 2 (2002) 97–118 (here 106), the significance of the preys is clearly negative and might be linked with the episode of Christ throwing the moneychangers and their animals out of Salomon Temple, especially sheep and oxen (*John* 2: 15).

40 Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, "Leo", fol. 16r, "Leones Tarvisini quid": 'Leones duo pro foribus, ut fere passim insigniora templa habent, Tarvisii sunt qui in pronao cathedralis a dextera draconem alatum unguibus impactis comprimit, draco retorto collo leonis pectus admordet: prava quidem cogitatio cor incessit, fortis vero animus eam actutum elidit; a laeva leo leunculum apprehensum pectori subicit suo: generosus quippe animus seipsum vincit'.

The two red marble lions in the *protiro* of the cathedral in Treviso, going back to the twelfth century, are still visible [Figs. 13.12, 13.13], in spite of the architectural alterations of the building through time, especially in the nineteenth century when a neo-classical frontage was added.[41] If one of the lion actually overpowers a dragon biting its chest, the other holds a severed human head, that Valeriano could perhaps have misinterpreted as the face of a lion's cub. But it has to be noted that inside the cathedral of Bologna, one can also see a third stylophoric nowadays stoup-bearing lion, actually a crouching lioness, feeding two cubs whose backs and tails are solely visible under its chest [Fig. 13.14]. Be the prey human or animal, the significant fact here is that Valeriano strives to give it a symbolic explanation: while the lion personifies the vigilance and strength of the mind, the dragon torn by its claws embodies devious thought, that is heresy or envy,[42] and the lion's cub restrained under its chest, a small-sized lion, shows the ability of a great and generous (*magnanimus*) mind (the full grown lion) to remain humble and to repress pride.

Bocchi, following partly Valeriano's suggestion, tends also to explain the general architectural layout in an allegorical way. And the highly varied repertoire of original patterns displayed by the Maestri Campionesi could certainly spur a vivid imagination. It has to be noticed that the engraving of the emblem does not allude to any of the astrological motives appearing on the original building. What is important in the picture is that in the pronaos, an intense wrestle between Good and Evil is occuring before our eyes, in which architecture plays a prominent part. The telamons and their prodigious strength, the twisted column, the four ophitic ones, which evoke the snake of Temptation curled around the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and the biting snake are all symbols of evil that architecture holds in check. The lions at the gate of the bishop's church carry out very efficiently their apotropaic role: the one in the left is defeating the devil of heresy of envy, who took the shape of a winged snake, like in the cathedral of Treviso, while the one on the right is protecting the lamb, symbol of Christ's innocence or of the purity of the Catholic faith. In turn the two wild beasts voluntarily put themselves down under the first supporting columns, that the epigram reads as the two sides of the law, the civil and the religious one. This reminds us that the architectural details

41 See Crespi M.S., *Cattedrale di Treviso, San Pietro Apostolo. Guida storico-artistica* (Crocetta del Montello: 2011); Netto G. – Campagner A., *Il duomo e la canonica di San Pietro in Treviso fino al secolo XV. Ricerche* (Treviso: 1956).

42 For hydra, dragon and snake as symbols of the Devil and especially of heresy, see Ambrose (*De Fide* I, 30, 15) and Irenaeus of Lyons (*Aduersus Haereses* I, 30, 15); as symbol of envy, see Erasmus, *Adagia* III, 1, 1 "Herculei labores" quoting Horace's *Epistles* II, 1, 10–13.

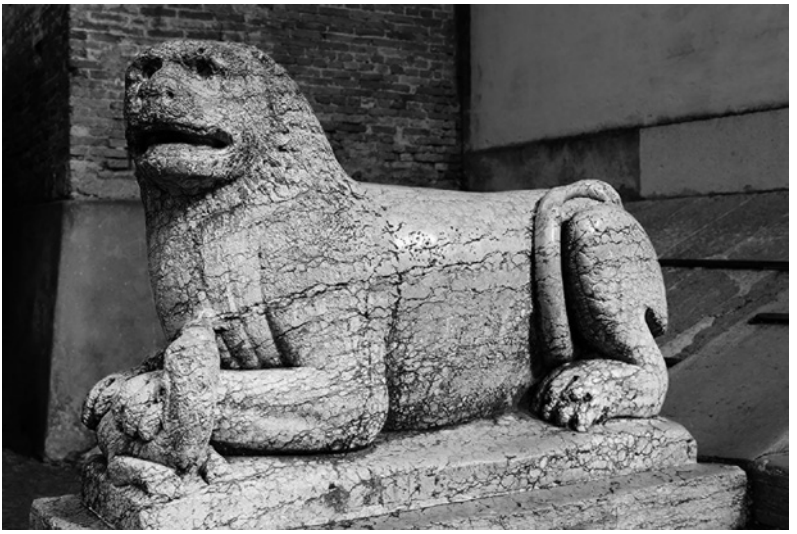

FIGURE 13.12 Stylophoric lion holding a dragon (*front of the Duomo di Treviso*), *Verona marble, twelfth century.*
© DIDIER DESCOUENS. PERMANENT LINK: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Duomo_(Treviso)_exterior_lions_left.jpg.

FIGURE 13.13 Stylophoric lion holding a human head (*front of the Duomo di Treviso*), *Verona marble, twelfth century.*
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FIGURE 13.14 *Maestro Campionese*, Leonessa, *marble, Bologna, San Pietro Cathedral. After Massimo Medica, "I portali dell'antica cattedrale di Bologna tra XII e XIII secolo" in* La cattedrale scolpita. Il romanico in San Pietro a Bologna, *Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 13 dicembre 2003–12 aprile 2004* (*Ferrara: 2003*) (*109–146*), *fig. 37.*

of the Lombardian cathedral threshhold (e. g. in Bologna, Modena, Cremona, Piacenza and many others), where rituals of justice led by the bishop 'inter leones et coram populo' ('between the lions and in presence of the people') used to take place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[43] could be linked to episcopal thrones flanked by lion heads and to Solomon's throne of judgment adorned, among other things, with lions and two bronze columns (1 *Reg*es 7: 15–22 and 10: 18–20).[44] The bishop, sitting regally throned on this *sedes sapientiae*, plays the part of a lion tamer who protects the *ecclesia* or his flock against its fierceful predators and preserves the true doctrine. In the engraving of the emblem, the shield bearing the Campeggi family arms and floating in the middle of the portico protects the door with the help of the mitra and the adjunction of auxiliary animals, the Jovian eagle and the vigilant and faithful dog. The little differences that can be noticed between the engraving and Valeriano or the real sculptures are not coincidental and serve one precise goal: to describe in encomiastic terms and with epic accents the religious duty of the two Campeggi cousins. Unlike in the emblem on Hermathena, the lion here is a positive figure. But be that as it may, it still stands in the lower part of an architectural design and stays outdoors.

Lion of Venice, Lion of Justice

We will encounter the lion again in architectural context in *Symb*. 135, which pays a glowing tribute to the Republic of Venice as an upholder of peace under the shelter of justice ('pax tuta est semper auspice iustitia' says the *motto* above the epigram).

Bocchi's intent is probably less to give praise to an alleged peace-oriented policy of the city than to refer to the very well-known legend of Saint Mark, the protector of the city, and his symbol, the winged lion. The upper part of the engraving [Fig. 13.3] features a Christ centrally seated on clouds as *pantokrator*, surrounded by a halo of light adorned with crosses, and holding out a crown. His elbow rests on the anthropomorphic face of a radiant sun. Three evangelists are gathering around him, holding their book in their hand, and can be precisely recognized through the three other symbols of the tetramorph: John

43 Russell R.D., *Vox civitatis: Aspects of Thirteenth-Century Communal Architecture in Lombardy* (Ann Arbor: 1989).

44 Verzár Bornstein V., *Portals and Politics* 34–35; Angheben, "Les animaux stylophores" 107–109; and Iafrate A., *The Wandering Throne of Solomon: Objets and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: 2016) 216–257.

and the eagle are on the left, while Matthew with the angel and Luke with the ox appear on the right.

However, the fourth evangelist, Mark, is detached from the group and stands below, but *sub forma leonis*, that is only with a zoomorphic shape, and he is the intended recipient of the crown held out by Christ. It is common knowledge that the tetramorph, going back to Ezechiel's vision,[45] was explained in various ways by the Church Fathers such as Irenaeus of Lyons or Augustine, but especially by Jerome in 398 and was also linked to the evangelists as a mnemonic tool to help one to remember the beginning of each of the four Gospels.[46] Jacob of Voragine, the Italian Dominican writer of the *Golden Legend* in the thirteenth century, follows Saint Jerome's explanation in broad outline, except for the lion: according to Jacob, the lion is not the symbol of the 'one calling in the wilderness' ('vox clamantis in deserto') at the outset of the gospel, but the sign of resurrection, because the lion cub after birth is thought to be lying three days in a row as still as if it were dead and then to be awakened by its mother's roar.[47] Jacob of Voragine also adds that the four symbols apply to Christ himself,[48] for he was a man born from a virgin, an ox in his passion, a lion in his resurrection and an eagle in his ascension. In our picture as in many others, Mark's lion shows heraldic wings (cf. v. 15: 'alis') clipped to his flanks so that it will not be confused with Jerome's lion. Moreover, one of its front pawns holds in place an open book facing the reader, the pages of which are inscribed with a quotation from the *Golden Legend*: 'pax tibi, Marce, evangelista meus', that alludes clearly to the saint's martyrdom. After being dragged throughout the city of Alexandria with a rope tied to his neck, Mark was incarcerated and

45 *Ezekiel* 1: 10–11.

46 Jerome, *Commentarius in evangelium Mathaei*, *Prologus*: 'Haec igitur quattuor evangelia multo ante praedicta Hiezechielis quoque volumen probat in quo prima visio ita contexitur: Et in medio sicut similitudo quattuor animalium, et vultus eorum facies hominis et facies leonis et facies vituli et facies aquilae. Prima hominis facies Matheum significat qui quasi de homine exorsus est scribere: liber generationis Iesu Christi filii Dauid filii Abraham; secunda Marcum in quo vox leonis in heremo rugientis auditur: vox clamantis in deserto: parate uiam domini, rectas facite semitas eius; tertia vituli quae evangelistam Lucam a Zacharia sacerdote sumpsisse initium praefigurat; quarta iohannem evangelistam qui adsumptis pinnis aquilae et ad altiora festinans de verbo dei disputat'.

47 See Jacobus of Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Th. Graesse (Leiden: 1859), chapt. 156, 693: 'Secundum Hieronymum […] Marcus [figuratur] in leone evidentius scribens de resurrectione. Catuli enim leonum, ut dicunt, usque in diem tertium quasi mortui iacent, sed rugitu leonis in die tertio excitantur'.

48 Ibidem: 'Christus etiam, de quo scribit [Johannes], omnia ista quatuor fuit, scilicet homo natus de virgine, vitulus in passione, leo in resurrectione, aquila in ascensione'.

visited at night by an angel who comforted him with these words and promised him he would soon be released and see the end of his pains. After his death, the remains of Mark were transferred in Venice, where he became very popular. For the artistic representations of Mark's legend during the Renaissance period, from Pietro Lombardo to Giovanni Bellini, Jacopo Sansovino and Jacopo Tintoretto, I refer the reader to the fundamental studies of Daniel Rosand[49] and Patricia Fortini-Brown.[50] But the lion standing in the lower part of the picture is not only a figure of Mark: it is also closely linked to Venice, as the *motto* above the picture reminds us ('hoc nanque Venetum est symbolum'). This heraldic type is ubiquitous throughout the city.[51] Standing half in sea and half on dry land (v. 11: 'pedem [...] in terris [...] ponere et alto'), the animal points out the twofold domination of the city and takes its cue from the famous *Lion of St Mark* by Vittorio Carpaccio, painted in 1516 (nowadays in the Doges' Palace). But while Carpaccio underscores the city's political power by placing ships and conspicuous landmarks of the *Serenissima* in the background (the Doge's Palace, St Mark's Basilica, the two columns of St Theodore and St Mark, the Piazzetta, the Bell-Tower), Bonasone's engraving is more neutral, with only some ruined buildings and an obelisk on the left.

If the engraving is a bit disappointing and seems to be not so original, the epigram keeps some surprises in store and partly adopts its own iconographic sources, not exactly matching some of the choices made in the engraving. The poem begins (v. 1–6) with a translated quote from Horapollo's *Hieroglyphics* who reckons that the Egyptians used to depict fearlessness by portraying a lion and, because of the resemblance between the animal's face surrounded by its mane and the beaming sun, lions would be placed under the throne of Horus, god of the rising sun:[52]

> "How they denote intrepidity". When they would denote intrepidity, they depict a lion, for he has a great head, and fiery eyeballs, and a round face,

49 Rosand D., *Myths of Venice. The Figuration of a State* (Chapel Hill – London: 2001).

50 Fortini-Brown P., *Venitian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New-Haven – London: 1988).

51 See Rosand, *Myths of Venice*.

52 Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* 1. 17 in *Habentur hoc volumine haec, videlicet: Vita et Fabellae Aesopi* [...], *Ori Apollinis Niliaci Hieroglyphica* [...], *Apologus Aesopi de cassita apud Gellium* (Venice, Aldus Manitius: 1505) 115, "Πῶς θυμὸν δηλοῦσι": Θυμὸν δὲ βουλόμενοι δηλῶσαι, λέοντα ζωγραφοῦσι· κεφαλὴν γὰρ ἔχει μεγάλην τὸ ζῷον, καὶ τὰς μὲν κόρας πυρώδεις, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον στρογγύλον, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἀκτινοειδεῖς τρίχας κατὰ μίμησιν ἡλίου, ὅθεν καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον τοῦ Ὥρου λέοντας ὑποτιθέασι, δεικνύντες τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τοῦ ζῴου σύμβολον. Ἥλιος δὲ ὁ Ὧρος ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ὡρῶν κρατεῖν.

> and about it hairs like rays in resemblance of the sun; and hence it is, that they place lions under the throne of Horus, intimating the connexion of the animal with the god. And the sun is called Horus from presiding over the Hours.[53]

The choice of words points out that Bocchi made use of renowned and then available Latin translations of Horapollo, as we can see in the following chart [Table 13.1].

TABLE 13.1 *Comparison between Horapollo 1.17 and some Latin Renaissance translations*

Horapollo	**Bocchi**	**Beroaldo**	**Trebazio**	**Fasanini**	**Jacobus a Voragine**
Θυμὸν δὲ βουλόμενοι δηλῶσαι, λέοντα ζωγραφοῦσι When they would denote intrepidity, they depict a lion,	**v.1:** Magnanimus furor est, ira et generosa leonis	Furorem designare uolentes	Animum, iram aut furorem detegere volentes	Furorem autem siue magnanimitatem significare volentes	156, 1: Leo est enim animal generosum
κεφαλὴν γὰρ ἔχει μεγάλην τὸ ζῷον for he has a great head,	**v.2:** Tum caput est ingens,	Est enim animal ingentis capitis	caput magnum habet hoc animal	ingentis nanque capitis animal leo est	
καὶ τὰς μὲν κόρας πυρώδεις and fiery eyeballs,	lumina flammifera. (v.15: lumine flammifero)	pupulas habens igneas	oculorum pupillas ignitas	ignitasque oculorum pupillas habet	
τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον στρογγύλον and a round face,	**v.3:** Est corpus teres,	faciem rotundam	corpus rotundum	faciem obrotundam	

53 *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous*, transl. A. Turner Cory (London: 1840) 38–39.

TABLE 13.1 *Comparison between Horapollo 1.17 and some Latin Renaissance translations* (cont.)

Horapollo	Bocchi	Beroaldo	Trebazio	Fasanini	Jacobus a Voragine
καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἀκτινοειδεῖς τρίχας κατὰ μίμησιν ἡλίου and about it hairs like rays in resemblance of the sun;	Est iuba fulva, simillima Phoebo (v.20: iubaris splendor flammicomi)	circa ipsum iubas ad imitationem solis radios emittentis	pilos radiis similes ad imitationem Solis	circunquaque iubas quidem praesefert ad solis aemulationis radios emittentes	
"They" (ζωγραφοῦσι)	**v.4:** sic Pharius credidit Harpocrates Aegyptusque parens rerum	"They" (declarent, depingunt, etc.)	"They" (pingunt)	• "They" (detegunt, pingunt) • Egyptians (ab Aegyptiis, Aegyptii)	
ὅθεν καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον τοῦ Ὥρου λέοντας ὑποτιθέασι, δεικνύντες τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τοῦ ζῴου σύμβολον. and hence it is, that they place lions under the throne of Horus, intimating the connexion of the animal with the god.	**v.5–6:** consueta leonem/ Semper Apollineo pingere sub solio	Ideo sub thronum Hori leones supponebant [...]. Sol autem Horus ...	Vnde et sub solio solis leonem pingunt, demonstrantes ipsius ad solem similitudinem.	inde factum est ut throno Hori hoc est solis leones huiusmodi subiicerentur ab Aegyptiis, [...]. Horum autem Aegyptii solem vocant ...	

If Filippo Beroaldo the Elder's translation (1504)[54] does not seem to have a strong influence here, on the other hand Bocchi borrrows the pair 'furor-ira'

54 *Epitome litterarum Aegyptiarum Hori Apollonii Beroaldo interprete* in I. Biffi, *Servii Honorati Vocabula in Vergilium annotata* [...] (Venice, Aegidius Gourmontius: 1504), fols. i–Iiiv, "Quo modo furorem declarent", ed. D. Drysdall, "The Hieroglyphs at Bologna", *Emblematica* 2 (1987) 225–248, here 241: 'Furorem designare volentes leonem depingunt. Est enim animal ingentis capitis pupulas habens igneas et faciem rotundam et circa ipsum iubas ad

(v. 1) and the explicit references to Harpocrates and Egypt (v. 4) from Filippo Fasanini (1517),[55] while the adjective 'magnanimus' (v. 1) comes probably from Bernardino Trebazio (1515),[56] and 'generosa' (v. 1) perhaps from the *Golden Legend*. Some formulations peculiar to Bocchi (in pink in the chart) could be linked to poetic options, such as 'lumina flammifera' (flaming eyes, v. 2), instead of 'pupulas/pupillas ignitas' (fiery eyeballs), or the enhancing mention of Phoebus-Apollo (v. 3 and 5) instead of the trite word 'sol', 'sun' or the Egyptian God of the sun, Horus. Some others are triggered by linguistic preferences: for instance the Latin word 'solium' and its archaic connotations chosen in verse 6 in accordance with Trebazio against the term of Greek origin 'thronum' used by Beroaldus and Fasanini. We cannot dismiss the strain of poetic reminiscences, like 'iuba fulva' in v. 3, probably because of Virgil, when he speaks of Aeneas who threw a tawny lion's skin on his shoulders while fleeing Troy (*Aeneid* II, 722: 'fulvique insternor pelle leonis').[57] We can also notice that Bocchi repeats in v. 3 Trebazio's misinterpretation of the Greek terme πρόσωπον as 'corpus' instead of the correct meaning 'facies'. We are led to conclude that Bocchi had precisely this translation before his eyes. Feeling that the adjective 'rotundus' (round) sounds quite inadequate when referring to the lion's body, Bocchi substitutes it by the the word 'teres', which can actually signify 'round' but also 'harmonious', 'well-proportioned'.

The reference to the heathen Horapollo and Horus's throne in the epigram may appear far from St Mark's lion. However, it actually conjures up very precise memories of famous literary or artistic representations, which do not

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imitationem solis radios emittentis. Ideo sub thronum Hori leones supponebant animalis signum deo ostendentes. Sol autem Horus quia temporibus dominatur'.

55 See *Ori Apollinis Niliaci Hieroglyphica, per Bernardinum Trebatium vicentinum de Graecis translata*, (Basel, Ioannes Frobenius: 1518 [1515[1]]) 15: "Quomodo animum, iram aut furorem significent": 'Animum, iram aut furorem significare volentes, leonem pingunt, caput magnum habet hoc animal et oculorum pupillas ignitas, corpus rotundum et pilos radiis similes ad imitationem Solis. Unde et sub solio solis leonem pingunt, demonstrantes ipsius ad solem similitudinem'.

56 See *Hori Apollinis Niliaci hieroglyphica* [...] *a Philippo Phasianino Bononiensi nunc primum translata*, (Bologna, Hieronymus Platonis de Benedictis: 1517), lib. I, cap. XVII, fol. IXr–v: "Quo modo furorem seu magnanimitatem detegunt": 'Furorem autem sive magnanimitatem detegere volentes leonem pingunt: ingentis nanque capitis animal leo est, ignitasque oculorum pupillas habet et faciem obrotundam et circunquaque iubas quidem praesefert ad solis aemulationis radios emittentes, inde factum est ut throno Hori hoc est solis leones huiusmodi subiicerentur ab Aegyptiis, qui animantis etiam huius signum soli identidem ostendebant. Horum autem Aegyptii solem vocant a dominio quod in horas is ipse habet'.

57 For 'fulvus' as a mixture of red and green, see Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* II, 26, 11–12.

appear in the engraving, for instance the throne of Solomon, king of justice, flanked by two lions,[58] but also ancient allegories of Venice itself. In Filippo Calendario's sculpture of 1326, placed on the east front of the Doge's Palace, Venice is featured as a goddess of justice, holding a sword in one hand and a scroll in the other and seated on a throne with two lions at both sides while trampling two evil men underfoot [Fig. 13.15].

In the reverse of an anonymous medal minted for Doge Andrea Gritti in 1536, the city of Venice is depicted in a three-quarters view, like the personification of Rome on imperial coins, but sitting on a throne adorned with two lions [Fig. 13.16]. The allegory bears a set of scales in one hand and a horn of plenty in the other, while a stack of useless weapons has been cast aside. The message is clear and could be read as a 'hieroglyphic sentence', as in Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia:* when kingly power (throne) rules over wrath (lion) by means of justice (goddess holding scales), it will bring prosperity (*cornucopia*) and peace by keeping warfare at distance (stack of arms). In all these pictures, Venice is identified with righteousness but also implicitly with another literary goddess of justice, Astraea. In his *Phaenomena*, which are very well known in the Renaissance through the scholia on Germanicus's Latin translation of the book, Aratos identified Astraea with the constellation of Parthenos-Dikè (Virgin-Justice)[59] and, following the etiological tradition of Hesiod's *Works and Days* (v. 199–200), explained that Nemesis/Astraea was the last of the gods to depart from earth during the iron age but, fed up by the wickedness of mankind, she eventually decided to join heaven and became a constellation.[60] Her coming back on earth, foretold by Virgil at the outset of the fourth *Eclogue*, is linked to the return of Apollo's reign and signifies the rebirth of the Golden

58 1 *Kings* 7: 18–20; 2 *Chronicles* 9: 17–19. See Ragusa I., "Terror demonum and terror inimicorum: The two Lions of the Throne of Solomon and the open Door of Paradise", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 42, 2 (1977) 93–114, who draws attention on Bersuire's interpretation of the two lions in his *Repertorium morale*: 'When the throne stands for the juridical power of the church, like Salomon in making and keeping justice, then the lions stand for sterness and justice. The lions are two in number, for justice consist of two parts, absolving and sentencing'; cf. also Huhn V., "Löwe und Hund als Symbole des Rechts", *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch für Kunst und Geschichte* 7 (1995) 1–63, and Iafrate, A., *The Wandering Throne of Solomon* 216–257.

59 Aratos, *Phainomena* 96–136; cf. Hyginus, *Astronomica* II, 25. For the popularity of the myth during the Renaissance, see Yates F.A., *Astraea, The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London – Boston: 1975) 29–87.

60 For the *catasterism*, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I, 149–150; Juvenal, *Saturae* VI, 199, Nigidius Figulus in *Scholia apud Germanici Aratea*, 65 Breysig = frag. 94 p.115 Swoboda; Avienus, *Aratea Phoenomena* 273–276.

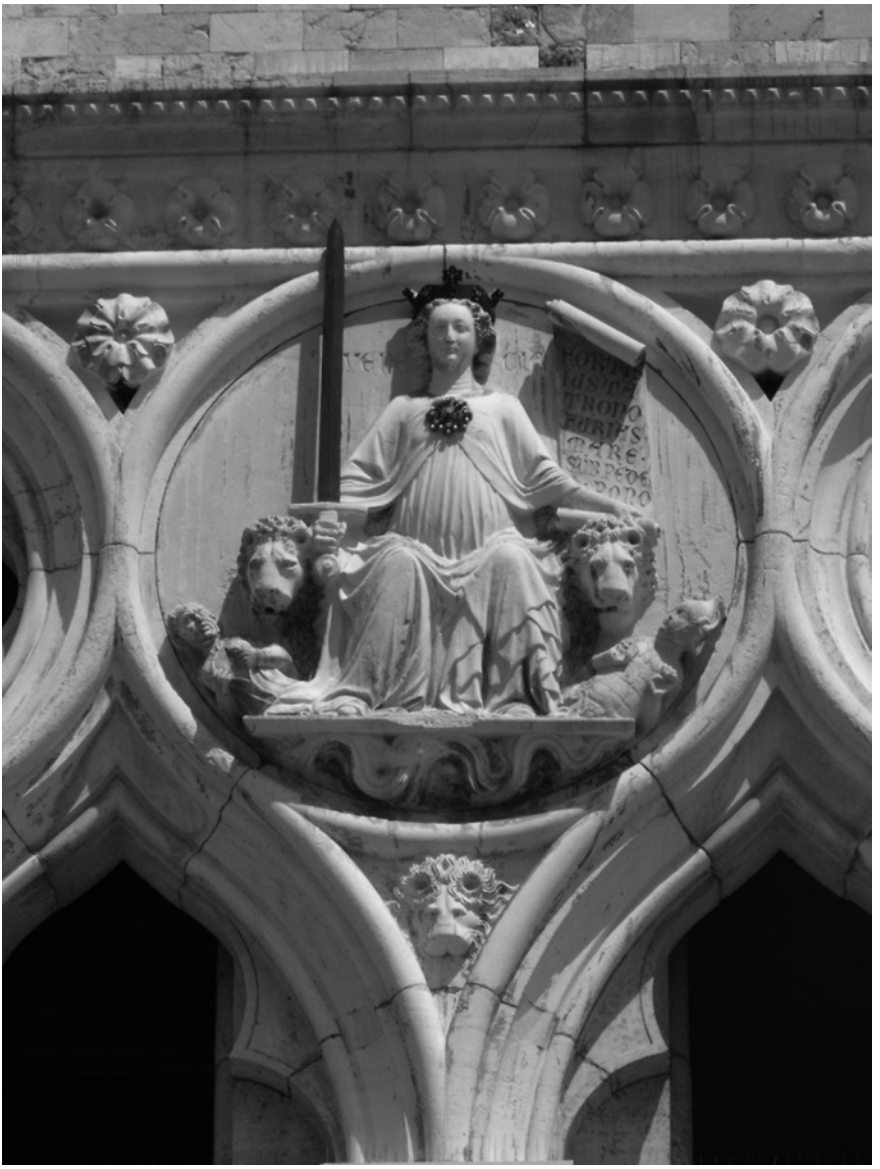

FIGURE 13.15 *Filippo Calendario* (*before 1315–1355*), Allegory of Venice/Justice, *1326. Piazetta San Marco, Venice, Doges' Palace.*
© ELIOTT BROWN. PERMANENT LINK: https://www.flickr.com/photos/ell-r-brown/4838727398.

FIGURE 13.16 *Follower of Camelio*, Allegory of Venice, *medal of Doge Andrea Gritti (1536), 66mm. R/ VENET. After Hill G.F., Pollard G.*, Renaissance Medals from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the National Gallery of Art (*London: 1967*) *no. 153.*

Age, a period of flawless prosperity and peace, when men abide by piety[61] without the coercion of any law, and remain aloof from warfare. As an astrological sign, Astraea is preceded by the Lion and followed by the Libra,[62] hence the symbols she is usually surrounded with. But we can find other grounds to explain the presence of the lion with Astraea: a brightly shining star glows above her forehead, named 'spica', 'wheat ear', and reminds us that in pictoral representations the deity sometimes merged with ancient mother-goddesses such as the Greek Demeter-Ceres, the Egyptian Isis and especially the Phrygian Cybeles and the Syrian Atargatis, worshipped in Hierapolis.[63] Cybeles often

61 Manilius IV, 544–545.

62 Manilius I, 258–259; IV, 175–216 and 533–551. Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus* 69.

63 Eratosthenes, *Catasterismoi* I, 9 Olivieri (*Mythographi Graeci* III, 1, [Leipzig: 1897]) and *Scholia uetera in Aratum* 96–97 Martin.

appears with lions, either flanking the throne she's seated on or hitched up to her chariot. Atargatis, an earth deity, appears on ancient coins riding a lion, for example in a bronze coin of Severus Alexander (222–235 AD) with ΘЄAC CYPIAC IЄPOΠOΛITΩN on the reverse.[64] Valeriano has knowledge of Atargatis as well and the passage of the *Hieroglyphica* devoted to her is illustrated with a woodcut (fol. 15E) picturing the deity with male features sitting on the back of a lion.

But the most interesting fact is that the word 'leonem' appears in the singular in Bocchi's poem (v. 5), like in Trebazio's translation, although Horapollo, Beroaldo and Fasanini are using the plural. In the afore mentioned pictorial representations, we have clearly seen that the allegory of Venice appears on a throne with *two* lions, whereas Astraea as goddess of justice or Atagartis as a mother-goddess, strongly connected to Venice, are accompanied by a *single* lion.

To suppose that Bocchi here actually hints at the lion as a species and not at individuals who can be counted, may be a way of tackling the issue and evade the conundrum, but it is not very convincing. The epigram will once more give us an important clue. The peace that is inscribed on Mark's (or his lion's) book (v. 9: 'librum placidae … Pacis apertum') appears to be a gift from a strange deity called 'sol iustitiae' (the sun of Righteousness, v. 10). As Erwin Panofsky explained,[65] the expression appears in the Bible in the book of *Malachie* (4.2: 'but onto you that fear my name shall the sun of righteousness arise') and was well-known by the Church Fathers, especially Ambrosius and Augustine.[66] In his engraving entitled *Sol iustitiae* (1498–1499) [Fig. 13.17], Dürer pictured a haloed man, wearing a fire mask protruding from his face, like in St. John's *Apocalypse* (1. 6),[67] holding a sword, a pair of scales and riding a lion with crossed legs. This blazing sun portrays the vengeful Christ of the Last

64 See for example *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum* (Munich: 2001) vol. XXVIII, 481: Aes of Hieropolis, Syria. R/ Atargatis, holding sceptre, sitting left on lion walking right.

65 Panofsky E., "Dürer Stellung zur Antike", *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1921/1922) 43–92, republished in Panofsky E., *Deutschsprachige Aufsätze*, t. II, Studien auf dem Warburg-Haus (Berlin: 1998) 247–311; and especially Panofsky E., *The Art and Life of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: 1955) 78–79. See also Blümle C., "The Omnipresent Eye of the Judge-Juridical Evidence in Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach the Elder", *Parallax* 14, 4 (2008) 42–54.

66 Ambrosius, *Hexameron* IV, 2; Augustine, *Enarraratio in Psalmum XXV* II, 3; *De Genesi contra Manicheos* I, 3, 6.

67 Panofsky noticed that the mask of flames is appears in another Dürer's engraving illustrating the *Apocalypse of St. John* and entitled *Vision of the Seven Candelsticks* (1498).

FIGURE 13.17 *Albrecht Dürer*, Sol Justitiae (*"Sun of Righteousness"*), *ca. 1499/1500, engraving, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection. Permanent link: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Albrecht_D%C3%BCrer_-_Sol_Iustitiae_(Sun_of_Righteousness)_(NGA_1943.3.3484).jpg.*

Judgment, 'homo ferus et leoninus',[68] and is the Christian version of the 'Sol inuinctus' (never-vanquished sun) manifesting the Roman emperor's glory.[69]

For Panofsky, the presence of the lion bears upon astrology. In July, when the sun is reaching its zenith, it goes through the Lion, its zodiacal house or 'mansion'. Thereby Dürer, probably influenced by an Islamic East way of representation, pictured the planet *Sol* as a rider and its zodiacal sign, the Lion, as his mount, to show the strong link that joins the two astrological elements together. In Bocchi's epigram, the lion of the *sol iustitiae* is still an astrologic figure (v. 15: 'alis super astra volare'). But it also presents paradoxical traits: on one hand, it borrows from Astraea the power to bring back the benefits of the Golden Age (v. 13: 'paci tranquillum imponere morem') but on the other hand, it is still ready to punish its ennemies (v. 14: 'debellare malos'). On the engraving however, Christ does not bring wrath and revenge but light and peace. He offers the Paulinian justice that will redeem all the sinners and is on the verge of putting the crown of salvation on the lion's head, a clear sign of election.

With encomiastic eloquence and epic accents (v. 17: 'Ausoniae' for Italy or the presence of Religio depicted as a queen brandishing her scepters v. 18), maybe Bocchi skillfully praises the city for its realistic policy after being defeated by Pope Julius II and the League of Cambrai in 1509. After its humiliating defeat in Agnadello, the city yielded to the pope's demands: restitution of conquered land in Romagna, free circulation in Adriatic Sea for the pope's

68 See *Petri Berchorii Pictaviensis ordinis Benedicti repertorium, vulgo dictionarium morale* (Cologne, Brothers Antonius and Arnoldus Hierati: 1641 t. III-2 (s. v. "Sol"), p. 1148F (Nuremberg: 1489[1]): 'Sol enim, quando est in medio orbis sc. in puncto meridiei, solet esse ferventissimus, sic Christus, quando in medio coeli et terrae, sc. in iudicio apparebit [...], tunc dico, per rigorem iustitiae erit fervidus et condemnando peccatores sanguineus et severus. [...] Sol enim fervore suo in aestate quando est in leone, solet herbas siccare, quas tempore veris contigerat revirere. Sicut Christus in illo fervore iudicii vir ferus et leoninus apparebit, peccatores siccabit et virorem prosperitatis qua in mundo viruerant, devastabit' (The sun indeed, when in the middle of the globe, that is at midday, is usually very much ablaze; so Christ, when in the middle of sky and earth, that is when He will be appearing on the day of doom [...], then, I say, because of the severity of His Righteousness, will He be ablaze and sanguinary and severe in His condemnation of the sinners. [...] For the sun in summer time, when in the Lion, because of his torridity, usually burns the herbs grown green again in spring. So Christ, in the torridity of his judgement, will be appearing fierce and leonine, burning the sinners and ruining the verdure of prosperity that had made them flourish in the world).

69 See Wallraff M., *Christus verus Sol. Sonnenverehrung und Christentum in der Spätantike* (Münster: 2001).

subjects, no more bischops appointments by the Serenissima on its territories.[70] The very lucid appraisal of its sharply reduced influence, overwhelmed by Habsburg power, led the city to accept the signature of the Peace of Bologna with Charles V and Clement VII in 1530. In the epigram, the vision of the lion of Venice acting non only as guardian of peace in Ausonia and Adriatic see (v. 16–17) but also as protector of Religion and its scepters may drop a more specific hint at this turning point in Venice's political fortunes. Furthermore, it could be an echo of the prominent diplomatic role played in 1528–1529 by a member of the Gritti circle, cardinal Gasparo Contarini, ambassador to the pope's court, who never ceased repeating that the Republic of Venice was from this time onward seeking peace. Far from deploring Venice's decline and the unavoidable shift in the modes of ruling, Contarini, who also wrote *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum*[71] invited the city to 'fashion herself into a city of peace and concord, art, and music, and thus a major player once more on the European scene'.[72] The lion on Bocchi's engraving announces the return of the sun of Righteousness, of Astraea, and the Golden Age in Venice that probably means political dependancy but cultural emancipation and artistic thriving.

Conclusion

In Bocchi's emblem, the lion placed in architectural context displays an array of various meanings and makes a great use of their endless combination: tumultuous desires and passions, especially wrath, uncontrollable energy, royal domination, companion of a saint in an hagiographic story, symbol of Venice, vigilance, astrologic sign connected with justice, peace and Golden Age, and so on. Even when the lion is endowed with positive value, the architectural decor reminds us the sheer necessity of taming the wild beast, for exemple by placing it under the throne of Salomon and the one of Astraea, or under Eros's foot, or under columns or even under a rider such as the Sun

70 See Bouwsma W.J., *Venice and the Defence of Republican Liberty* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: 1968).

71 The text appeared in Paris in 1543 (Michel Vascosan) but had been written between 1524 and 1534.

72 Gleason E. G., "Confronting New Realities. Venice and the Peace of Bologna, 1530", in Martin J. – Romano D. (eds.), *Venice Reconsidered. The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797* (Baltimore – London: 2000) 168–184.

of Righteousness. When one puts the three emblems under close scrutiny, it becomes clearer that the symbolic and allegoric approach of the animal world hinders the advent of a scientific method of observation and delays any real breakthrough in natural science according to our standards. It seems striking that humanism in Bologna would have to wait for almost a generation time to see someone breaking new grounds in the field: it was the great naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), one of the most brilliant students and disciples of Achille Bocchi!

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PART 4

The Hermeneutic and Didactic Use of the Natural World

∵

CHAPTER 14

Mimetic Obscurity in Joris Hoefnagel's *Four Elements*

Marisa Anne Bass

Common wisdom holds that 'to sleep on it' will lead to further illumination in the morning.[1] Nocturnal silence and oneiric solitude bring more insight to a difficult decision than the vexations of daylight hours. The night owl is the creature above all others who embodies the province of this dark knowledge. Silent yet watchful, the owl sees and perceives in a realm that our waking eyes cannot penetrate.

Both of these interpretive traditions—of the idiom and the owl alike—independently achieved canonical status in the early sixteenth-century Low Countries. Desiderius Erasmus included 'to sleep on it' in his immensely successful compendium of *Adages*, published in 1508, in which he endows the phrase with a classical pedigree, affirms its still familiar meaning, and attests to its vernacular use 'by his uneducated fellow countrymen' ('ab idiotis nostratibus').[2] Hieronymus Bosch employed the owl throughout his oeuvre as an emblem of the dark perceptive powers of nature, so much so that it became a leitmotif in the subsequent history of Netherlandish art.[3] The owl at the center of Bosch's famous drawing *The Field Has Eyes, the Forest Has Ears* imparts

1 I thank Karl Enenkel and Paul Smith for the invitation to contribute to this volume and for the comments I received from them and the other participants on an earlier draft of this essay. I am also grateful for conversations with Lorraine Daston and Rhodri Lewis, and for Robert Kirk's expert assistance in identifying Hoefnagel's owls.

2 Erasmus Desiderius. *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, 9 vols. (Amsterdam: 1993–), vol. 2.3, 160, no. 1143 (11.ii.43). For the original edition, see Erasmus Desiderius. *Adagiorum chiliades tres, ac centuriae fere totidem* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1508).

3 See Ilsink M. *Bosch en Bruegel as Bosch: kunst over kunst bij Pieter Bruegel* (*c.1528–1569*) *en Jheronimus Bosch* (*c. 1450–1516*) (Edam: 2009) 30–89, and Vandenbroeck P., "Bubo significans: Die Eule als Sinnbild von Schlechtigkeit und Torheit, vor allem in der niederländischen und deutschen Bilddarstellung und bei Jheronimus Bosch: I", *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (1985) 19–136. Karel van Mander reports that the artist Herri met de Bles took to signing his own works with an owl, and numerous prints inspired by Bosch that circulated on the sixteenth-century Antwerp art market likewise employed the owl as a kind of Boschian signature and stamp of authenticity. See respectively Mander Karel van, *Het*

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an uncanny message: As we endeavour to observe and understand the natural world, nature is always already looking back at us [Fig. 14.1].[4]

Yet it was the Netherlandish polymath Joris Hoefnagel—a learned merchant and artist active in the later sixteenth century—who brought these two traditions together. A miniature from one of his manuscripts takes the owl's sagacity and nocturnal counsel as its theme [Fig. 14.2]. Three different species of night owls inhabit the gilded oval at the centre of Hoefnagel's Fol. LV, each distinctly numbered and identifiable by the meticulous depiction of their physical attributes. Two little owls (*Athene noctua*), pictured both from front and back, lurk in the upper left. A tawny owl (*Strix aluco*) with gleaming eyes stares out from the far right. But the short-eared (*Asio flammeus*) owl below upstages them all with its full spread wings and crisscrossing talons. The bird is shown in the act of mantling, a stance taken when an owl wishes to cover its captured prey from the sight of other greedy predators. The short-eared owl hunts both during the day and night, and always remains low to the ground when it flies—a detail that Hoefnagel's miniature conveys even through the sparse compositional setting. The owl's dramatic carriage, diurnal nature, and placement at the threshold of the picture sets it apart as a mediator between the nocturnal world and our own.

Within the larger manuscript, Hoefnagel's night owls also belong to a sequence of images that place them in dialogue with other members of their avian order. On the preceding folio, Hoefnagel twice depicts a mighty eagle owl (*Bubo bubo*)—the high-flying master of the strigine kingdom—ensnaring a rabbit atop a cliff in the background and then resting, poised and watchful, in the foreground plane [Fig. 14.3]. By contrast, the miniature directly following Fol. LV shows a group of captive long-eared owls (*Asio otus*) and barn owls (*Tyto alba*) within the confines of a manmade platform [Fig. 14.4]. Here the barn owl holds a mouse in its clutches, likely a gift from its human keeper rather than the spoils of an unbridled conquest.

The night owls of fol. LV stand poised between the poles of untamed nature and civilization represented by these two surrounding folios. Even the branches on which they perch are ambiguous in form: Did natural forces bend them into place, or are their snapped ends and interlocking arrangement the signs

Schilder-boeck (Haarlem, Paschier van Wesbusch: 1604) fol. 219v, and Bass M.—Wyckoff E., *Beyond Bosch: The Afterlife of a Renaissance Master in Print* (St. Louis: 2015) 180–187, no. 23.

4 Ilsink M. *Hieronymus Bosch: Painter and Draughtsman: Catalogue raisonné* (New Haven: 2016) 498–505, no. 37r; Koreny F., *Hieronymus Bosch: Die Zeichnungen: Werkstatt und Nachfolge bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Turnhout: 2012) 170–175, no. 5, with additional literature.

FIGURE 14.1 *Hieronymus Bosch, "The Field Has Eyes, the Forest Has Ears" (n.d.). Pen and brown ink, 20.2 × 12.7 cm. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen (KDZ 549).*
IMAGE © KUPFERSTICHKABINETT DER STAATLICHEN MUSEEN ZU BERLIN – PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ.

FIGURE 14.2 *Joris Hoefnagel, "Folio 55", from*: Animalia Volatilia et Amphibia (Aier) (*ca. 1575–1600*). *Watercolor and gouache on vellum, 14.3 × 18.4 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art* (*1987.20.8.56*).
IMAGE © NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART.

of human intervention? The absence of prey in the talons of the short-eared owl, despite the defensive stance it adopts, distinguishes its action from that of the other nearby captors of rabbit and mouse. This lacuna serves to signal something within the image that only a discerning viewer can complete. In the staring contest between the human and animal world that Hoefnagel has constructed, the owl challenges us to sleep on it, to peer through the darkness, and to answer its powerful pose with our own hunt to grasp the picture's meaning.

FIGURE 14.3 *Joris Hoefnagel, "Folio 54", from*: Animalia Aquatalia et Amphibia (Aier) (*ca. 1575–1600*). *Watercolor and gouache on vellum, 14.3 × 18.4 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art* (*1987.20.8.55*). IMAGE © NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART.

FIGURE 14.4 *Joris Hoefnagel, "Folio 56", from*: Animalia Aquatalia et Amphibia (Aier) (*ca. 1575–1600*). *Watercolor and gouache on vellum, 14.3 × 18.4 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art* (*1987.20.8.57*). IMAGE © NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART.

Emblematic Occlusion

Sometime in the 1570s, Hoefnagel started to work on a series of manuscripts entirely singular in the history of art and emblematics.[5] His four volumes known today as the *Four Elements* comprise a stunning and expansive catalogue of animals, insects, and plants spread across 272 illuminated folios.[6] The elemental categories of earth, air, fire, and water provide an overarching organization for the series, with each manuscript titled under one of these headings. Hoefnagel's owls inhabit the volume devoted to the element of air and the corresponding representation of diverse avian species.[7] Above the word *Aier* (air) on its title-page are two puffy-cheeked cherubs blowing gusts from their mouths [Fig. 14.5]. The letters dangling to either side refer to Hoefnagel's Latinized name ('Georgius Hoefnaglius') and the lines below, taken from the Psalms, describe God as he 'who makes the clouds his chariot, who walks above the wings of the winds' ('qui ponis nubem ascensum tuum, qui ambulas super pennas ventorum').[8] The manuscript is Hoefnagel's creation, but the natural world and its manifold creatures are the works of a higher power.

The miniatures, executed on fine parchment in watercolour, gouache, and gold reveal not only the virtuosity of Hoefnagel's brush but also the depth of his natural-historical knowledge. Existing visual models served as the authoritative source for many of his images, including (but not exclusively) those

5 For Hoefnagel's biography, see Vignau-Wilberg T., "Joris Hoefnagel, the Illuminator", in Hendrix L.—Vignau-Wilberg T. (eds.), *Mira calligraphiae monumenta: A Sixteenth-Century Calligraphic Manuscript Inscribed by Georg Bocskay and Illuminated by Joris Hoefnagel* (Malibu: 1992) 15–28, and Vignau-Wilberg T., *Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii, 1592. Natur, Dichtung und Wissenschaft in der Kunst um 1600* (Munich: 1994) 17–20.

6 See my forthcoming book *Insect Artifice: Nature and the Crisis of Art in the Dutch Revolt* (Princeton: 2018), and also Hendrix L., *Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements. A Study in Sixteenth-Century Nature Painting* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University: 1984); Kaufmann T.D., *The Holy Roman Empire: A Selection from North American Collections, 1540–1680* (Princeton: 1982) 154–157, no. 56; Kaufmann T.D., *The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II* (Chicago: 1988) 202–203, no. 9.1; Hendrix L., "Of Hirsutes and Insects: Joris Hoefnagel and the Art of the Wondrous", *Word & Image* 11 (1995) 373–390. Note that the four volumes together contain a total of 279 numbered folios, but Hoefnagel left a few blank, never executing the illuminations. See further discussion below.

7 The subtitle of the *Aier* volume, 'Animalia volatilia et amphibia' ('Winged and Amphibious Animals'), employs the word 'amphibia' as it is used by naturalists of the period to refer simply to animals that spend at least part of their lives in water (e.g. ducks, swans, and geese). It does not mean 'amphibians' in the modern sense.

8 Psalms 104.3.

FIGURE 14.5 *Joris Hoefnagel, Title-page from*: Animalia Aquatalia et Amphibia (Aier) (*ca. 1575–1600*). *Watercolor and gouache on vellum, 14.3 × 18.4 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (1987.20.8.1).*
IMAGE © NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART.

depicting far-flung creatures from Africa and the Americas.[9] Yet particularly in the case of European insects and birds—such as the owls described above—Hoefnagel's own firsthand observations resulted in remarkably vivid and accurate illustrations, for which no counterpart as yet existed in early modern art or science.

The over 1000 accompanying Latin inscriptions found within the volumes also attest that Hoefnagel's erudition extended beyond the visual. These range from biblical and ancient quotations to borrowings from Erasmus's *Adages* and many other sixteenth-century literary sources. Hoefnagel ruled the verso opposite each miniature to allow for space to include additional textual commentary that did not fit around the borders of the image itself [Fig. 14.6]. Returning to Hoefnagel's owls in a moment will reveal how these inscriptions nuance

9 For discussion, see Rikken M., *Dieren verbeeld. Diervoorstellingen in tekeningen, prenten en schilderijen door kunstenaars uit de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tussen 1550 en 1630*, Ph.D. dissertation (Leiden University: 2016) esp. 93–96, and Hendrix, *Joris Hoefnagel*, 39–80.

Noctua vt in tumulis, super vtg. cadauera Bubo,
Talis apud Sepulcrum, nostra puella sedet.
Ignauus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen.
MVLTAE NOCTVAE SVB TEGVLIS LATITANT.
LV.
NOCTVA VOLAT.

FIGURE 14.6 *Joris Hoefnagel, "Plate 55", from*: Animalia Aquatalia et Amphibia (Aier) (*ca. 1575–1600*). *Watercolor and gouache on vellum, 14.3 × 18.4 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art* (*1987.20.8.56*).
IMAGE © NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART.

and complicate the meaning of individual miniatures. Some incomplete folios in the *Four Elements* even include blank ovals around which selected passages have already been inscribed, which indicates that the assemblage of quotations was anything but a secondary enterprise.[10]

The combination of text and image in the *Four Elements*, and the standard format to which the openings adhere—with an ovular miniature accompanied by inscriptions above, below, and on the adjacent verso—have together led to a longstanding association between Hoefnagel's volumes and the genre of the emblem book.[11] Indeed, the *Four Elements* project seems on first glance paradigmatic of the larger phenomenon explored within the present collection of essays: the productive intersection between early modern emblematics and natural history. These two approaches to organizing and disseminating knowledge were flourishing in Hoefnagel's sixteenth-century moment, and they intersected often.

The closest contemporary precedent to Hoefnagel's *Four Elements* was Conrad Gesner's seminal multi-volume treatise on the *History of Animals* (1551–58), which interweaves an unprecedentedly rich program of illustrations with various strands of classical, adagial, Aesopic, and emblematic wisdom about its animal subjects.[12] William Ashworth, drawing on the writings of Michel Foucault, influentially characterized Gesner's treatise as an 'emblematic natural history' in its privileging of association and similitude between the human and animal worlds rather than a more 'objective' system of classification.[13] Underlying Gesner's scholarship was an essentially anthropocentric conviction: The activity of assembling such a wide range of knowledge would result in the unlocking of nature's manifold secrets for humankind. Lorraine Daston has more recently defined 'epistemic images' as those which, like Gesner's illustrations, proffer faithful representations of nature designed to engage and edify a broad intellectual community.[14] By these accounts, the

10 For instance, the last two folios of the *Aier* volume (LXX and LXXI) both have blank ovals. Fol. LXX already includes two inscriptions, while fol. LXXI is devoid of either text or image.

11 A view put forward most strongly by Vignau-Schuurman T.A.G.W., *Die emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels*, 2 vols. (Leiden: 1969).

12 Gesner Conrad, *Historia animalium*, 4 vols. (Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1551–1558).

13 Ashworth W., "Natural History and The Emblematic World View", in Lindberg D.—Westman R. (eds.), *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: 1990) 303–332, and Ashworth, W. "Emblematic Natural History of the Renaissance", in Jardine N.—Secord J.A.—Spary E.C. (eds.), *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: 1996) 17–37.

14 Daston L., "Epistemic Images", in Payne A. (ed.), *Vision and its Instruments* (Princeton: 2016) 13–35, esp. 17–18.

emblem and the scientific illustration alike find their purpose and meaning within a social context of reception.

Although we will see that Hoefnagel found inspiration in Gesner's encyclopedic approach to the natural world, his own motivations in the making of the *Four Elements* were quite distinct. An important clue to the eccentricity of Hoefnagel's project is his choice of the manuscript medium, which in itself indicates that the volumes were accessible only to a limited few. Even their small scale and horizontal layout suggest that the manuscripts were designed to rest comfortably between one individual's hands, or to be passed around and shared in an intimate setting. This simple observation already reveals a crucial point. Hoefnagel—unlike Gesner or other contemporary authors of printed encyclopedic treatises and emblem books—did not collect and codify knowledge with the goal of engaging a wide network of scholars.

This essay argues that Hoefnagel's *Four Elements* appropriate emblematics and natural history as epistemological frameworks for a purpose fundamentally opposed to the original aim shared by both genres. Rather than serving to disseminate knowledge through a consistent organizing structure, in which text and image function together towards mutual clarification, Hoefnagel's volumes are deliberately elusive and open-ended. They do not aim to convey universal meaning in the public sphere but instead direct themselves toward a circumscribed audience comprised only of Hoefnagel and his close friends: an intimate community united by a deep uncertainty about the possibility of achieving moral wisdom through either observation or representation. In Hoefnagel's *Four Elements*, it was not the achievement of answers but the freedom to inquire that mattered most.

Mimesis at its Limit

Returning to Hoefnagel's fol. LV, we can begin to meet the challenge of the short-eared owl's knowing gaze [Fig. 14.2]. The two inscriptions surrounding the miniature both draw on the propitious associations between the owl and the goddess Athena. The text above declares 'many night owls hide under the rooftops' ('multae noctuae sub tegulis latitant'), an enigma that Hoefnagel likely sourced from Gesner.[15] The phrase refers not only to the night owl's penchant for haunting the crevices of human dwellings but also to the coins of

15 Gesner, *Historia animalium* vol. III, 600 and 602. Gesner also cites the variation 'multae sub tegulis cubant noctuae', which he took from Giraldus Lilius Gregorius, *Libelli duo, in quorum altero aenigmata pleraque antiquorum* [...] (Basel, Ioannes Oporinus: 1551) 47–48.

ancient Athens, which pictured Athena's owl on their reverse: an embodiment of how concealed wisdom leads to profit. The text below the image—'noctua volat' ('the night owl flies')—derives from Erasmus's *Adages* and likewise traces its origins back to Athenian tradition. According to the latter proverb, the flying owl heralds a victory to be achieved through cunning negotiation rather than physical force.[16]

On the verso opposite the miniature, Hoefnagel includes two additional inscriptions of a more sinister cast [Fig. 14.6]. The text above, taken from one of Alciato's emblems—and quoted in Gesner—refers to the creature's eerie penchant for perching on tombs and corpses.[17] The second text, borrowed from Ovid's account of the abduction of Prosperina to Pluto's dark underworld, declares 'the lazy owl' to be 'a fearful omen to mankind' ('Ignavus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen').[18] For an individual perusing the manuscript in sequence, both quotations would also recall the foreboding message of the inscription above the eagle owl on the preceding folio, derived from the Neapolitan poet Marcello Stellato: 'neither sea nor land nor air is safe wherever there is an enemy; it does little good to not be harmful' [Fig. 14.3].[19] Altogether, the commentary that Hoefnagel has assembled from these diverse sources presents the owl as a paradoxical bird: both sentient and sinister, wise and wounding.

Yet for the patient viewer, there is still one more inscription to be found, hidden within the image just to the right of the tawny owl's talons. Painted in gold like the oval that frames the miniature itself, the letters that make up the phrase 'in nocte consilium' ('counsel in the nighttime') are visible only when light catches them from a certain angle; they are almost impossible to see in reproduction. This is the Latin version of the aforementioned saying to 'sleep on it', again borrowed from Erasmus.[20] Hoefnagel employs the concealed adage as a meta-commentary on the difficulty of understanding his own fol. LV and, by extension, on the limits to humankind's interpretive faculty. The night owls

16 Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2.1, 188, no. 76 (I.i.76).

17 'Noctua ut in tumulis, super utque cadaver bubo, / talis apud Sophoclem, nostra puella sedet' ('As a night owl perches on a tomb, as an eagle owl on corpses, so my girl sits with Sophocles'). Translation from the Glasgow University Emblem Website. See Alciato Andrea, *Emblematum libellus* (Venice, Aldus Manutius: 1548) fol. 10r, as well as subsequent editions. The passage is also cited by Gesner, *Historia animalium* vol. III, 233.

18 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* V, 551.

19 'Non mare non tellus, non aer tutus, ubique / hostis abest; prodestque parum non esse nocentem'. See Palingenio Stellato Marcello, *La zodiaque de la vie* (*zodiacus vitae*), *XII livres* (Geneva: 1996) 208–209, VI (Virgo), lines 501–502.

20 See note 2 above.

model the perspicacity that we can hope to achieve only through sustained patience and contemplation. Even then, we still might not get there.

Fol. LV of the *Aier* volume illustrates several strategies that Hoefnagel employs throughout the *Four Elements* as a whole. Firstly, he has sourced Gesner's volumes both for their trove of proverbial wisdom and for their visual models. Comparison of Hoefnagel's tawny owl to Gesner's woodcut reveals a close affinity in the pose of the two birds and in their placement on a conspicuously broken branch [Fig. 14.7]. However, not only does Hoefnagel's miniature convey more details about the owl's habits and habitat (information that Gesner instead provides in his text), but it also improves upon its model through firsthand knowledge of the bird. In difference to the crude talons illustrated by Gesner, Hoefnagel has carefully observed the owl's unique talent of grasping its perch with two toes in front and the other two twisted behind, a dexterity that also serves the creature when clutching its prey. Hoefnagel's media of watercolor and gouache further allowed him to capture not only the variegated colors of the bird's feathers but also the haunting gleam of its all-seeing eyes.

At the same time, fol. LV demonstrates the enigmatic relationship between Hoefnagel's miniatures and his selection of accompanying texts, which frustrates rather than affirms the information contained within the images themselves. There are neither deictic references to particular aspects of the image nor explanations of the birds' visible traits. Even when individual birds within a given miniature are numbered, as are Hoefnagel's night owls, there is no textual key within the volumes that corresponds to this system and identifies the species by name.[21] This constitutes a divergence from Gesner and the model of natural history, which would prioritize the treatment of the image as a

21 Occasionally, a number above or alongside a textual excerpt will accord with a particular numbered species in the image, but these references indicate only that a given species is named in the quoted passage. It has been speculated that Hoefnagel may have created, or intended to create, a separate companion key to his volumes that identified the species explicitly, but no evidence of such a key or index survives. For the origin of this theory, see Kaufmann, *Holy Roman Empire* 156, who refers to the 'Exposition of the hieroglyphs in the decoration of the Missal illuminated by Joris Hoefnagel' ('Expositioni delli hieroglyphici nel ornamento della missale in penna miniata da G. Hufnagel') documented in the inventory of the Emperor Rudolf II, for which see Bauer R.—Haupt H., "Das Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II. 1607–1611", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 72 (1976) 1–191, esp. 131, inv. no. 2602. However, the existence of an 'exposition' for one of Hoefnagel's other illuminated manuscripts—especially one that was an explicit court commission—does not mean that such a guide existed for the *Four Elements*. For more on Hoefnagel's career at court, see below.

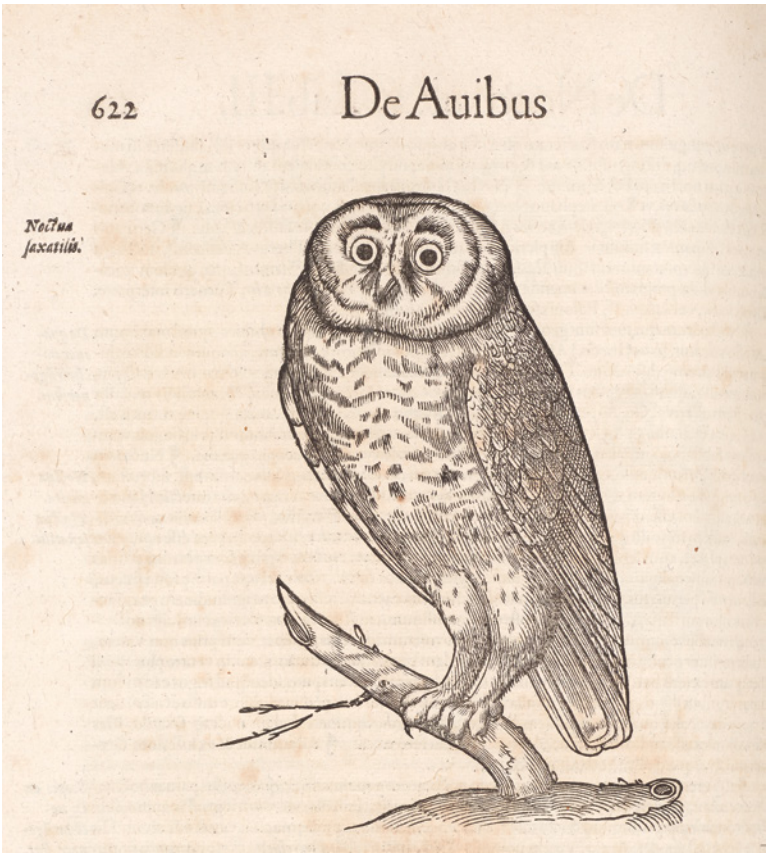

FIGURE 14.7 *"Noctua", woodcut illustration, from: Conrad Gesner*, Historia Animalium (*Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1551–1558*), *vol. III, 597. Amsterdam University Library, Bijzondere Collecties.*
IMAGE © AMSTERDAM.

representation designed to reinforce the contents of the larger encyclopedic entry to which it belongs.[22]

Hoefnagel likewise diverges from the emblematic model of juxtaposing image and text in subtle dialogue so as to convey a moral or philosophical

22 Here I argue against Ernst Kris's classic interpretation of Hoefnagels 'scientific naturalism', for which see Kris E., "Georg Hoefnagel und der wissenschaftliche Naturalismus", in Weixlgärtner A.—Planiscig L. (eds.), *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser zum 60. Geburtstage* (Zurich: 1927) 243–253, recently reprinted in Uppenkamp B. (ed.), *Erstarrte Lebendigkeit. Ernst Kris: Zwei Untersuchungen* (Zurich: 2012) 11–25.

message. The inscriptions that he has assembled on fol. LV do not fit neatly into the typical designations for the role of inscriptions contained within emblem books. They are all topical in the sense that they loosely take the owl as their subject, but none clearly serves an explicative function that guides the reader/viewer from representation to intended meaning. That some texts are inscribed in capital letters does not immediately indicate their role as titular mottoes, nor does Hoefnagel keep to a consistent structural pattern across his volumes that would allow for certain texts, given their placement, to be understood as functioning in the roles of *inscriptio, subscriptio*, or *commentatio*. Although comparing different printed emblem books from the sixteenth century reveals a significant heterogeneity in their approach to the pairing of image and text, any given compendium of printed emblems tends to maintain an internal structure consistent to itself.[23]

The mimetic obscurity of Hoefnagel's folios lies in the disconnect between representation and meaning, and in the corresponding refusal to fulfill the promise of the emblematic construct as such.[24] Hoefnagel's miniature on fol. LV is stunning in its accurate depiction of the three species of night owls on display, but depending on which adjacent text one chooses to read—or how one reads them in combination—what the owls are meant to represent in a signifying sense is not immediately evident. Renaissance artistic and poetic theory generally held up mimetic naturalism as an intrinsic moral good, which offered a mirror of things not only as they are but also as God the divine creator revealed that they should be.[25] By holding up a mirror to nature, the idea was to better understand how we should relate to the world and the divine intentions underlying its creation. This was indeed the motivation for scholars in the seventeenth-century Netherlands like Jan Swammerdam, who sought to reveal an understanding of the Book of Nature through his meticulous scientific illustrations—an enterprise that he came to doubt only later in

23 Graham D., "'Emblema multiplex'. Towards a Typology of Emblematic Forms, Structures and Functions", in Daly P.M. (ed.), *Emblem Scholarship: Directions and Developments. A Tribute to Gabriel Hornstein*, Imago Figurata Studies 5 (Turnhout: 2005) 131–158.

24 My notion of the mimetic function here is informed by Taussig, M., *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: 1993); Benjamin W., "Doctrine of the Similar (1933)", *New German Critique* 17 (1979) 65–69; and idem, "On the Mimetic Faculty", in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, trans. P. Demetz (New York: 2007) 333–336.

25 See Greene T., *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: 1982); Auerbach E., *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (New York: 1957).

life.[26] For Hoefnagel, doubt was present from the beginning. Throughout the *Four Elements*, mimesis has no clear endgame, and morality is shown to be anything but fixed in the natural world. To understand why requires a closer consideration of Hoefnagel's own biography and historical context.

History in the Making

All evidence suggests that Hoefnagel began the *Four Elements* on his own initiative and without a supporting patron. He kept the volumes in his possession until the end of his life, sharing them only with friends and close associates. This is exceptional within the history of illuminated manuscripts. That Hoefnagel took up the costly and time-consuming manuscript medium in the late sixteenth century—in an era when print was booming—was a conscious and meaningful choice. His goal was not to create a luxury object of the kind so cherished by noble and ecclesiastical patrons of the centuries prior, but instead to employ the manuscript book as an intimate space in which to document his own ruminations on the turbulent events unfolding around him.

Hoefnagel found impetus for the project in his hometown of Antwerp, within the creative and intellectual milieus that he frequented, and in response to the fraught early years of the Dutch Revolt. The earliest dated miniature in the volumes, inscribed with the year 1575, places their inception in a period when Hoefnagel was still active as a merchant in the great metropolis of the southern Netherlands where he was born and raised. According to Karel van Mander, the great biographer of Netherlandish artists, Hoefnagel had pursued drawing and painting on the side in these early years while training in his family's mercantile firm. It was only the dramatic circumstances of 'war and emigration' ('krijgh en vervluchten') that propelled him into a second career as a full-time artist.[27]

Hoefnagel experienced firsthand the economic havoc, iconoclasm, inquisitional atrocities wreaked by the Revolt on his native land from the early 1560s onwards. Amidst the religio-political conflict between Catholic Spain and the rebellious Low Countries, Antwerp suffered some of the war's harshest blows. According to Van Mander, the invasion and plundering of the city by

26 See Jorink E., *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575–1715*, trans. P. Mason (Leiden: 2010), and Jorink E. "Beyond the Lines of Apelles. Johannes Swammerdam, Dutch Scientific Culture and the Representation of Insect Anatomy", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 61 (2011) 148–183.

27 Mander Karel van, *Het Schilder-boeck* (Haarlem, Paschier van Wesbusch: 1604) fol. 262r–v.

the Spanish soldiers in 1576 resulted in the loss of Hoefnagel's entire family fortune.[28] One year later, he became one of many intellectuals and artists who permanently fled the region in search of better prospects abroad.

In 1577, Hoefnagel set off for Italy in the company of his close friend the Antwerp cartographer Abraham Ortelius, who shared his profound interest in the study of nature and was one of his close and early interlocutors on the *Four Elements* project.[29] As an anecdote from Van Mander's biography suggests, Hoefnagel carried the still incomplete volumes with him on their journey. Van Mander writes that during a sojourn in Munich, the two friends were received at the court of Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria, who was so impressed upon seeing 'a small piece of parchment with little animals and trees in gouache' ('een stucxken met beestgens en boomkens, van Verlichterije, op pergamijn') by Hoefnagel's hand that he not only requested to purchase the miniature but asked Hoefnagel to enter his service permanently.[30] If we believe Van Mander, then it would seem that Hoefnagel's miniatures may not even have been bound together at this early stage.

Through the workings of fortune, *Four Elements* thus became a kind of calling card for Hoefnagel's rare abilities as a miniaturist, which he applied to many subsequent courtly commissions for Albrecht and other patrons over the ensuing decades. Hoefnagel continued to work on the *Four Elements* during his courtly tenure, and they developed and expanded in dialogue with new friends and colleagues abroad. Although the last dated miniature in the manuscripts belongs to the year 1582, there is no reason to presume that Hoefnagel did not continue to engage with the project on and off—and on his own terms—for the rest of his life. It was most likely only after his death in 1600, that the

28 Mander, *Schilder-boeck* fol. 262v. On the Spanish Fury, see Génard P., *La furie espagnole. Documents pour servir à l'histoire du sac d'Anvers en 1576*, and Wegg J. *The Decline of Antwerp under Philip of Spain* (London: 1924) 189–206.

29 Rikken, M., "Abraham Ortelius as Intermediary for the Antwerp Animal Trailblazers", *Jahrbuch für Europäische Wissenschaftskultur* 6 (2011) 95–128, and Harkness D. *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven: 2008) esp. 19–25, 30–31, 40–41.

30 See Mander, *Schilder-boeck* fol. 262v, and Vignau-Wilberg Th., "Joris Hoefnagels Tätigkeit in München", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 81 (1985) 103–167, esp. 106–112, where it is suggested that the miniature to which Van Mander refers is Hoefnagel's 1573 *View of Seville* now in the Brussels Royal Library, which Albrecht did acquire for his collection. However, the reference in Van Mander seems closer to the *Four Elements* than to the composition of the 1573 miniature. On the question of the reliability of Van Mander's biography and his sources of information, see Taylor P., "Boekbespreking: Karel van Mander. *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*", *Oud Holland* 115 (2001/2002) 131–154, esp. 145–148.

manuscripts entered a new phase of reception when Hoefnagel's final foreign patron the Emperor Rudolf II acquired them for his vast collection of art and natural curiosities. In the context of Rudolf's court, it was the virtuosity of the miniatures, the play between nature and artifice, and above all his stunning and unprecedented depiction of insect specimens that ensured the volumes a long afterlife and wider audience than Hoefnagel had ever intended.[31]

Indeed, it seems unlikely that Hoefnagel himself ever considered the *Four Elements* truly finished. Each of the volumes, and each folio within them, comprises a miniature collection of visual and textual objects, to which more objects might still be added. Some openings across the volumes are entirely void of text. Others include inscriptions even in the rectangle of the verso facing the image, which Hoefnagel most often left blank (presumably to protect the miniatures when the book was closed). Fol. LV is also among those that include texts inscribed in various different colors of ink, which may indicate that Hoefnagel added them in multiple stages and over time as he uncovered new relevant quotations.

In this respect, Hoefnagel's collecting practice in the *Four Elements* aligns closely with other manuscript genres of the period. These include early modern commonplace books, in which the book's owner gradually gathered and arranged quotations from disparate sources under various topical headings.[32] Albeit, in place of the historical, religious or moral themes around which commonplacing was generally structured, Hoefnagel has organized individual openings and series of folios with the *Four Elements* around various animal species. The principle underlying his process of collecting nonetheless remains the same. Whereas a page from a printed treatise of emblems or natural history had to be planned in its entirety before going to press, Hoefnagel's manuscripts offered the potential for continued thought and amplification.

As a visual compendium, Hoefnagel's volumes also parallel the collecting practice of contemporary encyclopedists like Gesner and Ulisse Aldrovandi. Both scholars kept their own 'museums' of images, objects, letters, and other bits of information about curiosities of the natural world. These collections served as the basis for their printed publications, but they fulfilled a different

31 For the print series that Hoefnagel's son Jacob published in 1592 after many of his father's images from the *Four Elements*, and which had a tremendous impact on subsequent artists and seventeenth-century still-life paintings, see Vignau-Wilberg T., *Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii, 1592: Natur, Dichtung und Wissenschaft in der Kunst um 1600* (Munich: 1994).

32 Havens E., *Commonplace Books: A History of Manuscripts and Printed Books from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: 2001); Blair A., *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: 2010), passim.

and more personal function than the treatises that circulated their findings in the public domain; they offered sites for ongoing reflection and exchange, where newfound knowledge could always augment the old.[33]

Yet perhaps the most important parallel to the *Four Elements* is found in yet another genre of manuscript that emerged in Hoefnagel's lifetime: the friendship album or *album amicorum*.[34] Friendship albums were small collections of inscriptions and images dedicated to an individual by their friends and colleagues, designed to be easily portable from place to place, and passed from one friend to the next. Some of the earliest albums were formed from existing printed emblem books with pages leafed to allow space for handwritten additions. This adoption of the printed emblem book as a vehicle for intimate exchanges of friendship is indicative yet again that knowledge in the early modern period was always moving between the public and private spheres, between wider audiences and smaller networks of individuals.

Hoefnagel's engagement with the *album amicorum* genre is amply documented. He not only kept his own album but also penned those of several friends.[35] Albums produced by scholars in the Netherlands during the turbulent early years of the Dutch Revolt—particularly in the 1570s when Hoefnagel began work on the *Four Elements*—often refer to the wartime context as a foil to the exchanges that unfolded in the safe space of the albums themselves.

An excellent example is the album of the Protestant merchant Emanuel van Meteren, one of the great historians of the Dutch Revolt, who fled to England to escape religious persecution in his native Antwerp. Van Meteren's first friendship album had been confiscated by the Spanish inquisitors when he himself

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33 See especially Fischel A., *Natur im Bild: Zeichnung und Naturerkenntnis bei Conrad Gessner und Ulisse Aldrovandi* (Berlin: 2009), and also Findlen P., *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: 1994).

34 For useful overview and analysis of the album genre, see Thomassen K., *Alba amicorum: vijf eeuwen vriendschap op papier gezet: het album amicorum en het poëziealbum in de Nederlanden* (The Hague: 1990); Schlueter J., *The* album amicorum *and the London of Shakespeare's Time* (London: 2011) 8–28; and Wilson B., "Social Networking: The 'album amicorum' in Early Modern Public Making", in Rosposcher M. (ed.), *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe* (Bologna: 2012) 205–223. Especially relevant for Hoefnagel's circle is the discussion in Harris J., "The Practice of Community: Humanist Friendship during the Dutch Revolt", *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 47 (2005) 299–325.

35 See Hoefnagel's inscription in the *alba amicorum* of Abraham Ortelius (Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS. 2.113 fol. 6v, 1 September 1574), and also Ortelius A., *Album amicorum*, eds. J. Puraye—M. Delcourt (Amsterdam: 1969) 16–17. On Hoefnagel's lost friendship album, see discussion in Bass, *Insect Artifice* chap. 4.

was thrown in prison.[36] Hoefnagel was among the friends who helped to secure his release and to rebuild Van Meteren's second and surviving album.[37] On his new album's hand-drawn frontispiece, dated prominently to the year of his release in 1575, Van Meteren declares that the task of honoring and preserving friendship in the face of persecution motivated him above all else:

> Cum Hispani hoc anno Antverpiae inter caetera album amicorum illi eripuissent, in quo doctissimorum hominum amicorum suorum elogia inerant, in locum prioris amissi hoc alterum sibi faciendum curavit.
>
> When in this year the Spanish snatched away (among other things) the friendship album of this Antwerp-born man, in which the elegies of his friends—most learned men—were contained, he himself cared for the making of this other album, in place of the one that was lost.[38]

Hoefnagel's own inscription to Van Meteren, dating to 6 December 1575, appears just a few folios later [Fig. 14.8].[39] The main text, written in capital letters, bequeaths to his friend 'an eternal monument of enduring friendship' ('amicitiae in aeternum duraturae monumentum'), while a short phrase below in italic script situates his eternal dedication in the immediate context of 'troubled times' ('temporibus erumnosis'). This unquestionable reference to the violence of the Revolt, and strong expression of sympathy for Van Meteren's plight, also underlies the drawing that Hoefnagel penned on the recto of the opening, which represents his personal motto: 'Another hope for life' ('Spes altera vitae'). Hoefnagel derived the image from an emblem that he likely found in Claude Paradin's 1557 book of *Heroic Devices*, yet he made it his own by endowing a universal symbol with personal meaning.[40]

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36 Verduyn, W.D., *Emanuel van Meteren: Bijdrage tot de kennis van zijn leven, zijn tijd en het onstaan van zijn geschiedwerk* (The Hague: 1926) 122–146, as summarized in Nevison J.L., "Emanuel van Meteren, 1535–1612", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 19.4 (1956) 128–135, esp. 132–133.

37 Emanuel van Meteren (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 68 (21642). For an overview of the album, see Rogge H.C., "Het album van Emanuel van Meteren", *Oud Holland* 15 (1897) 159–192, and for Hoefnagel's involvement in Van Meteren's release from prison, see Verduyn, *Emanuel van Meteren* 123, and 127–128.

38 Rogge, "Het album" 162–163 (fol. 1r).

39 Ibidem, 166 (fols. 5v-6r).

40 Paradin Claude, *Devises heroïques* (Lyons, Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau: 1557) 258.

SPES ALTERA VITÆ ..
EMANVELI DEMETRIO SVO GEORGIVS
HOEFNAGLE [INITÆ CVM IPSO AMICITIÆ
IN ÆTERNVM DVRATVRÆ MONVMENTVM]
ÆTERNITATIS SYMBOLVM PROPRIA DEPICT:
MANV [NATVRA MAGISTRA] ROGATVS. P.
ANVERPIÆ NAT: SOLO: A°
M. D. LXXV. VI. DECE.

FIGURE 14.8 *Joris Hoefnagel, "Spes Altera Vita", from: Emanuel van Meteren's* Album amicorum *(1575), fols. 4v–5r. Oxford, Bodleian Library (Douce 68 (21642)).* IMAGE © BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

In a palette of brown hues, Hoefnagel has patiently articulated the tired stalks of wheat bending over a plot of uprooted earth, which supports only a few weeds and an overturned skull. The fading sheaves promise regeneration through their scattered seeds, even in the face of death and carnage—a promise affirmed by the lines below from St. Paul's first *Letter to the Corinthians*: 'that sown in corruption is raised in incorruption; that sown in weakness is raised in power; that sown in a natural body is raised in a spiritual one'.[41] This island of earth embodies the condition that Van Meteren and Hoefnagel shared as emigrés; no longer rooted securely in their homeland, their friendship rejuvenates wherever they are and wherever they carry their albums with them. In

41 1 *Corinthians* 15: 42–44.

Symbolum hoc meum addidi, cum ex
direpta à barbaris Iberis Antverpia, pro-
fugeram, Londini: Anno à Christo
nato M. CCCCC. LXXVII. Idib. April.
CONTEMNO ET ORNO, MENTE, MANV.
ABRAH. ORTELIVS.
VITÆ A Ω SCOPVS.
DNO EMANVELI DEMETRIO cognato suo, non
tam ob sanguinis affinitatem caro, quam ob varias animi
dotes colendo, ac corporis effigiem, et animi sui imaginē,
A. ORTELIVS L. F. C. N. ANTVERPIANVS BELGA,
in perpetuæ observantiæ testeram, sua manu L. M. P.
ANTVERPIAE ADVATICORVM,
CIↃ. ID. LXXVI. ID. MART.

FIGURE 14.9 *Abraham Ortelius, "Spes Altera Vita", from: Emanuel van Meteren's* Album amicorum *(1576–1577), fols. 3v–4r. Oxford, Bodleian Library (Douce 68 (21642)).* IMAGE © BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

the act of making and the preservation of community, both men found hope for a second life.

Equally telling is the dedication that precedes Hoefnagel's own, penned by none other than Abraham Ortelius [Fig. 14.9].[42] The recto of the opening comprises Ortelius's first and fairly standard monument of friendship dating to March 1576, but the verso includes an addition made subsequently in April 1577, after the cartographer had escaped the Spanish Fury in Antwerp for safe haven in London. He writes: 'I added my symbol here, after Antwerp was plundered by the barbarous Spaniards, and I had fled' ('Symbolum hoc meum addidi, cum ex direpta a barbaris Iberis Antverpia, profugeram'). Above

42 Rogge, "Het album" 165 (fols. 3v–4r).

is the symbol to which he refers: an image of a snake coiled around a pile of books, with a globe of the world superimposed over its head.[43] The surrounding inscription in Greek, 'ΜΩΡΙΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ' ('foolishness in the eyes of God') recalls two passages from St. Paul's first *Letter to the Corinthians*, a text Hoefnagel had already cited in his dedication to Van Meteren; specifically, Ortelius evokes St. Paul's lines referring to the foolishness of God as wiser than all human wisdom.[44] Ortelius's symbol makes clear that he shared with Hoefnagel a commitment to the pursuit of learning that was fueled, rather than diminished, by the uncertain events of the war in their homeland. At the same time, that uncertainty put into stark relief just how obscure God's intentions and wisdom remained. Knowledge of every volume in Ortelius's library or every creature in Hoefnagel's manuscripts would never come close to the divine knowledge that surpasses human understanding.

Van Meteren's album exemplifies the use of the manuscript medium as a vehicle for exchanges among friends whose physical bonds of proximity had been sundered by the Revolt—a space where community could be reconstituted and personal history preserved. Hoefnagel's corresponding innovation with his *Four Elements* project was to employ the realm of nature not only as a guiding principle for his collection of images and inscriptions but also as a site of intimate engagement during a period of unprecedented destruction and dispersal of humanist culture. If troubled times cast doubt on the continued advancement of knowledge, they also necessitated the creation of enduring monuments dedicated to the endeavors of friendship and scholarship on which culture itself was predicated.

In the midst of the Spanish Inquisition and its dampening of creative expression in the Low Countries, Hoefnagel's manuscripts functioned as a space of refuge in which to inscribe a personal history of discovery, observation, and doubt about the relation between the divine book of nature and machinations of human history. Like a friendship album, the volumes could be shared among his intimates, but their overt subject also shielded them from the kind of suspicion and censure that Van Meteren's first album had aroused. For Hoefnagel, the material practice and labor of amplifying the volumes as he traveled from Antwerp to foreign shores meant that they became a record of his life—of places he lived and people he encountered—as much as they documented his continued reading and observations on the animal species depicted within them.

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43 The same symbol appears on the reverse of the 1578 portrait medal of Ortelius made by Jacques Jonghelinck.

44 1 *Corinthians* 1: 25; 3:19.

War and Peace

Like the majority of miniatures in the *Four Elements*, fol. LV of Hoefnagel's *Aier* volume is not dated, and there is no immediate clue to determining the period of his career to which it belongs. However, the owl is among the creatures that resurface often and elsewhere in Hoefnagel's oeuvre, both in independent miniatures and other illuminated manuscripts from his later years as a court artist.[45] Again recalling the precedent of Bosch, with whom the creature had become inextricably associated in Netherlandish visual tradition, Hoefnagel figured the owl as an emblem of his own artistic endeavors and struggle to achieve wisdom and inner strength.

The earliest example is a miniature that dates to 1579, which Hoefnagel made as a gift to honour his new patron Albrecht V, shortly after settling in Munich [Fig. 14.10]. In the left border of its complex allegorical composition, which is dedicated to the peaceable arts that flourished under Albrecht's reign, is what appears to be a little owl, though its colouring is lighter and its features less carefully delineated than those on fol. LV of the *Aier* volume [Fig. 14.11]. The choice of this species (*Athene noctua*) would be fitting given that the owl is perching atop the helmet of the goddess Athena, with whom it had been associated since antiquity. The olive branches that frame the bird further allude to the goddess and more generally to the peaceable arts, which the painters' palettes tied around the helmet explicitly evoke. The same theme extends to the paradoxical coat of arms below the owl, which is comprised of artists' tools—pen, brush, mallet, chisels, compass and rulers—positioned together so as to form the shape of a crossbow and arrows. The caduceus in its right talon completes the emblem of the owl as Hermathena, the combination of Athena's bellicosity and wisdom with the mystical artistry of Hermes.[46]

While the Hermathenic owl circulated well beyond Hoefnagel's works, its placement here is as a concealed portrait, directed at the patron who had offered him a safe home abroad. In the collar surrounding the shield, Hoefnagel has interspersed little shells filled with pigment like those that he would have used as he painted the miniature itself, and between them, six capital letters that form the Latin word *'virtus'* ('virtue'). The virtue of art for Hoefnagel was

45 For an overview of Hoefnagel's use of the owl as motif, see Vignau-Schuurman, *Die emblematischen Elemente* 190–200.

46 Irmscher G., "*Hermathena* in der Hofkunst Prags und Münchens um 1600", in Bukovinská B. – Konečný L., *München—Prag um 1600* (Prague: 2009) 77–101; see also Astrid Zenkert's essay in this volume for additional examples of the Hermathenic owl in Hoefnagel's works.

FIGURE 14.10 *Joris Hoefnagel, "Allegory of the Rule of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria" (1579). Gouache on parchment, 23.5 × 18 cm. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen (KdZ 4804).*

IMAGE © KUPFERSTICHKABINETT DER STAATLICHEN MUSEEN ZU BERLIN – PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ.

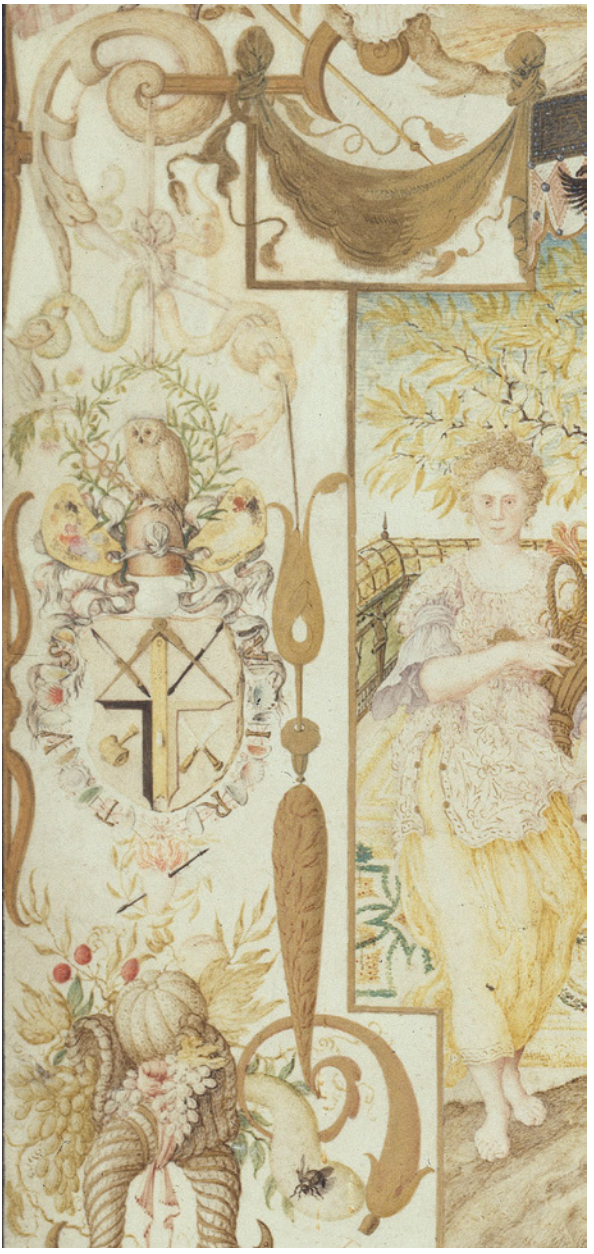

FIGURE 14.11 *Joris Hoefnagel, "Allegory of the Rule of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria" (1579). Gouache on parchment, 23.5 × 18 cm. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen (KdZ 4804). Detail, owl.* IMAGE © KUPFERSTICHKABINETT DER STAATLICHEN MUSEEN ZU BERLIN – PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ.

more than the possibility it afforded him of a second career. The endeavors of reading, observing, and making were a salvation from the war in his homeland and a solace from the troubled public sphere. In manuscripts like the *Four Elements* or private miniatures like his gift to Albrecht V, Hoefnagel was not contributing to a larger emblematic natural history, premised on the conviction that learning and observation would illuminate the mysteries of divine nature. The history embedded in his works is of his mind's own wanderings, musings shared with friends, and distances traveled—a history that was fundamentally his own.

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CHAPTER 15

The Owl and the Birds: Speeches, Emblems, and Fountains

Astrid Zenkert

A Nearly Forgotten Aesopic Fable and the Art of Teaching Wisdom

If an owl flies in daylight, it will be persecuted by flights of other birds. Behavioural biologists are still engaging in a very controversial discussion about how to interpret what they call the 'mobbing' of an owl. This stunning and enigmatic spectacle has always appealed to the imagination and inspired a broad range of intellectual and artistic engagement with its metaphorical potential. It also appealed to the practical fantasy of crafty bird catchers, who since antiquity had been taking advantage of the strange attraction that the owl exerts on other birds, by using it as a decoy bird.

In the early modern age, the image of the owl being attacked by birds was used in so many ways that, at first glance, the confusingly different settings and pictorial interpretations of the theme seem to have nothing to do with each other: In an emblem book by Joannes Sambucus it refers to the arts, as being hated by the ignorant. In an illumination by Joris Hoefnagel it illustrates a text about Christ among the Pharisees. And in some Netherlandish paintings and engravings (for example, in Abraham Bloemaert's series *The Five Senses*) it is interpreted as an allegory of sight. The theme also occurs in some prominent fountains in princely gardens: It was staged as a mechanical play in the water organ of the famous Fontana della Civetta in the Garden of the Villa d'Este. It functioned as a kind of introduction to the entrance of the Labyrinth of Versailles. And in the 18th century it was situated in central positions in the gardens of La Malgrange and Schwetzingen, reflecting on the confines of enlightenment.

This short enumeration of seemingly unconnected examples confirms the semiotic commonplace that it is only within a given system that one can define the semantic "value" of a sign. Meaning is not an inherent property of any motif but rather results from a complex process of relating it to the spatial and historical circumstances of its concrete usage, as well as to the special qualities of the medium in which it is displayed. However, context should not be

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conceived merely in synchronic terms. The recurrence of a motif throughout history is part of its context as well.

Exploring continuity *within* multiple changes is the main concern of this study. Retracing this continuity in the "life" of a motif across different times, spaces, and media allows us to watch tradition at work and to realize through an example the pivotal function of long-standing sets of symbols and allegories that recur diachronically throughout culture. 'By activating culture's memory of itself', as the Russian semiotist Lotman put it, 'they prevent culture from disintegrating into isolated chronological layers'. They allow concepts and ideas to be carried from one level of a culture's memory to another.[1]

This paper aims to comprehend those concepts which are transported and developed by means of the motif of the owl surrounded by birds, as well as to delineate the techniques of getting new insights and meanings out of the theme by "transcribing" it into different media and settings and by inserting it within complex collage systems of textual and iconic fragments. In order to understand the different positions and intentions articulated in the single examples of the motif, we need to comprehend the conceptual continuity within its recurrence. Conversely, we can conceive this coherence only by analysing the specific distinctions articulated in the diverse depictions of the motif.

Yet, we can only enter this circular process of comprehension if we know—again, in the words of Lotman—the 'iconic texts' which are the foundations of this 'iconic continuum'.[2] In the case of the owl surrounded by birds this 'iconic text' is an Aesopic fable, which until now has never been related to the early modern depictions of the scene, although it provides an indispensable key to their understanding. As a consequence, until now these depictions have never been read in conjunction.[3]

The astonishing circumstance that the Aesopic fable about the owl and the birds has been ignored until now as the common ground beneath the divergent uses of the motif is probably due to the fact that it is known almost only to fable researchers. Already in late antiquity it was overlaid and superseded by

1 Lotman Y.M., *The Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture* (London: 1990) 204.

2 Lotman, *The Universe* 204.

3 The article "Owl" of the RDK and the article "Symbolische Jagd" on the page of the Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Symbolforschung (http://www.symbolforschung.ch/node/799#Eulen, 12 October 2016) list some examples from the Middle Ages to the early modern age. Due to their lexical character, however, they do not aim to discover any interrelation between the different uses of the motif. Plagemann V. – Schwarz H., *Artikel Eule*, Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte 6 (Munich: 1970) 267–322.

a very similar fable with an analogous plot, which features the swallow instead of the owl as the story's protagonist. As this secondary form had become dominant very early on, the fable of the owl and the birds does not appear in any of the classical fable collections.[4]

The version with the owl came down to us only through the orations of Dion of Prusa, called Dio Chrysostomus (40–c. 115 AD), one of the foremost rhetoricians of the 1st century AD.[5] Little-known today but famous at other times in history, Dio's eighty extant discourses experienced several complete editions from the late 15th to the 20th century.[6] So the fable has been handed down primarily within an explicitly rhetorical context. This fact will turn out to be highly significant for an understanding of its visual representations in the early modern age. Because, as I will argue, it is the misery and the splendour of rhetoric that provides the frame within which we may understand the motif's impact across different times and media. But it is not only the fable's context within the speeches of a famous rhetor, but also the fable itself, which may provoke reflection on the necessity and the problems of rhetoric.

The fable of the owl and the birds, which Dio records with only slight differences in two of his extant speeches,[7] tells of the owl as the embodiment of the wise, endowed with superior knowledge: The wise owl once warned the birds against the ruses of the humans as bird catchers. But they only mocked the owl, taking it for a lunatic. After the birds had learned by experience that

4 The secondary form with the swallow instead of the owl had already appeared in Phaedrus. See Perry B.E., "Demetrius of Phalerum and the Aesopic Fables", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 93 (1962) 287–346, esp. 315.

5 Apart from a Greek papyrus from the early 1st century (ed. by C.H. Roberts in vol. 3 of the *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library* [Manchester: 1938] No. 439), Dio's discourses are indeed the only antique source of the fable that is still extant. See Perry, "Demetrius of Phalerum" 315.

6 The *editio princeps*, published by Dionysius Paravisinus in Milan in 1476, has disappeared. The first version that is still extant and contains all the orations is that of Franciscus Turrisanus, Venice, 1550 or 1551 (on the difficulties in establishing the exact date of this edition, see Amato E., *Xenophontis imitator fidelissimus. Studi su tradizione e fortuna erudita di Dione Crisostomo tra XVI e XIX secolo* [Alessandria: 2011] 3–4). In 1604 Frédéric Morel published a new edition with a Latin translation by Thomas Kirchmaier in Paris, and in 1784 there was a new complete edition by J. Reiske at Leipzig.

7 "The Twelfth Discourse, Man's First Conception of God" (also known as *Olympic Discourse*), in Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses 12–30*, transl. J.W. Cohoon, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: 1939) and "The Seventy-Second Discourse, On Personal Appearance", in Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses 61–80. Fragments. Letters*, transl. H. Lamar Crosby, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: 1951).

the owl was right, their contempt turned into admiration. They used to gather around the owl to get further advice. But now the owl merely laments.

This is, of course, an aetiological tale, explaining both the strange attraction that the owl exerts on the birds, and the ululating sound of her voice. But at the same time, it is a thoughtful story about the fundamental dilemma of each kind of enlightenment: Inferior minds will never understand and accept the wise man's advice unless they get the opportunity to conceive its truth through their own experience. Thus, the fable outlines the fundamental challenge of communicating insights that are beyond the horizon of the audience.

How is it possible, nevertheless, to engage an ignorant audience in a process of reflection? How is it possible to make them think about a matter with which they do not feel concerned? It may be seen as the crucial intention of the Aesopic fable as a poetic genre to solve this problem by exciting the audience into searching for what may be the story's moral. Thus, it lets them *experience* the finding of a truth, thereby allowing them to appropriate it as *their* truth. Therefore, the fable of the owl and the birds can be regarded as a kind of meta-fable, implicitly reasoning the importance of fables for a successful communication of insights.

In fact, telling fables has always been considered as an essential rhetorical device, helping the orator involve the audience in the considerations he tries to share with them. It was actually for orators' use that Demetrius of Phalerum, an Athenian statesman and orator of the 4th century BC, compiled all the fables ascribed to Aesop that earlier Greek writers had used in isolation as exempla, into a set of ten books.[8] Although this compilation of Demetrius was mentioned frequently for the next twelve centuries and was considered the official Aesop, no copy now survives. It is, however, very probable that it contained the fable of the owl and the birds and that Dio derived it from there. It may be that this fable, presenting the bird of Athena as the embodiment of the wise man who tries to convey salutary counsel to his ignorant fellow birds, already had a paradigmatic importance for the Athenian Demetrius in regard to his self-concept as a rhetor and a statesman.

Some centuries later, another Greek orator *explicitly* compares himself to the owl and his audience to the birds: In both *Discourses 12* and *Discourses 72* Dio of Prusa refers to the Aesop fable in order to illuminate the relation between the orator and his audience. By referring additionally to the use of the owl as a decoy bird, Dio makes this complex analogy even more intricate. Conceived as a decoy, the wise owl of the Aesopic fable would involuntarily

8 Demetrius probably wrote his *Aesop* before or during his reign in Athens between 317 and 307. See Perry, "Demetrius of Phalerum" 315.

lure birds into the traps of the bird catchers, against whom the owl had warned them. So, the paradoxical situation of the Aesopic owl, caught between disdain and admiration, powerlessness and might, is enriched by the tension between intellectual independence and compromising captivity, enlightenment and deceit. Thus, compiling and intertwining natural history and mythology, everyday hunting practice and Aesopic narration, Dio forges an iconic motif, capable of reflecting in all its multiple aspects what (as we will see) may be described as the rhetor's dilemma.

It is on the basis of the scene's fundamental visual ambiguity in which the different temporal moments of the Aesopic narration seem to be contracted and stored that this motif develops the dynamic character of a metaphor, which functions like a flip-flop image: Its discursive connotations allow one to distinguish the contrasting "poles" of the paradoxical correlation between rhetor and audience, but its iconic appearance does not allow one to keep them apart. Since the metaphor's oscillating surface makes it impossible to fix one of its concurrent aspects as an ultimate truth, it stirs a perpetual process of reflection. So, the owl surrounded by birds can be regarded as an elaborate example of a special type of rhetorical image, one that helps to set and to keep a dynamic of deliberation and consideration in motion. This type of image is not an illustration of a preformed idea but a tool of reflection, or rather a tool appropriate for *performing* a process of deliberation which allows or demands participation.

It is the central hypothesis of this article that the early modern depictions of the owl and the birds discussed here all relate in one way or another to this iconic quality of the motif as created by Dio, which can be described as autoreflective, dynamic, and performative. They are all built on the same flip-flopping structure of quasi-paradoxical relations although they may transfer the founding pattern of the relation between the rhetor and his audience to different constellations, such as the relation between Christ and the Pharisees, the humanist scholar and the ignorant, the enlightened prince and his people, and so on. As I will argue, in all those depictions the motif seems to be used in order to reflect and paraphrase the self-concept, the intentions, and the methods of their producers or their commissioners as being emphatically rhetorical.

However—and this is a crucial point—they all are concerned with a rhetoric conceived as a method of pursuing wisdom and virtue instead of aiming to manipulate without regard to its purpose. In this respect these reflections about the motif of the owl and the birds may contribute to a more complex understanding of early modern visual rhetoric, which until now has primarily been considered in terms of religious and political propaganda. In contrast, these examples do not reflect on a rhetoric which merely aims to convey a

preformed message; rather, they adhere to a rhetorical tradition which tries to let the audience take an active part in a process of consideration and self-reflection. The emblems, illustrations, and garden installations which are discussed in this article may be seen as an attempt to cast the ephemeral interactive aspect of a delivered speech in a permanent mould, allowing the retention of something of the versatile interrelation between rhetor and audience under the conditions of visual media which are more stable with regard to the medium and less definite in view of the recipients. The transformation of such a verbal image within an oration into a visual image within an emblem book or a garden seems to suggest a virtual oratorical context to the recipient, which he himself may complete *ad libitum* in his mind or in his conversations.

The fact that all these examples emerge from philologically highly educated circles of scholars, artists, and commissioners makes it seem possible, if not probable, that not merely the Aesop fable—which is preserved only in Dio's speeches—but the speeches as a whole may be regarded as their textual source, ignored until now. But even in those cases in which there may only be an indirect connection, mediated through other texts and images, Dio's discourses reflect the intellectual constellations and the philosophical attitudes that we need to know if we want to understand the semantic and rhetorical impact of early modern depictions of the owl and the birds.

Between Philosophy and Sophistry: The Dilemma of the Rhetor

Towards the end of the 1st century AD, the Second Sophistic, a revival of oratorical elements derived from the first Greek sophists, had made an enormous impact on the cultural and political life of the Roman Empire. Celebrated like pop stars, the foremost representatives of this style exerted great influence on the education of the Roman elites and accumulated considerable wealth. They were widely respected for their abilities but also widely criticized for their excesses. This entailed a renewal of the raging controversy about the ethical value of sophist practice. In the tradition of Plato's and Xenophon's criticisms, sophistry came to be regarded as being distinct from philosophy. The sophists came under suspicion of seeking political influence and wealth instead of truth. Accused of applying their elaborate rhetorical techniques to any purpose, be it good or bad, and of using the ambiguities of language in order to deceive, they were even regarded as antagonists of the true philosopher, who does not pretend to possess wisdom but only claims to love her.

But sometimes it is not easy or even possible to draw a clear line between philosopher and sophist. Socrates, who was seen as the epitome of the true

philosopher by some and as a dangerous sophist by others, is the best example of this ambiguity, which, as we will see, is mirrored perfectly in the ambiguous scene of the owl surrounded by birds. Dio may be described as being caught in the middle of this antagonism in a peculiar way. Already a successful rhetor in his early years, he became strongly engaged with Stoic and Platonist philosophies. Crucial episodes in his life testify to his struggle to represent a deeply philosophical attitude as the essential impetus of his rhetoric. For instance, when he had been banished by the Emperor Domitian in 82, he stylized himself according to the model of a cynic philosopher by wandering through the countries in the north and east of the Roman Empire, dressed in the garb of a beggar and delivering numerous speeches. I will argue that it is in order to reflect and to communicate his emerging concept of an oratory that claims to reconcile the art of rhetoric with philosophic attitudes, methods, and intentions that he uses the ambiguous image of the owl and the birds.

In his Olympic discourse about *Man's First Conception of God* (*Discourses 12*), his main concern with the motif is to illustrate his own attitude as being distinct from that of the sophists, whom he compares in a pejorative way to the peacock, while he himself identifies with the owl.[9] The unusually extensive *captatio* of this speech is wholly dedicated to this distinction. By the example of the owl surrounded by birds he runs through all the stereotypical dichotomies which are commonly used to describe the sophist as opposed to the philosopher: The sophist seeks glory, political protection, and influence, while the true philosopher is independent from opinions and political power. The sophist takes money for sharing his superior insights with the audience and with pupils; the true philosopher does not. The sophist claims to be omniscient; the true philosopher only claims to know what he does not know.

Against the backdrop of this antagonism the reference to the owl and the birds mainly serves to demonstrate that Dio shares the attitudes and ideas of the ancient philosophers, *although* his brilliant rhetoric skills and his success as an orator seem to testify against this self-conception. He systematically links

9 To him this distinction may have been of special importance at a turning point in his life. The year of the *Olympic Speech* brought along the end of his life of peregrination, which he had lived on the advice of the Delphic oracle after he had been banished. Delivering this speech, he had just come from using his influence with the army stationed on the frontier, in favour of Nerva, who ended Dio's exile after becoming emperor. Being on the point of regaining political influence and imperial protection, he may have felt it necessary to confirm and readjust his philosophical image, distancing himself clearly from sophistry. Nevertheless, in the history of rhetoric Dio is commonly labelled as belonging to the Second Sophistic. For a general view of the cultural and political situation, see Gangloff A., *Dion Chrysostome et les mythes. Hellénisme, communication et philosophie politique* (Grenoble: 2006).

the image to the Aristotelian rhetorical triad of ethos, pathos, and logos by demonstrating his personal attitude (ethos), his methods of moving and involving the audience (pathos), and his concept of knowledge (logos) as being emphatically philosophical.

The way he exploits this metaphor—on the one hand using it to unfold these confusingly intertwined aspects, and on the other hand to hold them together by concentrating and condensing them within a single image—is a masterly rhetorical performance which deserves closer attention, the more so as Dio's way of dealing with the motif in the shape of a verbal image may be regarded as being paradigmatic for its early modern use as visual image.

Dio opens his speech—addressed to the huge assembly of Greeks who had come together to witness the Olympic games of the year 97 AD—by comparing himself to the owl, and the audience, gathering around him, to the birds, thus involving them at once in his discourse.

> Can it be, Sirs, that here before you, just as before many another audience [...] I have met with the strange and inexplicable experience of the owl? For though she is no whit wiser than the other birds nor more beautiful in appearance, but on the contrary only what we know her to be, yet whenever she utters her mournful and far from pleasing note, they all flock to her.[10]

Why is it, Dio then asks, that the birds do not gather around the peacock (the sophist) or around the swan (the poet), but around the ugly owl (the philosopher), with its lamenting voice?[11] The reason is, as it seems to Dio, 'that they look with scorn upon its insignificance and weakness; and yet people in general say, that the birds admire the owl'.[12] So, in the first sentence of his speech he immediately stresses the fundamental and indissoluble ambiguity of the phenomenon as being 'strange and inexplicable'. Offering an explanation which differs from the general opinion he explicitly points to the possibility of opposite interpretations, which will turn out to be the "motor" of the motif's dynamic reflective potential.

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10 Dio, *Discourses 12*, 1–2, Loeb Classical Library, 1939, vol. II, 5.

11 With the audience's choice between these three animals, Dio seems to allude to the Judgement of Paris between the three goddesses Hera (peacock), Aphrodite (swan), and Athena (owl).

12 Dio, *Discourses 12*, 1–2, Loeb Classical Library, 1939, vol. II, 5.

As the owl is regarded to be the bird of Athena, Dio takes into consideration that the birds follow the owl 'one might almost say not without some divine purpose',[13] suggesting that this 'strange and inexplicable' phenomenon might be meant by the gods to make men wonder about it and to insinuate some significance. Thus attributing a metaphysical dignity to this spectacle, he endows it with an iconic status that reaches beyond the quality of a simple metaphor.

So, he introduces his considerations by displaying the special figurative quality of the natural spectacle as being endowed with an identificatory, polarizing, and possibly even oracular potential. Thus he gives an elaborate foundation to his rhetorical use of the scene as an image: a use that is appropriate to structure and unify his introductory self-reflection in the function of a "leitmotiv". (We should bear this foundation in mind when, in the following chapters, we examine some examples of its emblematic use in the early modern age).

Dio then indicates a narrative frame for the interpretation of the phenomenon. He tells the Aesop fable, which offers an explanation for the scene's ambiguity by matching the opposite opinions that he had mentioned above to different phases of a narration.[14] First the birds gather around the owl because they mock her, and then they surround her because they admire her. But—and this is very important for the functioning of the motif—it remains impossible to judge by appearance whether it is the one or other. *Seeing* the phenomenon provides no evidence.

In a next step, Dio performatively "applies" the fable to the here and now, reasoning why it is that he is surrounded by a large audience. 'So perhaps', Dio interprets the actual situation, 'there has been delivered unto you some true word and salutary counsel, which Philosophy gave to the Greeks of old, but

13 Dio, *Discourses* 12, 5, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 11, 11.

14 Dio, *Discourses* 12, 7–9, Loeb Classical Library 1939, vol. 11, 11–13: '[…] Aesop composed the fable in which he represents her as being wise and as advising the birds, when the first oak tree began to grow, not to let it happen, but by all means to destroy the plant; for, she explained, the tree would produce a drug from which none might escape, the bird-lime, and they would be caught by it. Again, when men were sowing flax, she bade them pick up this seed also, since if it grew, no good would come of it. 8? And in the third place, when she saw a man armed with a bow, she prophesied, saying: "Yonder man will outstrip you with the help of your own feathers, for though he is on foot himself, he will send feathered shafts after you." But the other birds mistrusted her words of warning. They considered her foolish, and said she was mad; but afterwards through experience they came to admire her and to consider her in very truth exceedingly wise. And that is the reason why, whenever she shows herself, they draw near to her as to one possessing all knowledge; but as for her, she no longer gives them advice, but merely laments'.

the men of that time comprehended it not and despised it;[15] whereas those of the present day, recalling it, draw near to me on account of my appearance,[16] thus honouring Philosophy as the birds honour the owl, although it is in reality voiceless and reticent of speech'.[17] But if they expect to hear some prophecy or counsel—Dio advises his audience—they should consult one of the famous sophists who claim to be omniscient and who earn a lot of money by teaching many students. Instead, like the "voiceless" owl, he is surrounded by a huge audience, *although*, like his venerated model Socrates, he does not give any advice, only knows that he knows nothing.[18] Thus, Dio demonstrates that his success as an orator does not prove him to be a sophist.

Dio points out that taking neither money nor pupils, because he does not feel able to offer any superior knowledge, is another respect in which he differs from the sophists and resembles the owl: 'For just as that bird makes no use herself of the others that fly to her side, but to the fowler is the most useful of all possessions [...] so I too have nothing to gain by the interest of the many'. The sophist, instead, he compares to the fowler. Like the fowler, who merely has to display the owl to attract a great multitude of birds, the sophist only has to give the appearance of dealing with philosophy in order to attract a huge audience.[19]

After all this figural argumentation, demonstrating his distance towards the sophists, there is only one problem left: How to justify his activity as an orator in view of the reticent character of the wise owl? Dio proclaims that he would speak and try to the best of his ability only under the condition that the audience really believes that he knows nothing and allows him to pursue any thought that occurs to him, wandering in his remarks, like he did in the past, when he had led a life of roving.[20] Thus, he links his peregrination, which he displays as the fulfilment of a vow to Apollo after having been banished by

15 Here he alludes to Socrates, who was not appreciated by the majority of Athenians and who finally was accused of impiety and sentenced to death.

16 He refers to his long hair and unkempt beard, which in *Discourses 72* he describes as the 'garb of the philosopher'.

17 Dio, *Discourses 12*, 9–10, Loeb Classical Library 1939, vol. II, 13.

18 Dio, *Discourses 12*, 5, Loeb Classical Library 1939, vol. II, 10: '[...] since you, I say, despite all these attractions, draw near and wish to listen to me, a man who knows nothing and makes no claim to knowing, am I not right in likening your interest to that which the birds take in the owl [...]?'.

19 Dio, *Discourses 12,* 12–13, Loeb Classical Library, 1939, vol. II, 18: 'And I shall tell you of another respect too in which I am like the owl, even if you are ready to laugh at my words [...]'.

20 Dio, *Discourses 12,* 16, Loeb Classical Library, 1939, vol. II, 20.

the Emperor Domitian, to his "peripatetic" method of thinking and speaking. By not being obliged to anybody—neither to the emperor nor to any pupils, but only to Apollo, he proves himself able to follow his thoughts without purpose. Thus, giving way to the attraction of wisdom, he can claim to be a *lover* of wisdom, a *philo*sopher. By letting the whole audience take part in this intellectual wandering he applies the Socratic method to rhetoric, thus giving a public voice to philosophy. (We should keep this "peripatetic" method of unintentional wandering in mind when we consider the visual rhetoric of the Royal Labyrinth of Versailles.)

When some years later, in *Discourses 72, On Appearance*, Dio again draws on the motif of the owl surrounded by birds, it is with a slightly different accentuation.[21] Now he focusses on an analysis of the characteristic combination of admiration and disdain that was provoked by the typical appearance of the philosopher, featuring long hair, a long beard, and a himation without a tunic. In an analogy to the owl being attacked by birds, Dio vividly describes how those who appear in the 'garb' of a philosopher are subjected to insult and mockery, and even to physical violence.[22]

He explains this situation using psychological reasons: According to him, people are irresistibly attracted to the promise of knowledge, but at the same time they cannot bear to be taught. They are like pupils who cannot help mocking their teacher, despite or even simply because of the fact that they admire and fear him.[23] Therefore, disdain, envy, and hate are the fate the philosopher has to bear as stoically as the owl does, even if this means exile, or even death, like in the case of Socrates.

But how is it possible to teach wisdom under these conditions? Discussing this question, Dio again refers to Aesop, who tried 'to admonish mankind and show them wherein they were in error, believing that they would be most tolerant towards him if they were amused by his humor and his tales'.[24] 'Indeed', Dio continues, 'this is why Aesop composed a fable which I will relate'. And again, he tells the fable of the owl and the birds, which demonstrates that it is not enough just to be wise—it is necessary to have a wise concept of how to

21 Unfortunately we know neither the exact date nor the occasion of this speech, which is supposed to have been delivered in Rome.

22 Dio, *Discourses 72*, Loeb Classical Library 1951, vol. v, 179–180. For a detailed discussion of the philosopher's image in Dio's *Discourse 72*, Nesselrath H.-G. (ed.), *Der Philosoph und sein Bild. Dion von Prusa* [Discourses 54–55, 70–72], introduction, critical edition, commentary, translation, and essays by E. Amato et al. (Tübingen: 2009) 287–288.

23 Dio, *Discourses 72*, 9–10, Loeb Classical Library 1951, vol. v, 185.

24 Dio, *Discourses 72*, 13, Loeb Classical Library 1951, vol. v, 189.

share wisdom. So, the orator should amuse his audience and should let them experience finding the truth in a quasi-Socratic way. So, Dio tries to reconcile rhetorical and philosophical concepts that in the quarrels concerning the ethical value of sophism had appeared as alternatives.

But at the ending of his speech, he introduces a significate distinction between philosophy and rhetoric, by again combining the Aesop fable with the motif of the owl as a decoy bird. He states that those who gather around him for the same reason the birds gather around the owl, when they have learned that she is indeed very wise '[…] will approach her, I fancy, all in vain and to their cost. For though that owl of olden days was really wise and able to give advice, those of today merely have her feathers, eyes, and beak, but in all else they are more foolish than the other birds. Therefore, they cannot benefit even themselves; for otherwise they would not be kept at the bird-catcher's, caged and in servitude.'[25]

Hence, he blames all contemporary philosophers, including himself, for only resembling but not equalling the true philosophers of ancient times. Compared to the noble thoughts and radical living of Socrates or Diogenes they are philosophers only in appearance. They all are captured owls. So, with reference to the image of the captured owl the sceptical outlook on the confines of the human mind is reinforced by the feeling of inferiority compared to the philosophical heroes of ancient times. Thus, Dio declares that he is limiting himself mainly to 'discovering some bit of wisdom which has already been from the ancients cast aside as it were, and had grown stale for lack of teachers who are both better and still living'.[26] In contrast to true philosophy, his philosophical rhetoric is not based upon original insights, but upon the discovery and recombination of ancient ones.

It is on the basis of this slightly melancholic eclecticism that in late antiquity rhetoric began to supersede philosophy. And maybe it is on grounds of an affinity to this basic attitude that a type of early modern age humanism developed a kindred view on rhetoric as a means of finding and teaching virtue and wisdom.

Articulated through different media, be they painting, engraving, or sculpting, the examples discussed here seem to share and to reflect the basic concept of rhetoric, which Dio tries to convey through the image of the owl surrounded by birds. This kind of rhetorical approach to finding and teaching wisdom is always connected to the ethical attitude of the rhetor, who should maintain intellectual independence from opinions. It demands a method, which incites

25 Dio, *Discourses 72*, 15–16, Loeb Classical Library 1951, vol. V, 190–191.

26 Dio, *Discourses 12*, 12, Loeb Classical Library, 1939, vol. II, 17.

the audience to engage in finding a possible path. It is based on the epistemic concept that there is no direct access to any absolute truth, but only indirect ways of approximation: going beyond the confines of *doxa* through *paradoxa*, converging with truth by plausibility, mirroring it in parabolic images, or evoking it through collaged fragments of ancient and actual texts and images. Reflecting the ancient rhetoric triad of ethos, pathos, and logos, these three aspects are linked indissolubly. It is their correlation which seems to be crystallized and handed down in the image of the owl and the birds.

Conceived in this frame, the following examples of the motif may give an idea of the theme's enormous general impact. It is not just one emblematic motif among others, because, dealing with the conditions of rhetoric, it mostly contains a meta-reflection on the intentions and the faculties of its medium, its producer, and its audience. Thus, a diachronic survey of some outstanding examples may contribute to a deeper understanding of emblematic and emblem-related inventions of the early modern age as methods of shaping and communicating insights and identities in a principally rhetorical way.

Between Glory and Envy: Reflecting the Ethos of the Humanist

In antiquity, the owl was regarded as being the bird of Athena, and therefore as being wise. The Aesop fable of the owl and the birds, and Dio's metaphorical use of the owl are based on this attribution. In view of the owl's close connection to a pagan goddess, early Christian theology could not approve of the owl as an incorporation of wisdom. In a fable, Gregory of Nazianzus rejoices over the defeat of Athena's bird. The Fathers of the Church took up the owl as a metaphor for rhetors, scholars and philosophers, but they reinterpreted it in a pejorative sense. Basilius, Ambrosius, and Eustathius compare the owl—which since Aristotle had been perceived as being extremely sharp-eyed at night but unable to see in daylight—to pagan savants whose insights become useless in the light of the true faith.[27] So the antique metaphorical significance of the owl as an incorporation of wisdom was turned into the opposite. The image of the owl now was prevailingly used to characterise the stupidity and obduracy of those who avoid the divine light. Derived from this pejorative pattern, it also served as a metaphor for the Jews and the sinner in general.

27 For the detailed references, see Plagemann V. – Schwarz H., art. "Eule", *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte 6* (Munich: 1970) 267–322, esp. 272.

It is not true, however, that it was only at the beginning of modern times that the owl re-emerged in the role of the wise.[28] In the *Welsche Gast*, an epic poem written in Middle High German by Thomasin von Zirclaere (1215/16) in order to teach courtesy and virtue to aristocratic youth, we might hear a distant echo of Dio's discourses, which were known through manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages. Thomasin describes how the good and virtuous man is attacked and taunted by the bad, who have the weight of numbers. In a copy from the middle of the 14th century (Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Cod. Memb. I 120, fol. 49), this passage (verse 891 f.) is illustrated not only by a depiction of the quarrelling humans but additionally by an owl being attacked by birds. That Thomasin aims at teaching virtue implies his claim to be virtuous and wise himself. So, his complaint about the aggression and public insults to which the virtuous man is exposed may contain an implicit reference to himself and to the purpose of his book. According to Aristotle virtue is the telos of rhetoric. In this sense Tomasin's literary project of teaching virtue can be described as being essentially rhetorical. And so, the owl in the manuscript seems to stand in the motif's auto-referential rhetorical tradition. Several later copies repeat and vary the illustration of the passage with the motif of the owl surrounded by birds.[29] As Tomasin's doctrine of virtue was very influential and copied several times up to the 15th century, it may have even played a role in the humanist use of the theme. In the tradition of the motif as representation of the wise man's fate there seem to be continuities across the epochal threshold, which have been underestimated until now.[30]

So, although the enhanced orientation towards antiquity in general and the publication of the first complete editions of Dio's orations in the 15th and 16th centuries in particular can be supposed to have contributed largely to the re-emergence of the motif, its revival cannot be described exclusively as a Renaissance phenomenon. The recovery of original antique sources and the

28 Paszkiewicz states that 'it was not popular in the Middle Ages to associate the owl with wisdom [...]. Only at the beginning of modern times did the owl first appear in this role [...]'. Paszkiewicz P.P., "Nocturnal Bird of Wisdom: Symbolic Function of the Owl in Emblems", *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 23 (1982) 56–83, 58.

29 Schmidt and Šimek point to the occurrence of the motif of the owl and the birds in the Gotha manuscript and to the motif's significant alterations in later manuscript versions. Schmidt P. – Šimek, J., "Der 'Welsche Gast'—ein Buch im Wandel", in Schmidt P., *Leben, Dinge, Texte: Begleitheft zur Ausstellung des Sonderforschungsbereichs 933 'Materiale Textkulturen—Materialität und Präsenz des Geschriebenen in non-typograpischen Gesellschaften'* (Heidelberg: 2015) 8–11, 11.

30 An article focussing on the rhetorical tradition of the motif throughout the Middle Ages is in preparation.

conveyance of antique concepts through medieval traditions seem to concur and interact in a complex way.

There may be for example a connection between the lost Milanese *editio princeps* of Dio's orations from 1476 and the leaflet ascribed to Dürer (1515), which shows the owl being attacked by birds, with the subscription "Der Eule sind alle Vögel neydig und gram". But this representation of the theme may also be influenced by a manuscript of the *Welsche Gast*. It is, however, very probable that Joannes Sambucus, philologist, doctor, and court historian at the imperial court, had Dio in mind when he used the motif of the owl being attacked by birds in his very influential emblem book published in 1566. Being one of the foremost philologists of his time and excelling as a collector of Latin and Greek manuscripts and books, it is very likely that he knew Dio and owned the 1551 Venetian edition by Marco Torresani.[31]

The emblem, which shows the owl as a decoy bird, is inscribed with the motto "The ignorant hate the arts" [Fig. 15.1]. So, here, "the arts" seem to become the epitome of wisdom and virtue, which is incorporated in the owl. In the right half of the picture the owl is fixed to a staff, while the fowler is hiding behind a tree. In the left half, a rotunda with an owl on top of the cupola may be interpreted as a temple, thus contrasting the hunting scene with a situation where the wise and free owl is honoured as the bird of Minerva. The large staff made of branches prepared with glue that the fowler traditionally equips may not serve to just divide the scene into two halves, but also to divide it into those two temporal spheres, which Dio referred to by contrasting the philosophers of his own time with those of the "olden days": on the one hand, the inferior present, where owls are captured and disdained, and on the other hand, the idealised ancient times of the honoured, free owls like Socrates and Diogenes.

In this sense the emblem illustrates the melancholic aspect of the humanist attitude towards antiquity. Above all, however, it may be regarded as a paradigmatic expression of the 'conflicted identity of the court humanist'.[32] Through his growing fame Sambucus became an "ornament" of the court, but in the eyes of the less educated part of the aristocratic court society he must have remained a parvenu. Avoiding or denying any appearance of ambitiousness belonged to the humanist ethos. But at the same time the proud awareness of a

31 For a recent survey on the life and thoughts of Sambucus, see Almási G., *The Uses of Humanism. Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), Andreas Dutith (1533–1589) and the Republic of Letters in East Central Europe* (Leiden – Boston: 2009). See also Visser A.S.Q., *Johannes Sambucus and the Learned Image: The Use of the Emblem in Late-Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden – Boston: 2005).

32 Almási, *The Uses of Humanism* 203.

Ignari artes oderunt. Noctua.
Ad Obertum Giſanium.
M E nil merentem vt peſſumam
O dêre ſtultæ en alites.
N ocere quantum ſcilicet,
P oſſint libenter & velint:
S ed pœna deinde congrua
H as punit, in laqueum & iacit.

FIGURE 15.1 *Joannes Sambucus. IGNARI ARTES ODERUNT. NOCTUA. From* Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis, (*Christophe Plantin, Antwerp: 1566*). *Woodcut.*
IMAGE FROM THE WEBSITE OF THE SCHWEIZERISCHE GESELLSCHAFT FUER SYMBOLFORSCHUNG www.symbolforschung.ch/node/799.

superior knowledge suggested the right to claim political authority as advisors and social prestige as important members of the court.

Not only court humanists like Sambucus but also late antique rhetors like Dio, who eventually became a highly esteemed advisor of the Emperor Trajan, seem to have struggled with this discrepancy. The "intellectual's" paradoxical attitude to power is one of the issues Dio tries to delineate in the image of the owl surrounded by birds, using it to contrast his own ways of thinking and communicating with those of the sophists. While the sophist used rhetoric as a morally neutral technic aiming at success, Dio's rhetoric claims to aim at wisdom, even if this means renouncing social esteem and political influence. By taking over this image from Dio Sambucus attempts to share his ethos of a rhetoric which is closely and emphatically tied to wisdom.[33] So, this emblematic coining may be regarded as an attempt to reuse Dio's strategies of self-presentation as rhetor *and* philosopher for the construction of a humanist identity. It may be seen as an iconic reference to a prestigious rhetoric figure, helping to balance out the tension between intellectual superiority and social inferiority, between the empowerment of the Republic of Letters and the subordinate position in an aristocratic world.

It is difficult, however, to interpret the role of the fowler in this emblem. Dio relates the figure of the bird catcher to that of the sophist. Here, instead, it is seen as the executor of the bird's punishment. Attacking the owl, the birds will only do harm to themselves. 'He, who digs a pit for others, falls into it himself', the epigram concludes.[34]

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33 In the first edition of Sambucus's emblem book (1564), the emblem with the owl and the birds does not yet occur. Instead, the motif of the owl surrounded by birds appears eleven times as a central ornament in the sumptuous frames edging the emblem's icons. The motif's prominent occurrence in the icon's frames may hint at a superordinate significance within the conceptual framework of the emblem book. It is possible that in this case Sambucus uses the motif in order to reflect on the conditions of teaching wisdom through emblems in a way similar to that in which Dio "frames" his Olympic speech with his meta-reflecive considerations about the owl and the birds. In an emblem dedicated to Achille Bocchi, author of another important emblem book, and in an emblem dedicated to himself he varies this frame in a significant way, substituting the passive owl sitting amidst the captured birds in the center of the upper ledge with an owl triumphantly spreading its wings. However, it would require further research about the semantic correlation between the different icons and their frames before it is possible to draw solid conclusions from these observations.

34 Sambucus Johannes, *Emblemata et aliquot nummi antiqui operis. 2. ed. cum emendatione et auctario copioso ipsius auctoris* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1566; reprint Hildesheim – Zurich – New York: 2002) 223: 'IGNARI ARTES ODERUNT. NOCTUA. Ad Obertum

It is very probable that Joris Hoefnagel referred to the emblem book of Sambucus, published in his hometown of Antwerp, when he composed one of the most beautiful and most thoughtful depictions of the owl and the birds for the *Book of Writing Patterns*, a model book of calligraphy created between 1561 and 1562 on commission for the Emperor Ferdinand I by his secretary, the pre-eminent calligrapher Georg Bocskay. More than thirty years later, Ferdinand's grandson Rudolf II commissioned Joris Hoefnagel to fill the spaces on each manuscript page with miniature paintings (1594–1598). On fol. 20, Hoefnagel painted an owl on a perch attacked by birds of all sorts, looking thoughtfully at the viewer [Fig. 15.2].[35]

The text of fol. 20 is a passage from a breviary, reflecting on Christ among the Pharisees. Commenting on *Matthew* 22:35–36, it outlines that by trying to trap Christ with the question of the greatest commandment, the Pharisee, 'the most evil fowler' ('malignissimus insidiator'), reveals that he himself does not observe it: He does not show love for his Lord or for his neighbour. Thus he traps himself, revealing his evil character, by attacking Christ. 'The pupil wants to be the teacher', the breviary adds.[36] The idea that the aggressor, who envies his victim's superior wisdom, falls into his own trap, strongly recalls the emblem by Sambucus.

By depicting a fowling scene, Hoefnagel supports and enriches the breviary's textual interpretation of Christ's encounter with the Pharisees, which emphasises the maleficence of an elaborate scholarship which is not combined with love. Beyond this, however, this scene creates another important link: For a humanist viewer who knows Dio's orations, associating Christ with the owl means implicitly associating Christ with the classical, essentially stoic type of

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Gisanium": 'Me nil merentem ut pessumam/ Odere stultae en alites./ Nocere quantum scilicet,/ Possint libenter et velint:/ Sed poena deinde congrua/ Has punit, in laqueum et iacit./ Auceps enim per nos facit/ Tot advolare, retibus, /Quas implicat mensae parans, /Sic odii fructus nocent,/ Fossor cadit foveam in suam'. Cf. Henkel – Schöne, *Emblemata* 894.

35 On Hoefnagel's miniatures, see Vignau-Willberg T., *Die emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels* (Leiden: 1969). Hendrix L., *Mira calligraphiae monumenta: An Overview*, in Hendrix L. – Vignau-Wilberg T., *Mira Calligraphiae Monumenta: A Sixteenth-Century Calligraphic Manuscript Inscribed by Georg Bocskay and Illuminated by Joris Hoefnagel*, vol. 1 (Los Angeles: 1992) 1–6; Da Costa Kaufmann T. – Roehrig Kaufmann V., "The Sanctification of Nature: Observation on the Origins of Trompe l'oeil in Netherlandish Book Painting of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 19 (1991) 43–64.

36 Cordier identifies this comment as a passage from the breviary of Cardinal Quignon.

FIGURE 15.2 *Joris Hoefnagel and Georg Bocskay, fol. 20, from the* Book of Writing Patterns*. Calligraphy, executed by Bocskay between 1561–1562, illumination by Hoefnagel between 1594–1598. Parchment, 18 × 13.2 cm. Kunstkammer Vienna* (*Kunsthistorisches Museum*).
IMAGE © KHM – MUSEUMSVERBAND.

rhetor-philosopher.[37] Hoefnagel reinforces this link on a textual level: On a golden plaque directly above the owl's head he inserts a sentence paraphrasing a famous passage from Cicero's *First Discourse against Catiline* (XII, 28), in which Cicero demands the execution of the conspirators, although he knows that he will be hated for this: 'Invidia virtute parta Gloria non Invidia est' ('The envy, provoked by virtue, is glory, not envy').[38] With this quote Hoefnagel seems to merge the contradictory opinions reported by Dio in the beginning of the *Olympic Discourse*—whether the owl is scorned or admired by the birds—into a paradox. In an ambiguous depiction of the bird's behaviour that can be interpreted as admiration *or* aggression Hoefnagel creates a visual equivalent for the paradoxical structure of Cicero's famous statement—thus suggesting an analogy between the owl and the heroic rhetor.

In the lower half of the picture the artist explains the correspondence between the Cicero quote and the image of the owl and the birds in a very "literal", one may even say a very "eloquent", way. Here the glory that Cicero is talking about is represented by the laurel wreath decorating the owl's perch. *Invidia*, the envy or hatred against virtue, is represented in the two snakes taking part in the assault from the bottom of the tree.[39] By depicting the ribbons that the laurel wreath hangs on as formal echoes, responding to the curvatures of the snakes, Hoefnagel gives a very accurate visual translation of the sentence by Cicero: He actually *shows* how envy and glory mirror each other. So he translates the key words of the quote into a kind of codified pictogram (laurel

37 It may be an object of further research if in Dürer's *Christ as man of sorrows* the owl, attacked by birds, scratched in the gold ground directly above the head of Christ, may also be seen in the context of Dio's orations. But as the owl here is not conceived as a captured owl, it may above all be related to the analogy between Christ and the owl, suggested in the *Concordantia caritatis* (Image 88). See Borries J.E. von, *Albrecht Dürer, Christus als Schmerzensmann*, Bildhefte der Staatl. Kunsthalle Karlsruhe 9 (Karlsruhe: 1972).

38 Cicero, *Against Catiline* 1. 29: 'quod si ea mihi maxime impenderet, tamen hoc animo fui semper ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem'. ('And if it did threaten me to ever so great a degree, yet I have always been of the disposition to think unpopularity earned by virtue and glory, not unpopularity'). 'Envy', 'hate', and 'unpopularity' are only some of the various equivalents for the word 'invidia' used in the different translations.

39 Situated next to the roots they recall a very influential emblem by Junius in which similar snakes represent *invidia* by trying to do harm to the roots of a palm tree, which symbolises virtue. "Invidia integritatis affecta" is the lemma of this emblem. And the epigram says: 'Palma caput tollit caelo ardua, cuius ad ima/ Rana loquax, stabulantur et hydri./ Oppugnant proceres, quorum via consona recto est,/ Degeneres, atque invida lingua'. Emblem 9 from Junius Hadrianus, *Emblemata* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1565). I would like to thank Karl Enenkel for drawing my attention to this reference.

wreath = glory, snakes = *invidia*) and explains their interrelation by visual analogies and symmetries.

The snakes reappear again in the *caduceus* that the owl is holding in her claw. But here they seem to be spellbound by the magical power of Hermes's staff. A closer look at the *caduceus* reveals that the staff here is a paintbrush [Fig. 15.3].[40] Thus, holding the main tool of the painter, the owl refers to the art of painting and, indirectly, even to the artist himself.

This is confirmed by another allegorical painting by Hoefnagel that represents the friendship between Abraham Ortelius and the artist (1598) [Fig. 15.4]. Here, again, the owl with the paintbrush *caduceus* is placed in the centre of the page. Directly above the owl there is the inscription "Ars neminem habet osorem nisi ignorantem" ("Art has no enemy except the ignorant"), which is a variation of the motto of Sambucus's emblem: "The ignorant hate the arts". Through this inscription, here too the owl is associated with art. Instead of being the subject of aggression by birds, here she is respectfully flanked by two butterflies, which seem to be the doubles of two friends: the cartographer Ortelius on the left and the miniaturist Hoefnagel on the right. The left butterfly is surrounded by the cartographer's instruments, the right one by the artist's tools. Correspondingly, the dedication is divided into two parts written on two black plaques beneath the butterflies: on the left, "Domino Abrahamo Ortelio Amicitiae monumentum", and on the right, "Georgius Houfnaglius D. Genio duce CD D XCIII".

The owl here seems to be the genius of the art that inspires Hoefnagel. The inscription "Hermathena", written on a small blue plaque beneath the owl, explains the character of this genius. In antiquity, the term *Hermathena* designated a type of sculpture that combines Athena and Hermes, mostly in the form of a herm, consisting of a double bust of Hermes and Athena put back-to-back on a pillar. Cicero uses such a sculpture as an ornament for his academy at Tusculum. Three letters, in which he gives thanks to his friend Atticus for having sent him this sculpture, indicate the importance that the Hermathena came to have for him.[41] He praises it as the most suitable ornamet for his academy in Tusculum, which according to him now seems to be dedicated to this sculpture as to its cult image. It is probable that to Cicero the Hermathena

40 Compare the very instructive "blog de jean-yves cordier. lavieb-aile.com." (3 March 2015).

41 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 1, 1, 2 (Nov. 68); 1, 4, 3 (Jan. 66); 1, 1, 5 (Jul. 65). See Watson E., *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form* (Cambridge: 1993) 145–146.

FIGURE 15.3 *Joris Hoefnagel and Georg Bocskay, fol. 20, from the* Book of Writing Patterns. *Detail from the centre of the page. Calligraphy, executed by Bocskay between 1561–1562, illumination by Hoefnagel between 1594–1598. Parchment, 18 × 13.2 cm. Kunstkammer Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum).*
IMAGE © KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM WIEN.

FIGURE 15.4 *Joris Hoefnagel, "Allegory of the friendship with Abraham Ortelius", 1593. Gouache on parchment, 117 × 165 cm. Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp.* IMAGE © MUSEUM PLANTIN-MORETUS, ANTWERP – UNESCO, WORLD HERITAGE – PHOTO: PETER MAES.

sculpture seemed so appropriate for this place because it could visualise the combination of philosophy and eloquence central to his concept of oratory.[42]

This concept of Hermathena was revived towards the middle of the 16th century in humanist circles. It was central to the Bolognese academy of Achille Bocchi, which was protected by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (who tried to engage Hoefnagel as his miniaturist). The famous Hermathena in symbol 102 of Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicae Quaestiones* (Bologna 1555) was the *impresa* of his academy and was meant to adorn his Bolognese Palace.[43]

42 In *De oratore* Cicero blames Socrates or Plato, respectively, for having separated philosophy from eloquence.

43 The intended use of the emblem on Bocchi's palace, which would have turned the whole façade into an emblem of the *Accademia Bocchiana*, is discussed in Kiefer M., *Emblematische Strukturen in Stein: Vignolas Palazzo Bocchi in Bologna* (Freiburg:

The reconciliation of wisdom and eloquence, of philosophy and rhetoric, was Dio's concern as well. To him it is Aesop who represents the ideal of eloquent wisdom.[44] In his interpretation of the Aesopic fable of the owl and the birds, it is part of the owl's tragic fate that she eventually decided to remain "voiceless". When in the *Book of Writing Patterns* Joris Hoefnagel interprets Hermathena as an owl with the *caduceus* as a decoy bird surrounded by birds, he seems to combine Bocchi's concept of Hermathena, derived from Cicero, with the concept of the rhetor-philosopher which Dio illustrates with the motif of the owl and the birds. For Hoefnagel, the ideal of wisdom and eloquence reconciled seems to constitute the genius of art, to which he devotes himself.

In Achille Bocchi's emblem Hermes and Athena are shown as Hermathena, together with Amor, who is holding the reins of a tamed lion. The inscription reads "Sic monstra domantur" ("In this way monsters are tamed"), a motto which may also be suitable for Hoefnagel's Hermathena owl in the *Book of Writing Patterns*: With the paintbrush *caduceus*, she may be able to tame the ferocity of the birds and the snakes. That means that the genius of the art, which reconciles ethical and scientific competence (Athena' owl) with rhetorical skills (Hermes's *caduceus*), may also manifest itself through a paintbrush. Through the agency of the painter's wisdom and "eloquence" it may defeat the destructive forces of envy and hate by trapping and finally taming them. Furthermore, through the combination of this image with the textual reference to Christ among the Pharisees the artist himself is implicitly endowed with the christological aspect of a redeemer who by combining wisdom and love is willing to sacrifice himself.[45]

With the paintbrush *caduceus* Hoefnagel upgrades the role of the painter compared with the representatives of the other *artes* in a very subtle but

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1999), and in Rolet A., "L'Hermathena Bocchiana ou l'idée de la parfaite académie", in Deramaix M. – Galand-Hallyn P. – Vagenheim G. – Vignes J. (eds.), *Les Académies dans l'Europe humaniste. Idéaux et pratiques* (Geneva: 2008) 295–338. See also the contribution by A. Rolet in this volume, and cf. esp. Fig. 13.4.

44 Dio underlines that not only was Aesop wise, but he also was capable of communicating his wisdom to the audience: 'And there are those who think that Aesop too was somewhat like the Seven Sages, that while he was wise and sensible, yet he was crafty too and clever at composing tales such as they themselves would most enjoy to hear'. Dio, *Discourses 72*, 13, Loeb Classical Library 1951, vol. v, 189).

45 In this regard it may also be a significant coincidence that the persons ideally linked in Hoefnagel's image of the owl surrounded by birds—Dio, Cicero, and Hoefnagel himself—all share the bitter destiny of exile. On Hoefnagel's artistic strategies to deal with the experience of exile, see in this volume the contribution of Marisa Anne Bass, "The Politics of Flight in Joris Hoefnagel's *Four Elements*".

precise way. His miniature on fol. 20 of the *Book of Writing Patterns* proudly demonstrates that painting can teach virtue and wisdom just as much as the breviary and Cicero, thus illustrating the Renaissance artist's claim to be much more than merely a craftsman. Only if the arts and the artist are linked to "knowing" and "teaching" can they be opposed to the "ignorant". In this context, it may be relevant that the comparison between the capacity of the poet, the artist, and the philosopher to shape our notion of God is the main issue of Dio's *Discourse 12*, about *Man's First Conception of God*, delivered directly in front of the famous statue of the Olympic Zeus by Phidias.

So, seeing the depictions of the owl and the birds in Sambucus's emblem and Hoefnagel's illumination in the light of Dio's *Discourses 12* and *72* helps us to understand how the humanist image of the artist and the scholar was shaped after the model of the late antique philosopher-rhetorician—a model which originally drew upon the figure of Socrates and later on was adapted to the figure of Christ. It is an aspect of the intellectual's and the artist's repertoire, still influential today: the role of the solitary man who is sacrificing himself by communicating his superior insights to the ignorant around him, which he always remains separated from and opposed to. Thus, the image of the owl and the birds helped to reflect and to communicate new humanist roles and ideals by locating them in antique tradition and Christian religion as well as in nature. It became a common type of humanist self-representation, oscillating between self-praise and lamentation.

"I cannot defeat the majority" is the motto of an emblem by Gabriel Rollenhagen [Fig. 15.5]. The epigram says: 'If you want to win by giving in, learn to suffer'.[46] Dedicated to a friend, the emblem by Rollenhagen encourages personal identification with the owl. It opens the opportunity to the individual self to join such "typological" chains of analogies between Christ, the classical philosopher, and the art or the artist, linking the conflict between the owl and the birds to his own situation. Thus, the motif served to explain personal but typical conflicts and defeats as resulting from ethical and intellectual superiority, and to justify the prevailing humanist mood of melancholy.[47] But above

46 NEQUEO COMPESCERE MULTOS, Si vis cedendo vincere, disce pati (Aelian, *De animalibus* 1, 29). Rollenhagen Gabriel, *Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum* (orig. ed. Cologne: 1611; reprint Hildesheim: 1985) 51; Henkel – Schöne, *Emblemata* 895. On this emblem see Peil D., "Emblem Types in Gabriel Rollenhagen's Nucleus", *Emblematica* 6 (1994) 268.

47 Compare Antje Wittstock's comment on Rollenhagen's emblem with the owl and the birds, Wittstock A., *Melancholia translata. Marsilio Ficinos Melancholie-Begriff im deutschsprachigen Raum des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: 2011) 202–206.

FIGURE 15.5
Gabriel Rollenhagen. NEQUEO COMPESCERE MULTOS. From Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum *(Köln: 1611).*
IMAGE FROM HENKEL/SCHÖNE 895.

all the emblem *teaches*. It conveys a lesson, which is taught by the example of the owl. The owl attacked by birds here explicitly becomes a model one should imitate, following the instructions given by the text. Thus, the emblem provides a mental strategy for the wise man regarding how to get along with or even to master the inevitable situation of experiencing aggression perpetrated by the ignorant. It recommends the stoical attitude of indolence and passivity, which turns out to be the weapon of the wise man.[48]In an emblem published in Zurich eleven years later, this attitude is not only a strategy but also a proof of wisdom—nay, it is identified as a virtue. "Gedult. PATIENTIA" is the heading of the icon invented and etched by Christoff Murer.[49] It shows

48 A further emblem from Rollenhagen's *Nucleus* (p. 9) shows the owl as being triumphant. Here she is not conceived as a decoy tied to a perch. Instead she is sitting on a crown on top of a huge caduceus, spreading her wings. This monumental staff is flanked by Hermes and Athena, each of them holding a cornucopia, entwined with the snake entangling the caduceus. IN NOCTE CONSILIUM, runs the inscription around the icon. So, here too, the concept of Hermathena seems to offer a solution to the dilemma of the captured owl, rendering the victory of wisdom possible.

49 Murer Christoph – Rordorff Johann Heinrich, *XL emblemata miscella nova: das ist XL underschiedliche ausserlesene newradierte Kunststuck / durch weiland den kunstreichen und weitberümpten Herrn Christoff Murern von Zürych inventiret unnd mit eygener Handt zum Truck in Kupffer gerissen; an jetzo erstlich zuo nutzlichem Gebrauch und Nachricht* [...]

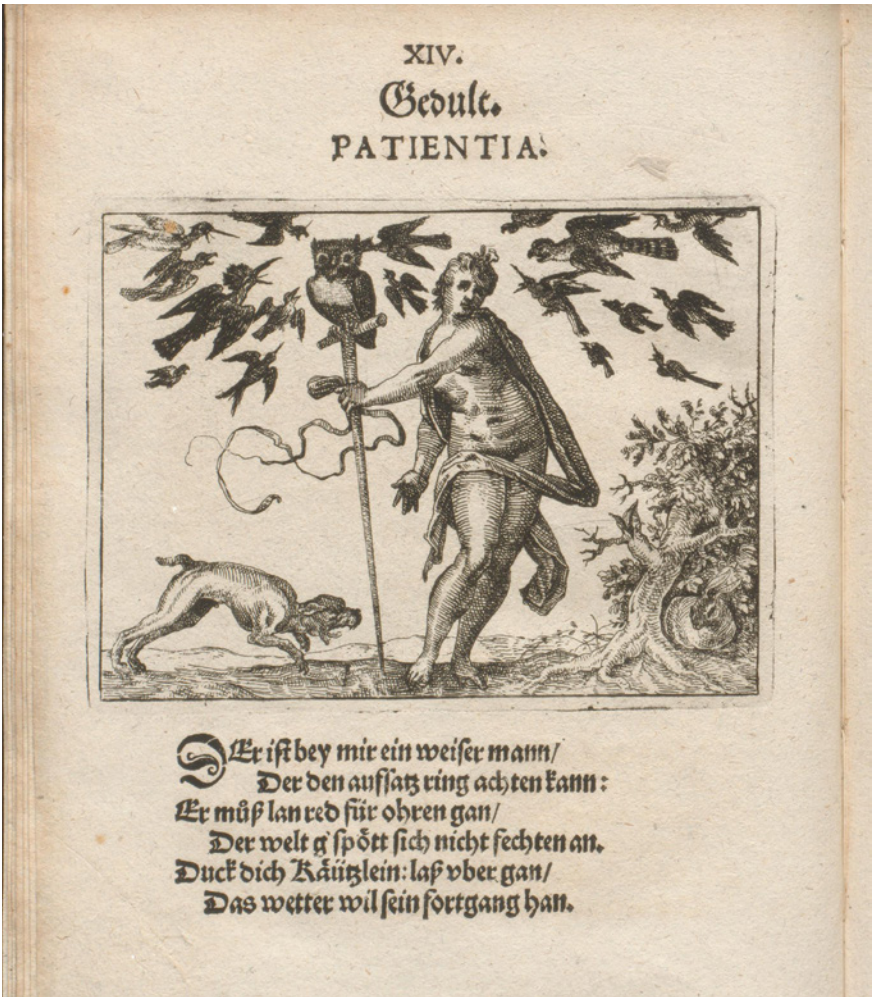
XIV.
Gedult.
PATIENTIA.
Er iſt bey mir ein weiſer mann/
Der den auſſatz ring achten kann:
Er muß lan red für ohren gan/
Der welt g' ſpött ſich nicht fechten an.
Duck dich Käützlein: laß vber gan/
Das wetter wil ſein fortgang han.

FIGURE 15.6 *"Gedult. PATIENTIA", emblem no. 14 from: Christoff Murer, Johann Heinrich Rordorff,* XL emblemata miscella nova (*Zurich: 1622*).
IMAGE FROM MURER: http://www.e-rara.ch/zuz/content/pageview/3192968.

the personification of patience as a naked female figure holding the perch of an owl, which is being attacked by numerous birds [Fig. 15.6]. On the bottom of the icon's left side there is a dog, which is caught in the act of being aggressive

erklaeret durch Johann Heinrich Rordorffen, auch Burgern daselbst (Zurich, Johan Ruodolff Wolffen: 1622) XIV. Gedult, PATIENTIA. Compare the article "Symbolische Jagd" on the page of the Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Symbolforschung (http://www.symbolforschung.ch/node/799#Eulen) 12 October 2016.

toward the female figure. But the perch she is holding in her hand separates her from the aggressor, as if it would repel the biting dog's assault like a magic shield. This way she can stay totally calm without so much as looking at the furious creature at her feet. Correspondingly, the epigram says that he who is able to ignore the mockery of the world may be considered to be a wise man. In the spirit of the earlier epigram by Rollenhagen, it recommends that the owl duck down until the tempest is over. The dog strongly recalls the dog barking at the moon in Alciati's famous emblem "Inanis impetus", incorporating pointless fury and futile envy. So, Murer superimposes an element of a well-known emblem of similar content onto the image of the owl being attacked by birds in order to elucidate its meaning. Thus, he proceeds in a methodically analogous way, like Hoefnagel does in the *Book of Writing Patterns*, combining the owl and the birds with the assaulting snakes, a motif of a related emblem by Junius Bassus. So here we can observe a very similar syncretistic practice of invention which clarifies and reinforces the emblem's intelligibility by "crossing" it with renowned emblems of comparable meaning.

But it was not only through graphics and illuminated manuscripts that the motif began to gain currency in the last decades of the 16th century. One of the most influential depictions of the theme may have been the Owlet Fountain (Fontana della Civetta) in the gardens of the Villa d'Este that Pirro Ligorio designed for Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este between 1560 and 1572 [Fig. 15.7]. This fountain, which staged the relationship between the owl and the birds as a mechanical play, powered by an ingenious hydraulic device, is considered the first monumental water organ of the early modern age.[50] And this fountain can probably be regarded as the model that initiated the use of the motif in some fountains from the 18th century, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

The scenery in the niche of the majestic fountain, built between 1565 and 1569 by Giovanni del Duca, is preserved only rudimentarily. Originally there were two boys pouring water from a wineskin into a bowl, which flowed over into another bowl carried by satyrs. This fountain scenery, modelled in stucco by Ulisse Macciolini, was flanked by two bronze trees, which were inhabited by twenty birds and an owl and were made from naturalistically painted bronze. These bronze elements are completely lost, but some fragments of the stucco decoration and of the hydraulic mechanism, which made this fountain so

50 For a general art-historical documentation of the Villa d'Este and its gardens, see Coffin D.R., *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli* (Princeton: 1960), and Barisi I., *Die Villa d'Este* (Rome: 2004).

FIGURE 15.7 *Giovanni del Duca, Ulisse Macciolini, Luc Leclerc, The Owlet Fountain, Villa d'Este, Tivoli (1565–1569).*
PHOTO © ZENKERT.

famous, came to light during a recent restoration.[51] Based on a hydraulic device constructed by Luc Leclerc in 1566, the owl moved and the voices of the birds were imitated by hydraulic pipes in a graceful interplay. When the owl turned to the birds, they stopped twittering; when it turned away, they started again, one after the other, so that the sound became a whole concert of bird voices, which was then interrupted suddenly by the turning of the owl.

The Owlet Fountain of the Villa d'Este is considered the first modern reconstruction of the famous Heron Fountain, one of the hydraulic devices the Greek mathematician and physicist Heron of Alexandria (ca. 10 AD–ca. 70) describes in his *Pneumatica*. It was a water engineering manual that was used until the 18th century and provided the basic technical know-how for the construction of the enormous fountain system of the Villa d'Este.[52] Heron's idea of turning the gravitational potential energy of water that falls from an upper basin into a lower container into pneumatic pressure, provides the technical basis of the fantastic variety of plays of water that are the glory of the Villa d'Este. In the fountain he describes in his *Pneumatica*, Heron too uses the metal figures of an owl and various birds in order to demonstrate how the air that is pushed through pipes by hydraulic pressure can produce sound and mechanical movements.[53]

By staging the same scenery, the Owlet Fountain of the Villa d'Este proudly declares itself to be a reconstruction of the famous antique model. So, the quote of the owlet motif can be read as a kind of tribute to Heron, demonstrating that the garden renews not only the art but also the technical knowledge of the ancients.[54] By using bronze for the birds and stucco for the rest of the

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51 On these discoveries of 2001–2002, the restorations and reconstructions, see Barisi, *Die Villa d'Este* 83–85.

52 See Boas M., "Hero's Pneumatica: A Study of Its Transmission and Influence", *Isis* 40, 1 (1949), see online: *The Pneumatics of Hero of Alexandria*, from the original Greek. Transl. and ed. by B. Woodcraft. From the Collections at the Library of Congress online. Vitruvius and Frontinus were, of course, also of great importance for the construction of the Villa's fountain system.

53 It is possible that Heron too referred to the relation between the wise and the ignorant by choosing the owl and the birds as his fountain's motif, which seems to translate the antagonism described by Aesop into a mechanical interplay between attraction and repulsion. The motion of this hydraulic device seems to be perpetual, just like the hate and love between the owl and the birds seems as eternal and inevitable as a law of nature.

54 Referring to Heron's Fountain, Salomon de Caus, too, includes an illustration of a fountain featuring birds attacking an owl in his water engineering manual. Caus, Salomon de, *Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes avec diverses machines tant utiles que plaisantes aus quelles sont adjoints plusieurs desseigns de grotes et fontaines* (Frankfurt, Jan Norton: 1615), pl. 30.

scene, the motif's ancient tradition is underlined. Likewise, in other fountains of the garden, the antique origin of the valuable roman marble sculptures was emphasised by embedding them in background scenes made from different material.

But maybe here too the motif was intended to make not only a technical but also a philosophical reference to antiquity in the spirit of the emblem by Sambucus, published in the year the fountain's hydraulic device was constructed and certainly known to the commissioner and his advisors.[55] Furthermore, it is very probable that the philologically highly educated circle that gathered around Ippolito d'Este at Tivoli like a sort of informal and exclusive academy, knew Dio's discourses through their Venetian edition of 1551.[56]

In spite of his belonging to the aristocratic elite, historical circumstances would allow one to speculate on a possible connection between the commissioner and the emblematic humanist image of the wise owl, which has to bear stoically the lacking esteem of the ignorant. Being accused of simony, Ippolito d'Este was exiled by Pope Paul IV in 1555. Although the next pope, Pius IV, rehabilitated him and restored his title as governor of Tivoli, he had to cope with another humiliation, as in the conclave of 1565/66 he failed for the fifth time to become pope and was deposed by Pope Pius V. It was after this final and complete defeat that he fully concentrated on the further decoration of the Villa d'Este and its garden. The motif of the owl surrounded by birds could have provided an emblematic pattern that helped to justify the cardinal's defeat as being due to his wisdom, thus turning failure into glory. But as we know next to nothing about the concrete configuration of the lost scene,[57] we can only guess about a possible relation between this crucial event in the life of the cardinal and the construction of the water organ with the owl and the birds, which was started at the end of the same year.

It is likewise difficult to interpret the semantic relation between the stucco and the bronze parts of the scene on the base of the preserved fragments.

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55 Sambucus's *Emblemata* constitutes one of the most influential examples of the genre and was reprinted several times (in 1569, 1576, 1584, and 1599). Another interesting but later reference that was probably based on the Venetian edition of Dio's discourses is the fable about the owl and the birds (129. AVES ET NOCTUA, Perry 437) that Hieronymus Osius published in his *Phryx Aesopus* (Frankfurt: 1574). It is accompanied by an illustration by Virgil Solis that shows the owl as a decoy bird.

56 We may even take this net of mutual influence further and imagine Joris Hoefnagel during his stay in the Roman house of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1577–1578), admiring the Owlet Fountain at Tivoli in the company of his friend Ortelius.

57 Unfortunately, in his description of the fountain Michel de Montaigne focusses on the hydraulic device.

Possibly, the metal birds referred to the technical and iconographic invention of Heron's Fountain, while the figures pouring water from an upper to a lower bowl, and the satyrs carrying it, were meant to represent the natural forces used in the fountain's hydraulic construction. But most importantly, this bacchanalian scene seems to refer to the use of the space around the fountain as an open-air banqueting hall.

Certainly, however, the theme of the owl as a decoy bird that helps to trap other birds, played an important role here. It is recorded that the pipes of the water organ imitated the birds' voices in such a deceptive way that they indeed lured real birds to approach the fountain in search of a mate. Human visitors to the garden were likewise lured into a trap: Approaching the fountain, attracted by the sound of the water organ, they could be splashed by *scherzi d'aqua*, water jets, suddenly springing out of the ground. However, when there was a banquet held in the garden space, which was designed in the style of a Roman nymphaeum, the cardinal's guests were lured into a more spiritual trap too: Attracted by the wise owl, the individual birds should stay together in the architectonical "cage" of the banqueting hall and meld their different voices into a harmony during the humanistic "communione" of the banquet.

The idea of trapping the visitor, analogous to the birds being trapped by the owl, adds a new dimension to the interpretation of the motif. Subsequently this performative dimension, which even involves the audience physically, was further developed in later examples of fountains staging the owl surrounded by birds. But it is not only in this respect that the Owlet Fountain of the Villa d'Este may be regarded as the starting point of the motif's remarkable career in princely gardens of the following two centuries.

Between Amor and Aesop: Introducing to the Pathos of the Royal Labyrinth

Completed in 1677, the Royal Labyrinth at Versailles led the visitor through a confusing system of paths that were edged with tall hedges and ornamented with thirty-nine fountains depicting the most famous fables of Aesop.[58]

58 For a documentary survey of the Labyrinth, see Jehan A., *Le Labyrinthe de Versailles et le Bosquet de la Reine. Etude historique, d'après des documents anciens et inédits* (Versailles: 1901) and Wilhelm J., "Le Labyrinthe de Versailles". *Revue de l'histoire de Versailles et de Seine-et-Oise* 1 (1936) 2–21. For rich image documents, see Maisonnier E. – Maral A. (eds.), *Le labyrinthe de Versailles: du mythe au jeu, exh. cat., Bibliothèque Municipale de Versailles* (Paris: 2013). For a recent interpretation, see Sahlins P., "Where the Sun Don't

Although the Labyrinth was destroyed in 1775, we have a pretty good idea of it thanks to the descriptions by Charles Perrault, which he published together with a plan and engravings of each fountain, accompanied by four-line verses by Isaac de Benserade, as an official guidebook.[59] The first of these fountains, welcoming the visitor at the entrance to the Labyrinth, represented the owl surrounded by birds [Fig. 15.8 and 15.9].

Nobody ever asked why such a prominent position was chosen for this largely unknown fable, which did not occur in the collections of that time.[60] It certainly was an important aspect that the motif was known through the Owlet Fountain in the garden of the Villa d'Este, thus constituting a reference to the admired fountains of Tivoli as precursors of the fanciful water plays unfolded in the Labyrinth.[61] But probably the decisive reason for this choice was the meaning of the Aesop fable, told and interpreted by Dio, whose *Discourses* were well-known, admired, and imitated as a stylistic model in France, after Frédéric Morel had published a new edition with a Latin translation in 1604.[62] But it is not just the multi-layered meaning of the Aesop fable that explains its position at the entrance to the Labyrinth, but also the use that Dio makes of it.

In his *Olympic Speech* Dio uses the theme as an introduction, mediating, as introductions generally do, between the expectations of the audience and the intentions and possibilities of the author. With this fable Dio points out why,

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Shine: Animals and Animality in Louis XIV's Royal Labyrinth of Versailles (1668–74)", in Cuneo P.F. (ed.), *Animals and Early Modern Identity* (Farnham: 2014) 67–109.

59 Perrault Charles, *Le Labyrinthe de Versailles* (Paris, Imprimerie Royale: 1677; reprint Paris: 1982).

60 Therefore, Sahlins even states that 'the fable was not drawn from Aesop', but was derived from folklore and common hunting practices inherited from antiquity (Sahlins, "Where the Sun Don't Shine" 77). Indeed, these practical and folkloristic aspects together with the emblematic traditions of the theme may have provided access to the motif's meaning for a lesser educated audience, who did not know Dio and the Aesop fable "hidden" in his discourses.

61 The Fontana della Civetta was certainly known to a larger French audience through the fountain's detailed description by Michel de Montaigne and through the engravings by Venturini. The use of naturalistically painted metal and the emphasis Perrault puts on the imitation of the bird's voices, which, according to him, seem to *speak* through the sound of the water jets that they project, point to emulation of the famous model of Tivoli, which was constructed by a French (!) fountain engineer (Luc Leclerc).

62 The Latin translation of Thomas Naogeorgius (Kirchmaier) made the *Discourses* accessible to a broader audience. That Dio was regarded as a stylistic model for students of rhetoric is documented by a huge number of preserved training booklets with passages from his texts. See Amato, *Xenphontis imitator* 28.

against the expectations of the audience, he will not give any simple advice. The fate of the owl shows that giving advice will not work.

According to Dio, Aesop tried to deal with this problem by telling fables. It is the gist of the fable as a philosophical genre that finding the truth in the story is left up to the recipient. He has to relate the animal story to his own experiences, thus discovering his own truth. So maybe the owl should not have given advice to the birds; it should have told them a fable. In this respect the Aesop Fable of the Owl and the Birds is a kind of meta-fable, reflecting on the didactic character of the genre.

A maze teaches wisdom by experience as well. The visitor has to find the truth in the fable himself, much like he has to find his own way through the labyrinth. So, it was a brilliant idea to combine fable and labyrinth.

It is a topos that the animal fountains were built for the education of the king's son. It is said that the son learned to read on the basis of the four-line verses by Isaac de Benserade that were inscribed in golden letters on black plaques explaining the fable of each fountain. But even if this is not true, the Labyrinth can be described as a school of wisdom designed as an accessible book.[63] Consequently, the entrance with the Fountain of the Owl and the Birds provides the introductory function of a preface. By telling this fable, it explains why installing fable fountains in a labyrinth may be a promising method of teaching wisdom.

As a place where animals, mainly birds, are engaged in a struggle of each against all and all against each, the Labyrinth seems to depict the fundamental human condition of animality, which cannot be eliminated but only restricted to a hedged zone.[64] In contrast to the straight axes of the main gardens, the confusing and shadowy Labyrinth, 'where the sun don't shine', represents an area which is not within the reach of the Sun King's radiant and ordering power.[65] That means that everybody has to find his way through the labyrinth of his heart on his own. It is only through arranged experience—and that

63 According to Sahlins, the topos that the animal fountains were built *ad usum Delphini* was introduced by the English naturalist Martin Lister. However: 'The image of the royal tutor, Jaque-Bénigne Bossuet, guiding his young student through the maze of Aesop's fable fountains, while seductive and oft-repeated, is not documented […]'. Sahlins, "Where the Sun Don't Shine" 68.

64 According to Sahlins, 'This dark and Hobbesian state of animal nature in the Labyrinth served to justify and to legitimise the cultural and political order of Louis XIV's absolutism […]'. Sahlins, "Where the Sun Don't Shine" 69.

65 Sahlins cites Félibien's account of the Grand Divertissement royal (1668) with a reference to this 'species of labyrinth' that consisted of 'groves so pleasant where the thickness of the trees stops the sun from being felt'. Sahlins, "Where the Sun Don't Shine" 73.

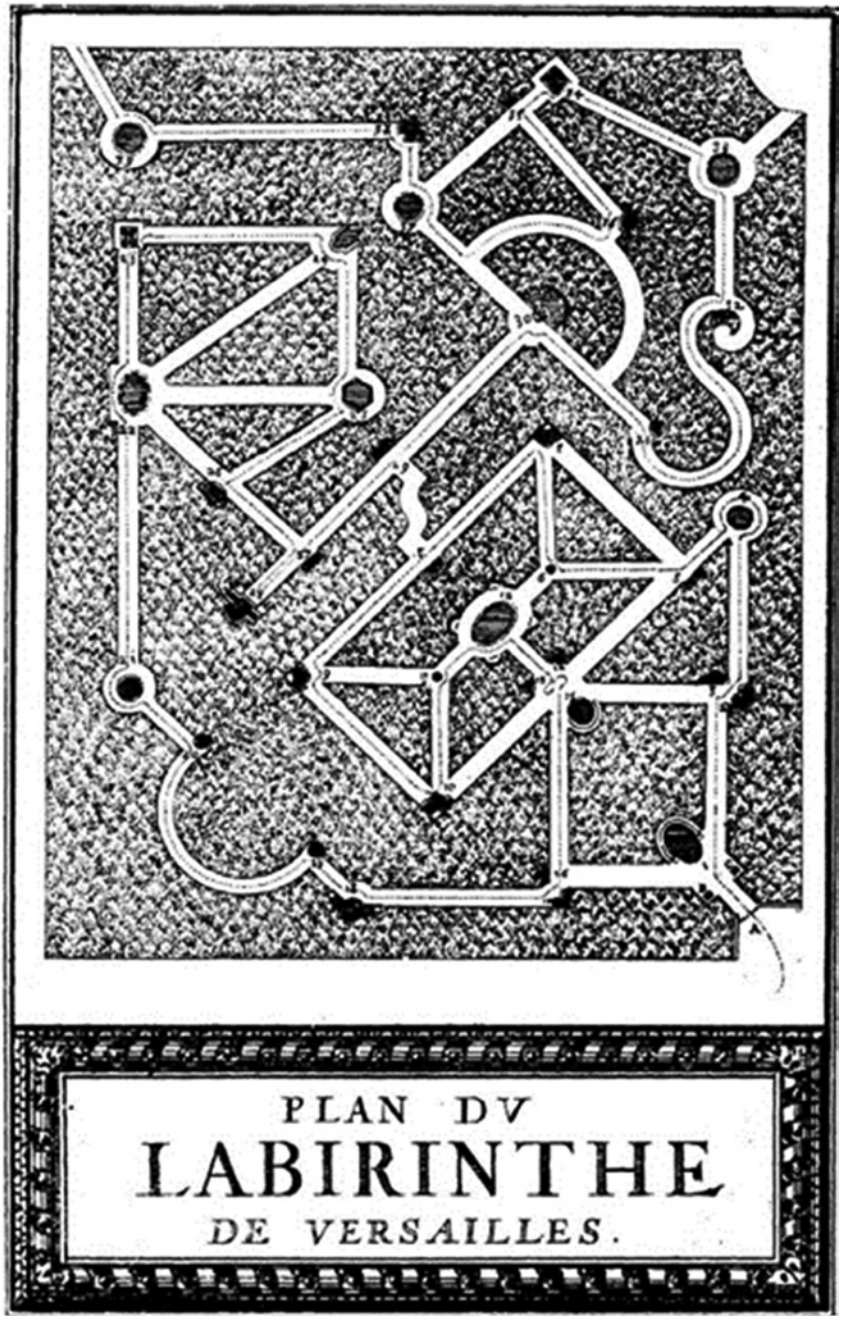

FIGURE 15.8 *Plan from Charles Perrault, "Le Labyrinthe de Versailles" (Paris: 1675). Engraving by Johann Ulrich Kraus after Sébastien Leclerc, Augsburg 1690.*
© F. PANKOWSKI.

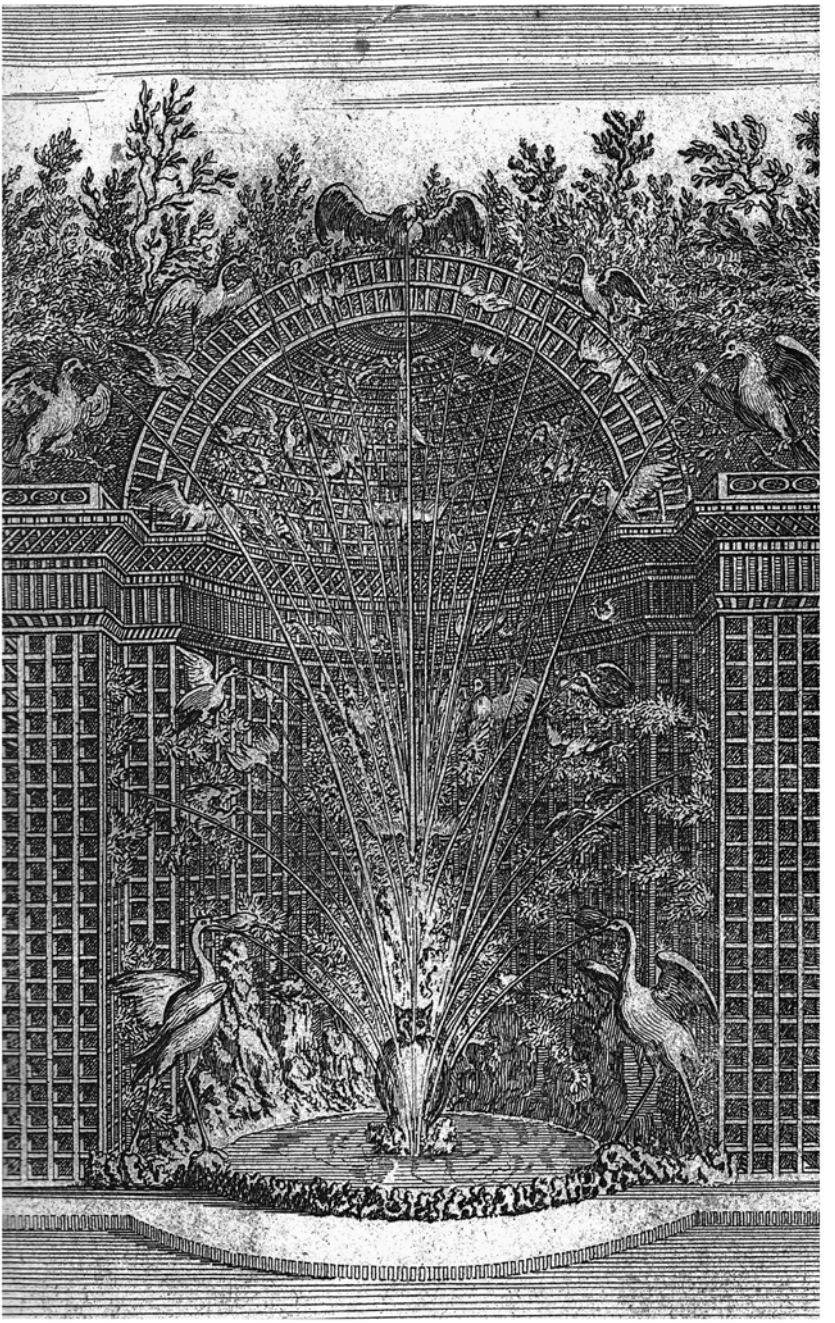

FIGURE 15.9 *Fable Fountain No. I. "The Owl and the Birds" from Charles Perrault, "Le Labyrinthe de Versailles" (Paris: 1675). Engraving by Johann Ulrich Kraus after Sébastien Leclerc, Augsburg 1690.*

© F. PANKOWSKI.

means through education, led by love and wisdom—that one may learn to rule oneself.

The statues of Aesop and Amor, flanking the entrance, refer to these guiding forces (Fig. 15.10). They are conceived as pendants, which means they are figures of equal weight but of contrasting character, representing two different approaches to the challenge of the labyrinth. Aesop is holding a role of paper, which we may imagine as containing a plan of the labyrinth or a fable. Amor instead holds a ball of wool, which refers, of course, to Ariadne's thread. Benserade composed verses to be inscribed on the statue's pedestals, explaining these alternative approaches: The inscription for Amor, the god of love, states that he could close his eyes and smile because he only had to follow the thread to know where to go. By contrast, the inscription for the statue of Aesop warns that love is a weak thread that could easily tear at the slightest shock.[66]

The deliberate contrast between the ugliness, age, and wisdom represented by Aesop, and the beauty, youth, and blindness embodied in Amor seems to be re-echoed in the figures of the fountain.[67] The squat shape and the brown feathers of the owl contrast sharply with the elegance and the bright colours of the birds. The verses of Benserade, inscribed on the black plaque beneath the owl, confirm that when the owl appears in daylight the birds attack it because of its ugliness.[68] Viewing the wrinkled face and hunchbacked figure of Aesop, we understand that it is the ugliness of wisdom the birds attack most aggressively when it shows itself unveiled.

However, included in a collection of gallant pieces, Perrault had published his own poetic *Labyrinte* (sic!) *de Versailles* in 1675. In the preface he imagines an amicable conversation between Amor and Apollo in which the two were planning the Labyrinth of Versailles. As he is a labyrinth himself Amor suggests designing the labyrinth and choosing the fables in order to enclose some hidden gallant moralities within the maze. Apollo agrees to the plan and promises to have it executed in the most diligent and exquisite way.

In Benserade's poetic concept it seems to be Aesop who has the final word about the Labyrinth's lesson. He points out convincingly that Amor, trusting himself to cope without wisdom, was wrong. In Perrault's version, however,

66 Baridon M., *A History of the Gardens of Versailles* (Pennsylvania: 2008) 187–188.

67 The ugliness of wisdom is an old topos, incorporated in Aesop's hunchback as well as in the nose of Socrates.

68 Fable I. Le Duc et Les Oiseaux. 'Les Oiseaux en plein jour voyant le Duc parestre, Sur lui fondirent tous, à son hideux aspec. Quelque parfait qu'on puisse estre, Qui n'a pas son coup de bec?'. First *quatrain* of Isaac de Benserade from: Perrault Charles, *Le Labyrinthe de Versailles* (Paris; Imprimerie Royale: 1677; reprint Paris: 1982).

it is Amor who pronounces the superior view. In Perrault's verses Aesop remains in a simple antagonism, claiming to teach wisdom and accusing Amor of preventing people deliberately from being wise;[69] it is Amor instead who reconciles what seemed to be alternatives: 'je veux qu'on aime, et qu'on soit sage, C'est être fou que n'aimer rien; Chaque animal le dit en son langage. Il ne faut que l'écouter bien'.[70] So it is Amor who pronounces the essential but hidden morality of the Labyrinth, that only love and wisdom *together* may be the proper guide through the maze.

In accordance with this attitude Perrault challenges the owl by playfully interpreting it as the proud and harsh man who is not willing to observe the rules of gallantry and therefore gets attacked by all women, be them young or old, fair or ugly, in the same way the birds attack the owl. So, anyone who wants to enter this labyrinth should cultivate good manners! Above all, he should absolutely not be a "loup-garou"; he should master the monstrous "werwolf", the beast within.[71]

Under this playful surface of piquant gallantry, however, Perrault seriously pronounces his attitude regarding ethics as well as poetics. Wisdom and love, thoughtful insights, and graceful attraction should always accompany each other in life as well as in art.[72]

In a very similar way, possibly inspired by Perrault's verses, Jean Cotelle reflects on the interrelation of Amor and Aesop in the Labyrinth's educational function. In his gouache depiction of the Labyrinth's entrance [Fig. 15.10],

69 Perrault Charles, "Le Labyrinte de Versailles", ed. Le Laboureur, *Recueil de divers ouvrages en prose et en vers* (Paris, Jean-Baptiste Coignard: 1675) 225–268, here 226: 'Vers pour mettre dans le piédestail de la Figure d'Ésope: Avec mes animaux pleins de ruse et d'adresse, Qui de vos mœurs font le vivant portrait je voudrais bien enseigner la sagesse, Mais mon voisin ne veut pas qu'on en ait'.

70 Ibidem: 'Vers pour mettre dans le piédestail de la Figure de l'Amour: je veux qu'on aime, et qu'on soit sage, C'est être fou que n'aimer rien; Chaque animal le dit en son langage Il ne faut que l'écouter bien.' Perrault "Le Labyrinte de Versailles".

71 Ibidem 228: 'Tout homme avisé qui s'engage Dans le Labyrinthe d'Amour, Et qui veut en faire le tour, Doit être doux en son langage, Galant, propre en son équipage, Surtout nullement loup-garou. Autrement toutes les femelles jeunes, vieilles, laides et belles, Blondes, brunes, douces, cruelles, Se jetteront sur lui comme sur un Hibou'.

72 In his introduction to the official guidebook, Perrault explains this concept: 'Aesope tient un rouleau de papier & montre l'Amour qui tient unpeloton de fil, comme pour faire connoître que si ce Dieu engage les hommesdans de fâcheux labyrintes, il n'a pas moins le secret de les en tirer lors qu'il estaccompagné de la sagesse, dont Aesope dans ses Fables enseigne le chemin'. Perrault, *Le Labyrinthe de Versailles* (Paris; Imprimerie Royale: 1677; reprint Paris: 1982) 6.

FIGURE 15.10 *Jean Cotelle, "The Entrance of the Labyrinth of Versailles" (1693). Gouache. Chateau de Versailles.*
IMAGE © CHATEAU DE VERSAILLES, PHOTO: JEAN-MARC MANAI.

he shows young woman in antique draperies and little Cupids, which seem to belong to the entourage of Venus, catching birds in front of the fountain. Bird catching has always been used as an erotic metaphor. But here, just as in Perrault's verses, the meaning of the scene reaches beyond just a playful erotic allusion. Catching the birds here means domesticating them with the aid of the Cupids. So the bird's ferocity is tamed by love.

FIGURE 15.11 *Jean Cotelle, "The Entrance of the Labyrinth of Versailles" (1693). Detail. Gouache. Chateau de Versailles.*
IMAGE © CHATEAU DE VERSAILLES.

This bird catching was only made possible through the captured owl, sitting in the lower right corner of the image, which had obviously been used as a decoy bird [Fig. 15.11]. Normally that part of the image is the place where the artist puts his signature.[73] So maybe with the captured owl the artist is referring to himself, just as Hoefnagel does in his illustration, claiming the artist's role in the whole enterprise. It is not only the philosophical wisdom of the fables but also the ingenious visual rhetoric of the artists that lures the visitor into the educational installation of the Labyrinth.

In the oil version of the scene, painted for the gallery of the Trianon Palace in 1698 (and now in a very bad state of conservation), Cotelle makes even more explicit that the whole Labyrinth may function as a trap by putting a cage—which in the gouache version stands beside the real captured owl in the picture's corner—right into the picture's middle axis beneath the artificial owl of the fountain. They both function as decoy birds, trapping and taming the destructive aspects of animality which—according to the suggestion of Peter

73 According to Karel van Mander, the painter Herri met de Bles used an owl as his signature. Mander Karel van, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem, Paschier Wesbusch: 1604) fol. 219v.

Sahlins—may unfold all its grace and beauty in the peaceful order of the menagerie.[74] So in this depiction of the Royal Labyrinth we may hear a distant echo of Acchile Bocchi's Hermathena motto: "Sic monstra domantur".[75]

Between- Education and Manipulation: Questioning the Logos of Enlightenment

Stanislas Leszczynski, the exiled King of Poland who was made Duke of Lorraine by his son-in-law Louis XV, copied the fountain at the entrance to the Royal Labyrinth, using it as the focal point in his fanciful Jardin des Goulottes at his pleasure palace La Malgrange.[76] Maybe Stanislas, who is supposed to have composed this garden himself, used this citation to communicate a personal "emblematic" message. In French, this type of owl is called "duc" or "grand duc". Stanislas himself was *Duc de Lorraine* and *Grand Duc de Lituanie.* Wise submission to destiny was the motto of his dramatic life, full of persecution and harassment.[77] The experience of exile (one that he shared with Dio, Cicero, Hoefnagel, and Ippolito d'Este) dominated his life. The role of the owl and the epigram of the emblem by Rollenhagen—"If you want to win by giving in, learn to suffer" [Fig. 15.5]—would perfectly fit his political place in the strategies of the great territorial powers of his day.

74 So Cotelle's visual suggestion to interpret the whole Labyrinth as a trap designed to lure the wild birds into a cage can, but must not necessarily, be read as a confirmation of Sahlins's view of the Labyrinth as a preparatory complement to 'the graceful and peaceful animality of the Menagerie's birds that modelled the civilizing process in the gardens'. Sahlins, "Where the Sun Don't Shine" 81. For this metaphorical interpretation of the Menagerie, see also Sahlins P., "The Royal Menageries of Louis XIV and the Civilizing Process Revisited", *French Historical Studies* 35/2 (2012) 237–267.

75 We may remember that in Acchille Bocchi's Hermathena emblem it is Amor who steers the chariot carrying Hermes and Athena.

76 There is nothing left of the palace and its gardens, which were situated near Nancy. But we know that the fountain was quite a precise copy of the one at the entrance to the Labyrinth, through the detailed description of the architect Héré, cited in Wagner R.R., *In seinem Paradiese Schwetzingen … Das Badhaus des Kurfürsten Carl Theodor von der Pfalz* (Ubstadt-Weiher: 2009). The fountain with the owl and the birds at La Malgrange was called *La Volière*. On the famous gardens of Stanislas Leszczynski, see Chapetot S., *Les jardins du roi Stanislas en Lorraine* (Metz: 1999) 267.

77 On Stanislas's life and attitudes, see Tyszczuk R., *The Story of an Architect King. Stanislas Leszczynski in Lorraine 1737–1766* (Oxford – Bern – Berlin: 2007).

But there may also be a resonance of Sambucus's emblem with the motto "The ignorant hate the arts" [Fig. 15.1], since Stanislas excelled as a profoundly educated patron of the arts and sciences, and as an author of philosophical essays. As such, he reacted immediately when Rousseau launched a severe attack on the arts and the sciences in his famous *Discourse on the Arts and Sciences* (1750). In 1751, at about same time that the fountain with the owl and the birds at La Malgrange was being constructed, Stanislas published a passionate reply to Rousseau's thesis of the corrupting influence of the arts and the sciences on mankind, and his scornful attitude towards princely patronage.[78] In his reply to the King of Poland's criticisms Rousseau frankly defends the ideal of a "happy ignorance".

Maybe we can recognise a trace of this willingness to fight against the enemies of the arts and the sciences in a small but decisive difference between the owl of La Malgrange (now in the gardens of Schwetzingen, see below) [Fig. 15.12] and its model at Versailles [Fig. 15.9]. Whereas the owl of Versailles is bearing the harassment of the birds completely passively, the owl of La Malgrange spreads her wings menacingly, throwing a jet of water towards her aggressors and holding a pheasant in her claws.

'But so long as power alone is on one side, and knowledge and understanding alone on the other', Rousseau wrote at the end of his *Discourse*, 'the learned will seldom make great objects their study, princes will still more rarely do great actions [...]'.[79] Hunting pheasants was a stoutly defended privilege of the ruler.[80] So, the pheasant in her claws may express the wise owl's claim to be sovereign. And indeed Stanislas, whom his friend Voltaire called the 'roi philosophe', never renounced the title of King of Poland. So, the mighty owl that speaks and acts with a pheasant in her claws may represent Stanislas's confidence in the empowerment of wisdom and in the possibility of a philosophical kingdom.

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78 According to Chapetot, the fountain with the owl and the birds at La Malgrange must have been built before 1753. Chapetot, *Les jardins du roi Stanislas* 42. Stanislas's reply to Rousseau's *Discourse* was published in September 1751 in *Mercure de France.* On the exchange between Stanislas and Rousseau, see Tyszczuk, *The Story of an Architect King* 127–129.

79 Rousseau J.-J., *The Social Contract and Discourses*, ed. and transl. C.D.H. Cole (London – Toronto – New York: 1913) 153.

80 In his encyclopaedia Krünitz describes the different sorts of punishment for violating this privilege in detail. Krünitz Johann Jakob, *Oekonomische Encyklopädie oder allgemeines System der Staats-Stadt-Haus und Landwirthschaft, in alphabetischer Ordnung* (Berlin, Joachim Pauli: 1777; *Oeconomische Encyclopädie online,* 2001) 220–221.

FIGURE 15.12 *"The owl from the fountain of the Jardin des Goulottes at La Malgrange" (c. 1750–1754), now in the fountain of the Bathhouse-Garden at Schwetzingen. Copper sheet. Faithful replica, made by Friedhelm Pankowski.*
PHOTO © ZENKERT.

After his death in 1766, the metal birds of the fountain were sold and rearranged in a new fountain in a small *hortus conclusus* belonging to the Elector Carl Theodor's private retreat in his summer residence at Schwetzingen, the so-called Bathhouse [Fig. 15.13].[81]

81 On the gardens of Schwetzingen in general, see: Martin K., *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Amtsbezirks Mannheim, Stadt Schwetzingen* (Karlsruhe: 1933); Reisinger C. – Fuchs C.L., *Schloss und Garten zu Schwetzingen* (Worms: 2008); Hesse M., "Tempel, Thermen, Aquädukte. Antikenrezeption in den Schwetzinger Parkbauten", in Kunze M. (ed.), *Der Pfälzer Apoll. Kurfürst Carl Theodor und die Antike an Rhein und Neckar* (Ruhpolding: 2007) 175–180; Hesse M. – Troll H. – Wagner R.R., "Zur Ikonographie des Schwetzinger Schlossgartens." *Schwetzingen Kurfürstliche Sommerresidenz. Nominierung zur Eintragung in die UNESCO-Welterbeliste* (Schwetzingen: 2009) 71–82; Niedermeier M., "Die Gärten von Schwetzingen. Inszenierte Memoria und Symbol kurpfälzischer Stammesherrschaft", in *Schwetzingen Kurfürstliche Sommerresidenz. Nominierung zur Eintragung in die UNESCO-Welterbeliste* (Schwetzingen: 2009) 71–82.

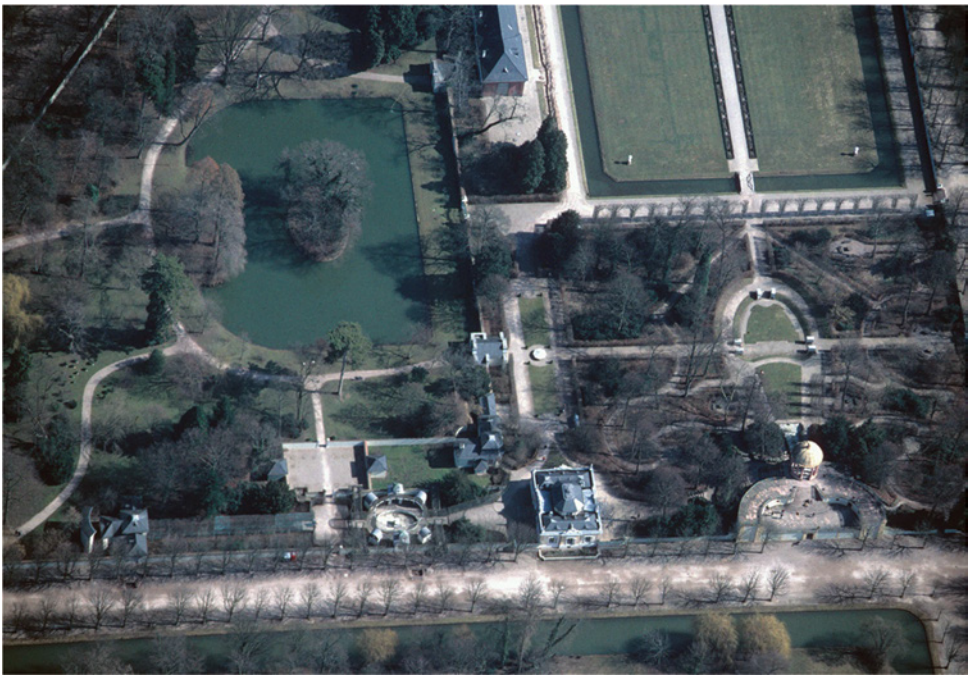

FIGURE 15.13 *Aerial view of the Bathhouse-Garden in Schwetzingen. From the left to the right: Perspective Pavilion, the Fountain with the Owl and the Birds, the Bathhouse, the Temple of Apollo.*
PHOTO © OTTO BRAASCH. LAD.

But whereas at Versailles and La Malgrange the attacking birds were arranged on different heights in a niche, here the Lorraine architect Nicholas de Pigage[82] places them all on the upper rim of a trellis architecture, elegantly curved around the oval basin [Fig. 15.14]. From there they spill water down on the owl, so that the visitor can walk around the basin beneath the water jets. Obviously Pigage drew this new arrangement of the water-spilling birds from a fountain at one of the exits of the Royal Labyrinth, Fountain No. 33, where the pigeons spill water down on the hawk because he himself eats pigeons, even though they had engaged him to protect them against the kite [Fig. 15.15].

82 Pigage was born in Lunéville, where his father worked as a stonemason in the service of Stanislas Lesczcynski. See Heber W., "Pigages Leben und Werk" in *Nicolas de Pigage 1723–1796. Architekt des Kurfürsten Carl Theodor. Zum 200. Todestag hrsg. vom Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf* (Cologne: 1996).

FIGURE 15.14 *Nicholas de Pigage, the Fountain with the Owl and the Birds, Schwetzingen Bathhouse Garden, with view to the Optical Pavilion.*
PHOTO © ZENKERT.

Maybe this architectural model also provided an idea as how to link the detail of the pheasant semantically to the new arrangement.[83] In Schwetzingen, the area where the Bathhouse complex was built between 1768 and 1774 formally belonged to the grounds of the menagerie (in the upper part of the left half of the aerial view) [Fig. 15.13]. Pigage connected these two areas by a court with two small pavilions (the white rectangle in the aerial view) [Fig. 15.13] especially designed for the rearing of young pheasants, although the main pheasantry was located some kilometres away near the small village of Leimen. Why?

83 It is difficult to tell whether the viewer was able to decipher this allusion. But Perrault's *Labyrinth of Versailles* was very well known all over Europe and translated into different languages. In the year that the construction of the Schwetzingen Bathhouse-Garden was started, there was a new English edition, Bellamy D., – Visscher N. (eds.), *Ethic Amusements—Bound with Aesop at Court or the Labyrinth of Versailles* (London, W. Faden: 1768). This edition documents a new interest in the Labyrinth, which corresponds to the strong revival of the fable as a literary genre.

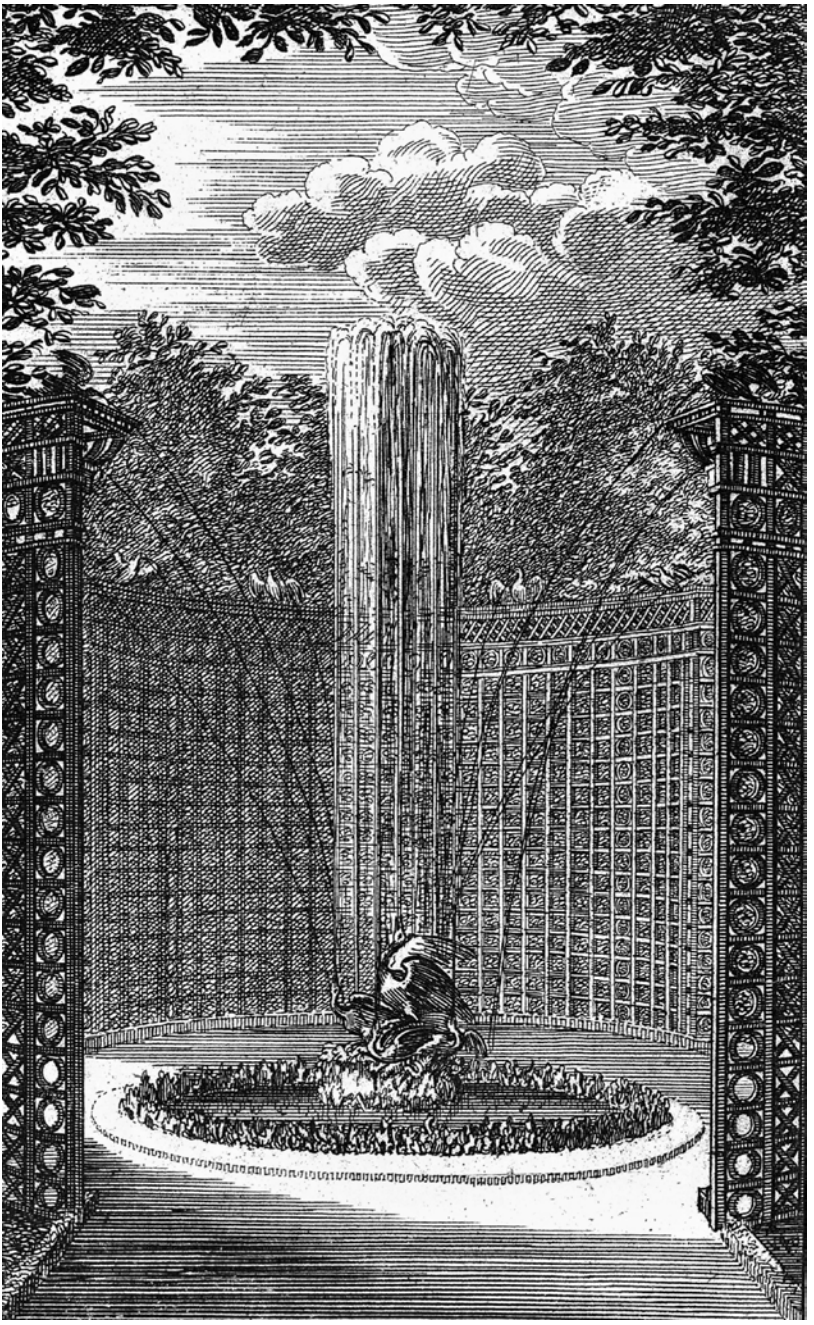

FIGURE 15.15 *Fable Fountain No. 33, "The Hawk, the Kite and the Pigeons", from Charles Perrault*, Le Labyrinte de Versailles (*Paris: 1675*). *Engraving by Johann Ulrich Kraus after Sébastien Leclerc, Augsburg 1690.*
© F. PANKOWSKI.

In the article on the owl in his famous encyclopaedia Johann Jakob Krünitz strongly recommends the use of an owl as a decoy bird for any pheasantry in order to provide an opportunity to catch or shoot crows, which used to worry young pheasants.[84] So it is quite probable that in the middle of this court, functioning as a passage between the Bathhouse-Garden and the menagerie, a real owl was fixed on a staff and used as a decoy bird. Small elevated terraces, accessible from the Bathhouse-Garden, allow one to look into the young pheasants' court from above, and maybe even to shoot the crows with blowpipes, a special courtly hunting amusement in those days. So, maybe, just like Cotelle's depiction of the entrance of the Royal Labyrinth [Figs. 15.10 and 15.11], a real owl, used as a decoy bird, was juxtaposed with the metal owl of the fountain.[85]

If the owl, who is installed to protect the pheasants, attacks them herself, her behaviour very much resembles that of the hawk in the fable Fountain No. 33 [Fig. 15.15], who eats the pigeons he is supposed to guard. The viewer learns that it can be very dangerous to trust the owl's engagement for the common good.

So here, then, we may have a very interesting combination of factual and fictional uses of the owl being attacked by birds. And Pigage loved to create such effects. The integration of aviaries with the fountain is a good example of this playful confusion of the artificial and the real. There are four birdcages, set symmetrically on the edges of the fountain's ground plan [Figs. 15.13 and 15.14]. In the ear of the visitor the real bird's twittering melds with the artificial voices, the "water voices" of the metal birds, which were painted naturalistically like those at Versailles and the Villa d'Este. So, on the visual level, too, they could and should be confused with real birds.[86]

But the birdcages also play a role on the narrative level. They embody the wise owl's warning against the ruses of the bird catchers. Pointing as well to the use of the owl as a decoy bird they stress her ambiguous role trying to "enlighten" the birds, yet participating involuntarily in the deception she warns

84 Krünitz, *Oekonomische Encyklopädie* 683.

85 For a detailed interpretation of the Bathhouse-Garden's meaning and function, see Zenkert A., "Im Labyrinth der Aufklärung. Der Schwetzinger Badhausgarten als Spielraum der Reflexion", in Wagner P. – Dickhaut K. – Ette O. (eds.), *Der Garten im Fokus kultureller Diskurse im 18. Jh. The Garden in the Focus of Cultural Discourses in the Eighteenth Century* (Trier: 2015) 161–199.

86 So they can also be read as a playful comment on the Fontana della Civetta at the Villa d'Este, which Pigage and Carl Theodor certainly knew from their travels to Rome. Why construct a complicated water organ to reproduce birds' voices, if you can get the same acoustic effect so easily?

against. It can be fatal for the birds to gather around the owl and to listen to her, although she tells the truth.

Seen in the historical context of the 1770s, the whole setting may express an aspect of Carl Theodor's ambiguous attitude towards the Enlightenment. One the one hand, he presented himself very successfully as the model of an enlightened prince. But on the other hand, he feared the consequences of the Enlightenment on his simple subjects, who could easily become the prey of dangerous bird catchers. He exercised strict censorship, prohibited freemasonry, and tried hard to re-Catholicise his territory with the help of the Jesuits.[87]

When the Jesuit order was forbidden in France, Carl Theodor invited the French Jesuit François Terrasse Desbillons, a prominent figure of the Counter-Enlightenment, to live at Mannheim. Desbillons soon gained a strong influence over Carl Theodor, to whom he dedicated the deluxe edition of his twelve volumes of Latin fables, which contained a fable about the owl and the birds (*Liber Duodecimus, Fabula IX* "Noctua, cornicula et aves aliae").[88] In Desbillons's version the owl thinks that the birds will gather around it because they worship it as their king. Blinded by its vanity, the owl takes the birds' mockery for admiration.[89] Undoubtedly this is aimed at Debillions's arch-enemy Voltaire, against whom he wrote a very sharp pamphlet. After Desbillons's arrival at the Mannheim court, the rich correspondence between Carl Theodor and Voltaire broke off.[90]

The Bathhouse Garden indeed suggests a critical view of the Enlightenment—not on such a simple, polemical level, but on a truly philosophical

87 For a historical analysis of Carl Theodor's political personality, see Mörz S., *Aufgeklärter Absolutismus in der Kurpfalz während der Mannheimer Regierungszeit des Kurfürsten Karl Theodor (1742–1777)* (Stuttgart: 1991).

88 On this dedication and the frontispiece, showing the temple of Apollo adjacent to the Bathhouse in the gardens of Schwetzingen, see Spannagel M., "Carl Theodor als Pfälzischer Apoll, der Palatin und die arkadische Vorgeschichte Roms", in Kunze M. (ed.), *Der Pfälzer Apoll. Kurfürst Carl Theodor und die Antike an Rhein und Neckar* (Ruhpolding: 2007). In this frontispiece Desbillons shows himself as 'avis exul', an exiled bird, imbibing new inspiration in his new home in the gardens of Schwetzingen from the fountain of the temple of Apollo.

89 Desbillons François-Joseph, *Fabulae Aesopia* (Mannheim, Akademie-Druckerei: 1768). Possibly the owl with the pheasant, which had just arrived from La Malgrange in the year when this edition was prepared, inspired Desbillons to a version of the fable in which the owl claims royal dignity.

90 Wiegand H., "Zwei geistige Antipoden am Hof Carl Theodors—Voltaire und Desbillons", in Wieczorek A. – Probst H. – Koenig W. (eds.), *Lebenslust und Frömmigkeit. Kurfürst Carl Theodor (1724–1799) zwischen Barock und Aufklärung* (Mannheim: 1999) 159–167.

one: Walking around the fountain, the visitor is led towards a painted landscape that gives the illusion of an exit through a hole in the garden's rear wall [Fig. 15.16]. As the visitor approaches this ideal landscape, walking through a long, dark trellis tunnel, it seems to grow more real. Finally, entering a hidden pavilion, the visitor suddenly realises that it is not a hole in the wall, but rather the exit of a cave that frames the landscape [Fig. 15.17]. Standing in the pavilion's apse, which imitates a natural grotto, is a strangely solemn moment, giving the impression that the visitor really has arrived in an Elysian landscape.[91]

Entering one of the two adjacent rooms, the optical device that produces this illusion is revealed [Fig. 15.18]. Looking through the small oval windows, the visitor realises that the landscape is painted on a curved wall set apart from the cave's exit—a brilliant optical device that inspired Johann Adam Breysing to invent the panorama [Figs. 15.19 and 15.20].[92] The frescoed ceilings of these side rooms show birds flying beneath nets that are stretched over an opening to the sky, as in an aviary [Fig. 15.21]. Suddenly the visitor realises that, like the birds trapped by the owl, he has been trapped by an optical trick and that in the end—as Dio remarks—the owl and the birds are the same fools.[93] So the perspective pavilion, which Pigage himself used to refer to as the *pavillion d'optique*, turns out to be a cage, into which the visitor is lured by the magically glowing image of an ideal landscape. But the exit from the amusing and elegant, yet slightly melancholic artificiality of this labyrinthine *hortus conclusus* into open and unspoiled nature, turns out to be an illusion.

In his series of *The Five Senses* Abraham Bloemaert depicts the captured owl as an allegory of sight. "Visus" is written at the bottom of the scene, which shows the owl, fixed to a staff, looking at the viewer with a sad expression on her face [Fig. 15.22].[94] The wise owl, who the birds expect to tell them some

91 For a more detailed analysis of the perspective pavilion, see Zenkert "Im Labyrinth der Aufklärung", 185–193.

92 Herzog G., *Hubert Robert und das Bild im Garten* (Worms: 1989) 138.

93 Since there was a renaissance of Dio in the last decades of the 18th century, which culminated in a new complete edition by J. Reiske (Leipzig: 1784), it is possible that some highly educated visitors could associate this setting with Dio. The Elector himself was an excellent Latinist who loved to have Latin conversations.

94 Here again the motif contains a reflection on the medium of its representation and the process of its reception. Directly involving the viewer through glances and gestures into the allegorical plot, the painter demonstrates that in front of a painting the viewer himself is in danger of being trapped like the birds. It is a characteristic feature of the motif that its metaphorical potential tends to evolve in a performative way. On the Bloemaert family, see Roethlisberger M.G. – Bok M.J., *Abraham Bloemaert and his sons. Paintings and prints* (Davaco: 1993). In the Netherlands in particular the classical image of the wise owl

FIGURE 15.16 *Nicholas de Pigage, Trellis tunnel Perspective Pavilion. Schwetzingen.* PHOTO © ZENKERT.

FIGURE 15.17 *Nicholas de Pigage, cave in the Perspective Pavilion. Schwetzingen.* PHOTO © ZENKERT.

FIGURE 15.18 *Nicholas de Pigage, western side room of the Perspective Pavilion. Schwetzingen.* PHOTO © ZENKERT.

FIGURE 15.19 *Side view of the Perspective Pavilion, Schwetzingen.* PHOTO © ZENKERT.

truths, unwillingly traps them. Likewise, sight, which seems to tell us the truth about the world, lures us into deception, thus revealing that we are captured in the cage of our limited perception.

In the perspective pavilion the trellis tunnel seems to represent this cage. But the very heart of the illusion here is designed as a cave, thus integrating an allusion to the imagery of Plato's cave with the fowling metaphor.

In *The Republic* Plato has Socrates describe a cave where people have been imprisoned since childhood. The prisoners face a blank wall. Because they are chained and cannot turn around, the shadows projected on the wall constitute their reality. The sunlight outside the cave represents the knowledge of reality that a freed prisoner (the philosopher) is experiencing. Acclimated to the sunlight, he would seem to be blind when he re-enters the cave. So, if he came

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was transformed into the negative image of a person characterised by the absence of reason, be it because of his arrogance, his stupidity, or his drunkenness. In this context, the Aristotelean topos of the owl's day-blindness played an important role. For this tradition in the Netherlands, see Paszkiewicz P.P., "Nocturnal Bird of Wisdom: Symbolic Function of the Owl in Emblems", *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 23 (1982) 56–83.

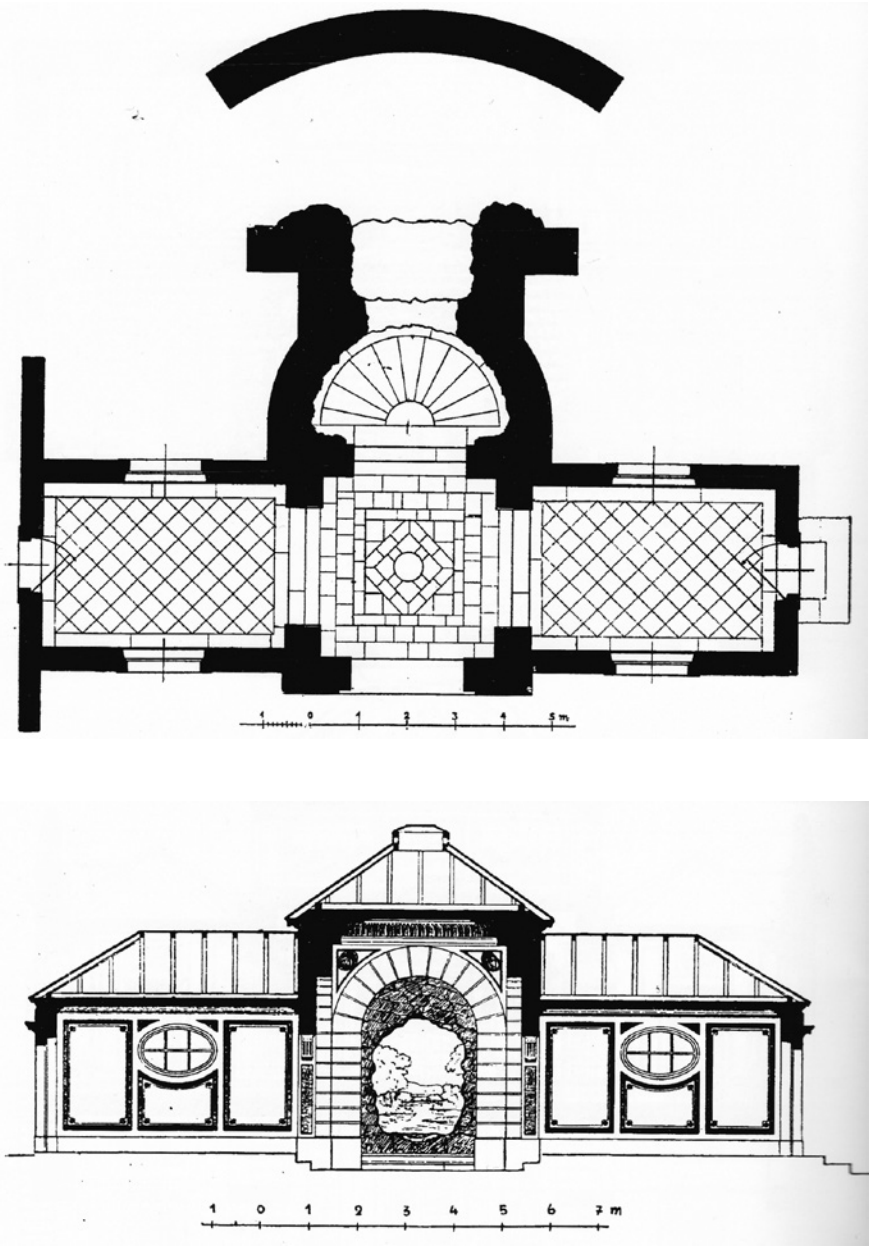

FIGURE 15.20 *Floorplan and elevation of the Perspective Pavilion, Schwetzingen.*
© BAUAMT SCHWETZINGEN.

FIGURE 15.21 *Ceiling fresco with owl and birds, western side room of the Perspective Pavilion, Schwetzingen.*
PHOTO © ZENKERT.

back to bring his fellow cave dwellers out of the cave, they would not believe him and might even attack him.[95]

It is in this tradition that the Bathhouse garden leads the visitor through a kind of initiation, revealing the confines of our mind which are, in the perspective of the late 18th century, the confines of Enlightenment. In the view of the Elector Carl Theodor, these epistemic confines should correspond to political

95 Plato, *Der Staat*, ed. G. Eigler (Darmstadt: 1971), VII, 514a–518b. See also Plato, *The Republic Book VII*, ed. W.H.D. Rouse (New York: 2008) 365–401. For Dio's affinity with the philosophy of Plato, see *Discourses 13,* 9–11, where he says that, on the advice of the Delphic oracle, he undertook his journey to the countries in the north and east of the Roman empire with nothing but a copy of Plato's *Phaedo*, which contains imagery similar to that of the parable of the cave and Demosthenes's *Oration on the Embassy* in his pocket. In order to understand the role of the Aesop fable in Dio's thought, the beginning of Plato's *Phaedo* may be significant: Phaedo says that on his very last day, Socrates wrote a hymn and then began writing poetry based on Aesop's fables.

FIGURE 15.22 *Frederick Bloemaert (ca. 1610–1668) after Abraham Bloemaert, "Visus". Engraving from the series "The Five Senses", 10.8 × 15.7, Amsterdam Rijksmuseum.* IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM.

ones. The political advice of the "wise owls", dreaming of a philosophical kingdom, may not lead to freedom, but into a trap.

It is quite significant in this context that an owl was the main symbol of the order of the Illuminati that Carl Theodor forbade by edict in 1785.[96] The so-called *minervals*, members of a lower degree of the order, wore a medallion with an owl carrying a book with the inscription P.M.C.V. ("Per me coeci vident", "Through me the blind can see").[97] This motto suggests that the owl, which is supposed to be day-blind, is seen here in the role of the philosopher in Plato's allegory of the cave. Re-entering the cave after his eyes have become acclimated to the light of the sun, he seems to be blind when he returns into

96 About Carl Theodor's prohibition of the Illuminati, see Frietsch W., *Die Illuminaten. Geschichte, Herkunft, Ziele* (Graz: 2011) 57ff.

97 About the owl as a symbol of the Illuminati, see Frietsch, *Die Illuminaten* 78, and the figures on 41, 45, 62.

the cave. But in truth he is the only one who is capable of seeing reality and leading the prisoners out of the cave into the sunlight.

In order to leave the cave of the perspective pavilion, the visitor has to turn around. If he follows the way back, passing again the fountain and the Bathhouse, he will finally arrive at the temple of Apollo, adorned with golden suns, from which he has wide views of the *real* landscape [Fig. 15.13 and 15.23]. That the Elector was compared with Apollo in contemporary panegyrics and that in an official portrait by Johann Peter Hoffmeister (1770) the Apollo temple of Schwetzingen is in the background, point to the political implications of this garden setting. It is not through the intermediation of the wise owl, but through Apollo's oracle, which here is conceived as a state oracle, that we may participate in the truth of the divine light.

But although we can read this sort of political message, the whole installation deliberately remains open to different interpretations, thanks to the protean ambiguity of the fountain with the owl and the birds at its centre. In her memoires Charlotte von Kalb reports a conversation she had with her friend Friedrich Schiller about the fountain, which they both loved to visit on their promenades in Schwetzingen.[98] Charlotte wonders how to interpret the mysterious ambiguity of the owl, which seems to be at once mighty and powerless. Schiller's reply seems to be a perfect explanation of the character of both the fountain and the motif: 'We guess, we interpret …', he remarks. 'An oracular image it may be'.[99]

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98 Schiller was given asylum by Carl Theodor after his flight from Württemberg in 1782.

99 'Wir raten—deuten—[…]—ein weissagend Bild mag es wohl sein.' Hecker M. – Petersen J., *Schillers Persönlichkeit: Urtheile der Zeitgenossen und Documente* (Reprint, Hildesheim: 1976) 101.

FIGURE 15.23 *Nicholas de Pigage, Temple of Apollo, Schwetzingen.*
PHOTO © ZENKERT.

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CHAPTER 16

Hermeneutic Animals—Johann Fischart's Use of Emblems in his German Translation of Rabelais

Tobias Bulang

1 Johann Fischart's Participation in the Printing of Emblem Books

The Alsatian author Johann Fischart (1546/7–1590) not only edited emblem books, but also wrote satirical commentaries on emblematic literature in his works for his brother-in-law Bernhard Jobin's printing press. Fischart, who later practiced as a lawyer, worked in Jobin's printing workshop for two decades during and after his law studies. In this time, he not only published his own translations of French and Latin books, but also works of his own in many different fields. He translated Rabelais' free spirited *Gargantua*, as well as Jean Bodin's rumerous and bloody treatise on witchcraft, *Démonomanie des sorciers* into German. He also published polemical writings against Dominicans and Jesuits, satirical writings in the *Floia* tradition, and introductions to literature about lute music or alchemy. Further, he edited a church hymnal by Luther (to which he added some songs of his own).[1] Fischart's obsession with books and the printed knowledge of his time manifests itself in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*,[2] an imaginary library in the tradition of St. Victor's library in

1 Biblio-biographical summaries and overviews: Hauffen A., *Johann Fischart. Ein Literaturbild aus der Zeit der Gegenreformation*, 2 vols., Schriften des wissenschaftlichen Instituts der Elsaß-Lothringer im Reich (Berlin – Leipzig: 1921/22); Kühlmann W., "Johann Fischart", in Füssel S. (ed.), *Deutsche Dichter der frühen Neuzeit (1450–1600). Ihr Leben und Werk* (Berlin: 1993) 589–612; Seelbach U., "Johann Fischart", in Kühlmann W. – Müller J.-D. – et al. (eds.), *Frühe Neuzeit in Deutschland 1520–1620. Literaturwissenschaftliches Verfasserlexikon*, 2 vol. (Berlin: 2012) 449–453; Seelbach U., "Fischart (Piscator), Johann", in Kühlmann W. (ed.), *Killy Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke des deutschsprachigen Kulturraumes,* zweite, vollst. überarb. Auflage 2 vol. (Berlin – New York: 2008) 358–383.

2 Fischart J., *Catalogus catalogorum perpetuo durabilis. Das ist Ein Ewigwerender/ Gordianischer/ Pergamenischer vnd Tirraninonischer Bibliothecken gleichwichtige und richtige verzeichnuß vnd registratur/ Aller Fürnemer außbuendiger/ fuertrefflicher nuetzlicher schoener nicht jederman gemeiner/ getruckter vnd vngetruckter Buecher vnd Schrifften/ Operum, Tomorum, Tractatuum, Voluminum, Partium viler mancher herrlicher Auctorn vnd Scribenten* [...] (Strassbourg, Bernhard Jobin: 1590). Only a few copies of this historic edition remained.

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Rabelais' *Pantagruel*, which lists 527 more or less fictitious book titles as parodies of all kinds of epistemical events.[3] And these are only a few of his multiple contributions to the various fields of knowledge and poetry of his time. The excellent woodcuts of the best woodcut illustrators of the time, Tobias Stimmer and Jost Amann, contributed to this remarkable book culture of Jobin's press.[4]

Johann Fischart was quite familiar with the emblematic writings of his time. He edited Mathias Holtzwart's *Emblematum Tyrocinia* together with an introduction called *Kurtzer vnd Woldienlicher Vorbericht/ von Vrsprung/ namen vnd Gebrauch der Emblematen/ oder Eingeblömter Zierwercken* [Fig. 16.1].[5] In this first discourse about emblems in the German vernacular, Fischart uses various (often invented) German names for emblematic imagery, such as 'Zierwerck', 'Gemælpoesy', 'Poetische Geheymnuslehrige Gemæle', 'Lehrgemäl', 'sinnreiche erfindungen', 'Poetische Dichtungen', 'Gemälmysterien', or 'verdeckten

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Critical edition: Fischart J., *Catalogus Catalogorum perpetuo durabilis* (*1590*). *Mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen*, ed. M. Schilling (Tübingen: 1993).

3 See Kleinschmidt E., "Die konstruierte Bibliothek. Zu Johann Fischarts *Catalogus catalogorum* (1590)", *Etudes Germaniques* 50 (1990) 541–555; Müller J.-D., "Universalbibliothek und Gedächtnis. Aporien frühneuzeitlicher Wissenskodifikation bei Conrad Gesner (mit einem Ausblick auf Antonio Possivino, Theodor Zwinger und Johann Fischart)", in Peil D. – Schilling M. – Strohschneider P. (eds.), *Erkennen und Erinnern in Kunst und Literatur. Kolloquium Reisensburg 4.-7. Januar 1996* (Tübingen: 1998) 285–309; Seelbach U., *Ludus lectoris. Studien zum idealen Leser Johann Fischarts* (Heidelberg: 2000); Werle D., *Copia librorum. Problemgeschichte imaginierter Bibliotheken 1580–1630* (Tübingen: 2007) 231–265; soon: Bulang T., "Possible Discourses and the Unfolding of the Implicit. Some Remarks on Fischart's *Catalogus Catalogorum*", in Smith P.J. – Pouey-Mounou A.P. (eds.), *Satirical Catalogues—Fictitious Libraries* (*16th–18th Century*), Intersections (Leiden – Boston: 2018).

4 About the publication strategies and the patriotic aims of Jobins press see: Brockstieger S., "Das Deutsche im Wettstreit der Sprachen. Sprachreflexion bei Johann Fischart und Bernhard Jobin (ca. 1578)", in Kammerer E. – Müller J.-D. (eds.), *Imprimeurs et libraires de la Renaissance: Le travail de la langue. Sprachpolitik der Drucker, Verleger und Buchhändler der Renaissance*, De lingua et linguis 1 (Geneva: 2015) 524–538 and 564. Soon available will be Sylvia Brockstiegers monography: *Arbeit am Deutschen. Johann Fischart im Kontext der Offizin Bernhard Jobin* (Berlin – Boston: 2017).

5 Holtzwart, Mathias, *Emblematum Tyrocinia sive picta poesis Latinogermanica. Das ist: Eingeblümete Zierwerck oder Gemaelpoesie* […] (Strassbourg, Bernhard Jobin: 1581); current edition: Holtzwart, Mathias, *Emblematum Tyrocinia. Mit einem Vorwort über Ursprung, Gebrauch und Nutz der Emblematen von Johann Fischart und 72 Holzschnitten von Tobias Stimmer*, ed. P. von Düffel – K. Schmidt (Stuttgart: 1968). ***See*** Lailach M., *"Der Gelehrten Symbola*—Studien zu den *Emblematum Tyrocinia* von Mathias Holtzwart (Strassbourg 1581)", Ph.D. dissertation (University of Tübingen: 2000); Bulang T., *Enzyklopädische Dichtungen. Fallstudien zu Wissen und Literatur in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Deutsche Literatur 2 (Berlin: 2011) 421–424.

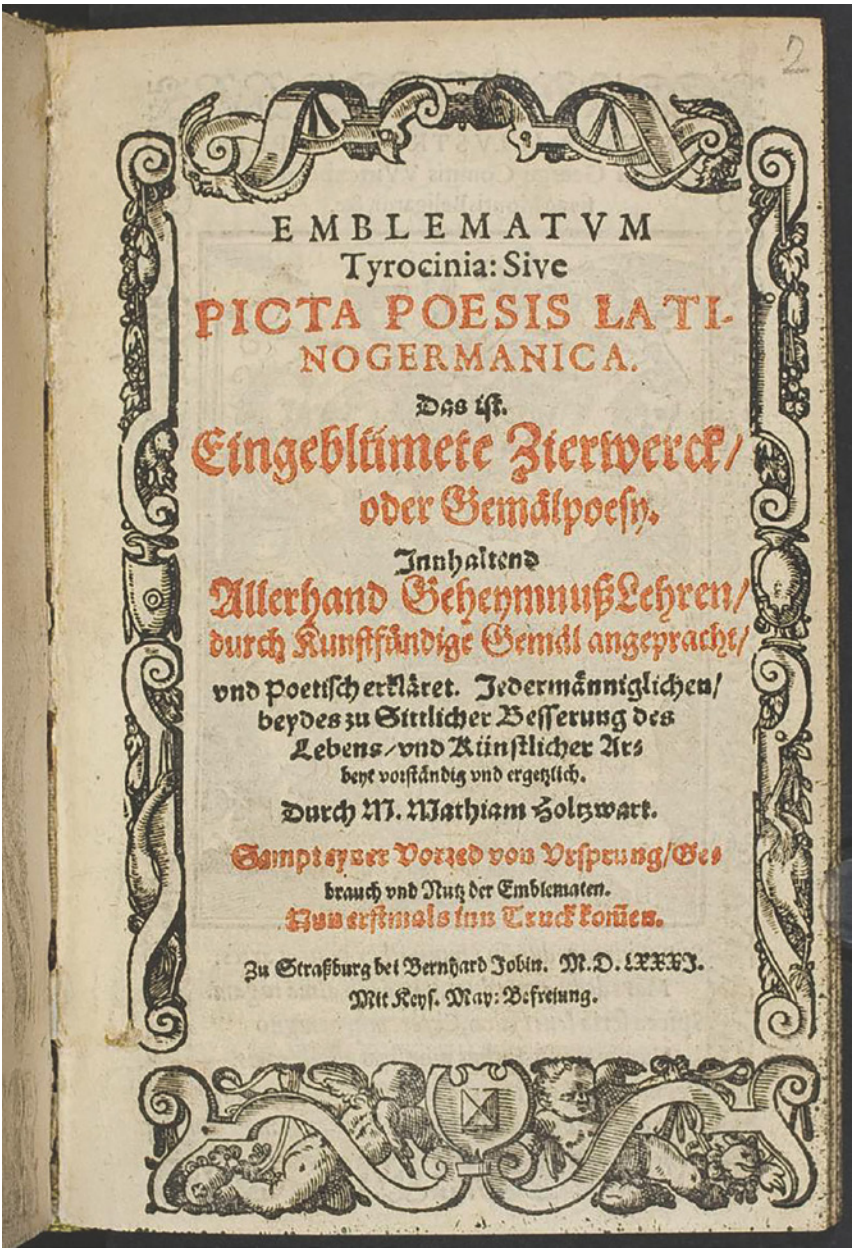


FIGURE 16.1 *Mathias Holtzwart*, Emblematum Tyrocinia [...] (*Strassbourg, Bernhard Jobin: 1581*). *Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/t-355-helmst-8f-2/start.htm>.*

Lergemäle'. By doing so, Fischart offers a German nomenclature, which addresses different aspects of the emblems, such as their ornamental function, hermetic symbolism, mediality, didactic approach, etc. Fischart constructs here a specific German patriotic tradition of the use of emblems and other symbols, referring to Tacitus' *Germania* and the famous writings of Berosus, which were fakes made by Annio da Viterbo (Giovanni Nanni),[6] but nonetheless often instrumentalized for the creation of national histories of all kinds in the 16th century.[7]

In 1587, Nicolaus Reusner's *Aureolorum emblematum liber* was published as a bilingual edition in Jobin's press, where a second edition appeared in 1591.[8] This second edition adds various images by Tobias Stimmer, which had previously appeared in Johann Fischart's books. All these efforts show how much Fischart was interested in testing the vernacular applicability of the emblematic discourse of Latin scholars. Here he follows tendencies that were common all over Europe in the second half of the 16th century.[9]

2 The Parody of Emblems and Hieroglyphs in the *Geschichtklitterung* (*Gargantua*)

The parody and instrumentalization of emblematic imagery in Fischart's translation of Rabelais' *Gargantua* is remarkable. The so-called *Geschichtklitterung*, which appeared in print in three editions (1575, 1582, 1590), the latter of these with multiple additions and digressions, is not only a translation of Rabelais' novel *Gargantua* (printed 1534), but contains Fischart's comments [Figs. 16.3–16.5]. He added elements of knowledge and discourse, which were

6 Annius de Viterbo (Giovanni Nanni), *Commentaria fratris Ioannis Annii Viterbiensis ordinis praedicatorum Theologiae professoris super opera diversorum auctorum de antiquitatibus loquentium* […] (Rome, Eucharius Silber: 1498).

7 Allen D.C., *The Legend of Noah. Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science, and Letters*, Urbana 1949, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 33, 3/4, 114f; Grafton A., *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton: 1990); Bietenholz P.G., *Historia and Fabula. Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age* (Leiden – New York – Cologne: 1994) 193–194.

8 Reusner, Nikolaus, *Aureolorum Emblematum Liber Singularis* […] (Strassbourg, Bernhard Jobin: 1587); Reusner, Nikolaus, *Aureolorum emblematum liber singularis* […] (Strassbourg, Bernhard Jobin: 1591).

9 Holtzwart, *Emblematum Tyrocinia* (ed. P. Düffel) 226; A. Henkel – A. Schöne (eds.), *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: 1996) XVII.

current more than 40 years after the French original was written, thus using the novel as an instrument for observations and satirical interventions in the field of knowledge of his own time. This becomes evident when one compares Rabelais' description and satirical comment on the allegorical emblazonment of young Gargantua's clothing and armory to Fischart's translation of this same section. Rabelais ridicules the semiotic practise by offering images with little dignity for subtle ideas, such as, for instance, a pot of mustard ('un pot à *moustarde*') for courtly love ('c'est mon cueur à qui *moult tarde*'), or a dog excrement ('*estron de chien*') for a little treasure chest ('*tronc de ceans*').[10] Fischart does not only provide quite original translations of such untranslatable puns, he also adds hundreds of further examples of this kind:

> Solcher gestalt wann man von gleichlautendes klangs willen eins fuer das ander will prauchen, so will ich ein Paner malen und verstehn daß mich mein Bulschafft will bannen, ein Pensel und meins Hertzens Seelpeinig Fegfeuer verstehn, ein Kalbskopff fuer ein Kalkopff, ein Hafen mit Senff, das mein hoffen unsanfft versaur, ein Pott mit Moustart, daß mein Hertz 'moult tard', ist Most art, juert wie neuer Wein hinden auß: Also muß mir ein Pott ein Official und schuldbott sein: das Unden am end, meines gesaeses ein Fartzbuechs: mein Pruchlatz ein Forsprechstueblin oder Laß eysen: ein Hundsstrud und 'Estron de chien' für ein 'tronc ceans' oder grundstand meines Bulen leib: der Hundstreck ein Niderlaendischen haendschuch oder antrecker: ein Nonnenbauch, ein Brevirbuch, da man die Nonas liset: ein schraub und aer, ein Schreiber, *'Grandmercy,' ein langer Kraemer*, mein Naßthuch ein Rotzherr, mein Arskerbenei ein artzgerbnei, die Katz inn der Suppen ein hoefische Supplicatz oder Purgatz, ein Eul unnd ein Schneck, Eil mit weil, hurnauß ein Hurnhauß: Ackermerr ein Kramer: umgestuertzt laere Kann, ein Kantzler, heimlichs gemach ein Secretari: kale Mauß ein Kalmaeuserischer Commisari: Hebammenstul ein Notari: Helffant ein helffer, *Kalecut ein beschabet Mönchskapp oder abgerieben zinckenbläsermaul*, Lame tatz fuer Lamentatz: Pfrimen inn oren die Memori: Bock im Beltz der Teufel: Prust Latz für Protestatz: arm im reff ein Reformirer: ein entschipter kaler Fisch oder Al ein Fiscal: die

10 'Par mesmes raison (si raisons les doibz nommer, et non resveries) ferois je paindre un penier: denotant qu'on me faict pener. Et un pot à moustarde, que c'est mon cueur à qui moult tarde. Et un pot à pisser, c'est un official. Et le fond de mes chausses c'est un vaisseau de petz, et ma braguette, c'est le greffe des arrestz. Et un estront de chien, c'est un tronc de ceans, où gist l'amour de m'amye'. Rabelais François, *Œuvres complètes*, eds. Mireille Huchon and François Moreau (Paris: 1994) 29.

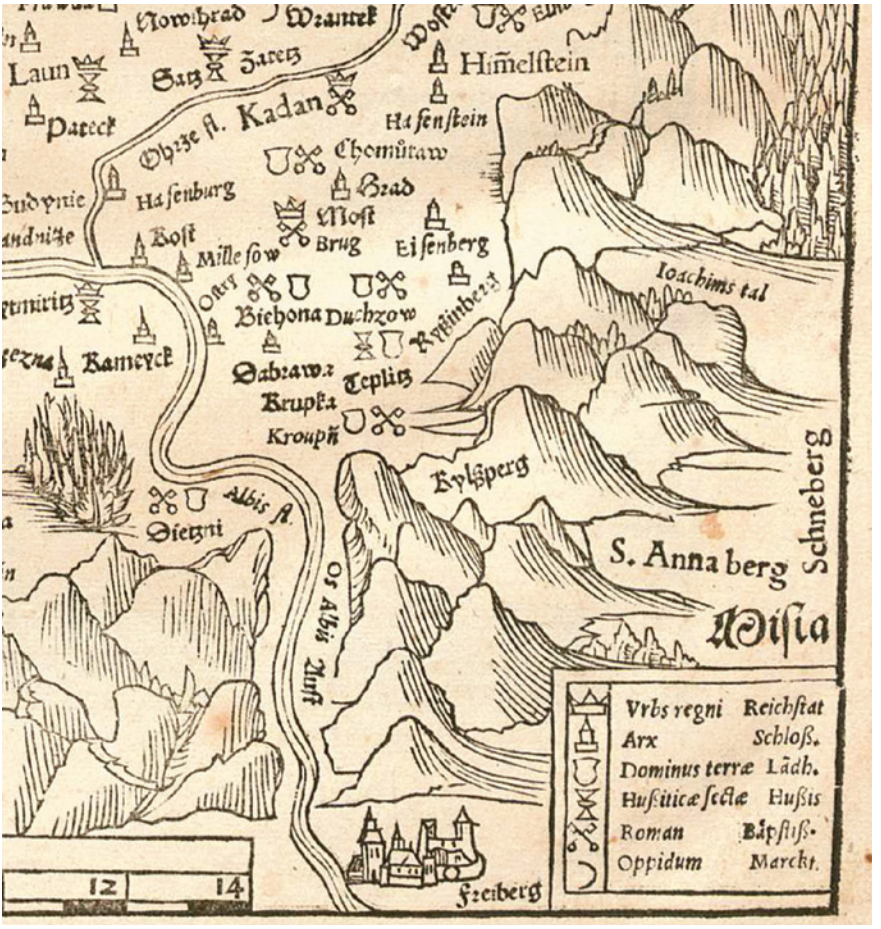


FIGURE 16.2 *Sebastian Münster*, Cosmographei (*Basel, Heinrich Petri: 1550*), *map of Bohemia* (*detail*). *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich Res/2 Geo.u.48.*

eim hinden auß essen, die Interesse Wucherer: Der Ars ein Arrest, und *die* einen Arstiren. Unnd wer kann alles ersinnen, wie es der ein auffs Heu, die ander auff die Eh macht: und wann der ein sagt, 'suo more canit', der ander versteht, ein Sau unnd Mor, unnd kann nichts? '*sua cuique sponsa placet', jedes Sau und Ku pletzt sein Braut*, und der ein die Aberacht auf *sech*tzehen außlegt, unnd das Einig für Ewig versteht. Es sind eitel faul Fisch.[11]

11 Fischart Johann, *Geschichtklitterung* (*Gargantua*), synoptischer Abdruck der Fassungen von 1575, 1521 und 1590. Mit drei Titelblättern und den Originalholzschnitten der

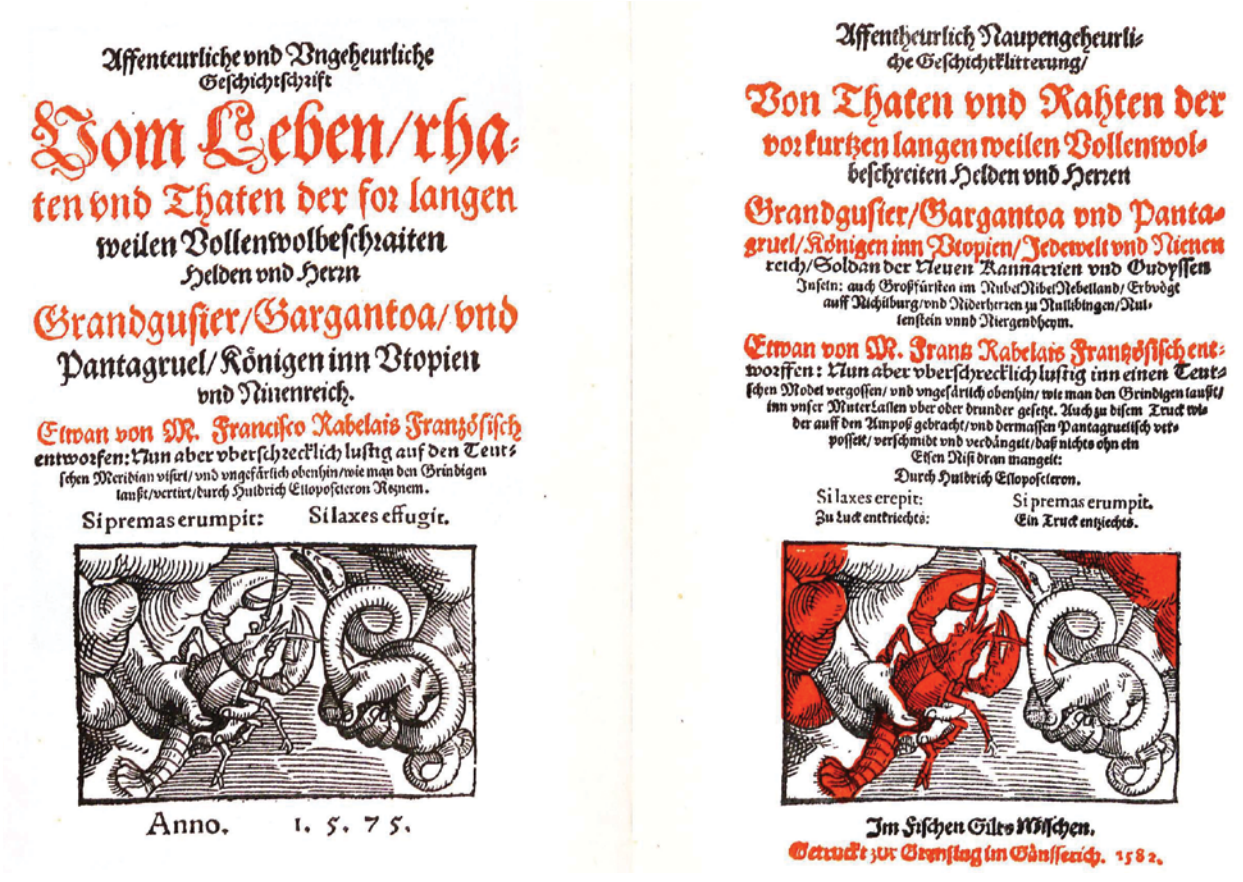
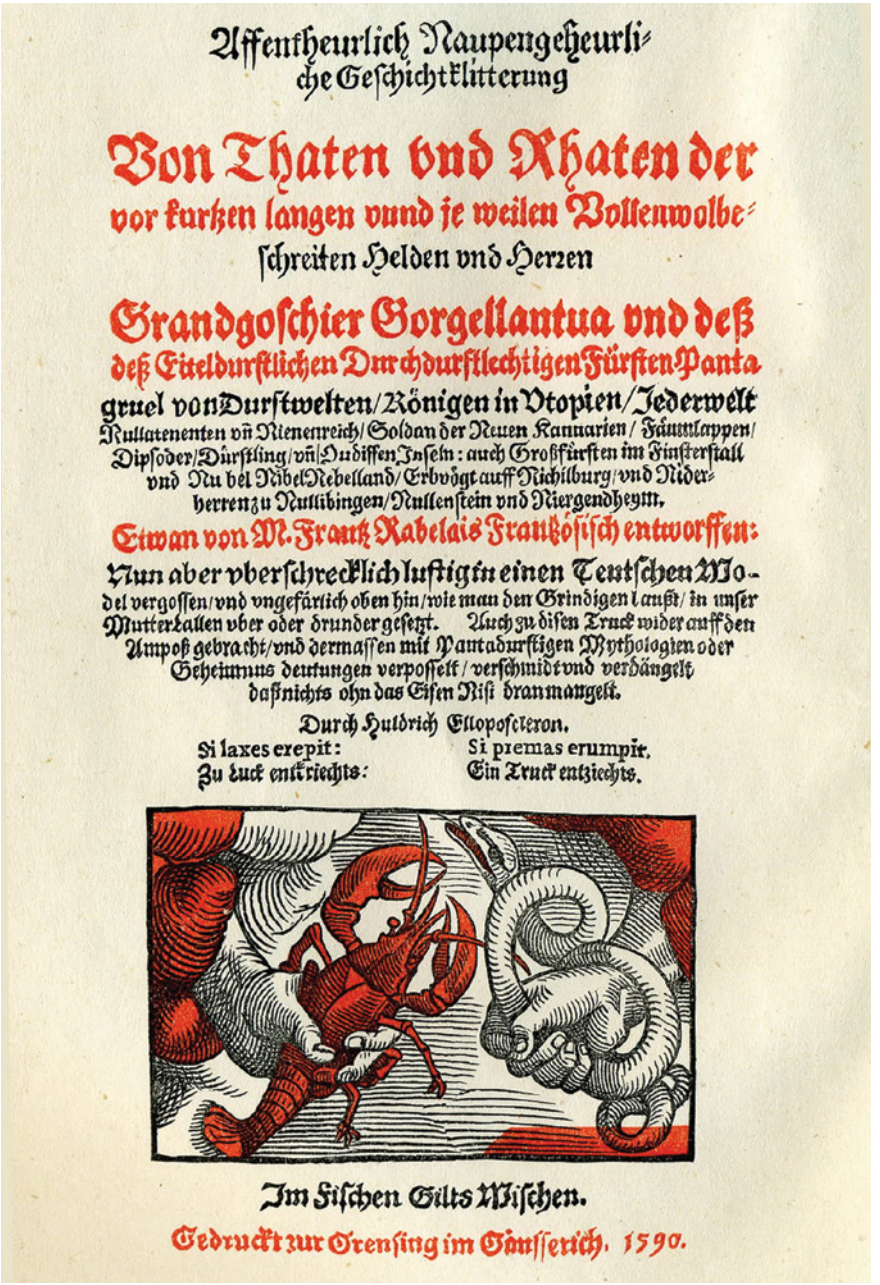

Affenteurliche vnd Vngeheurliche
Geschichtschrift
Vom Leben/rha-
ten vnd Thaten der fol langen
weilen Vollenwolbeschraiten
Helden vnd Herrn
Grandgusier/Gargantoa/ vnd
Pantagruel/ Königen inn Vtopien
vnd Nienreich.
Etwan von M. Francisco Rabelais Französisch
entworfen: Nun aber vberschrecklich lustig auf den Teut-
schen Meridian visirt/ vnd vngefärlich obenhin/ wie man den Grindigen
lanst/vertirt/durch Huldrich Elloposteron Reznem.
Si premas erumpit: Si laxes effugit.
Anno. 1. 5. 7 5.
Affentheurlich Naupengeheurli-
che Geschichtklitterung/
Von Thaten vnd Rahten der
vor kurtzen langen weilen Vollenwol-
beschreiten Helden vnd Herren
Grandgusier/Gargantoa vnd Panta-
gruel/Königen inn Vtopien/Jedewelt vnd Nienen
reich/Soldan der Neuen Rannarien vnd Gudyssen
Inseln: auch Großfürsten im Nubel Nibel Nebelland/ Erbvögt
auff Nichilburg/vnd Niderherren zu Nullibingen/Nul-
lenstein vnnd Niergendheym.
Etwan von M. Frantz Rabelais Frantzösisch ent-
worffen: Nun aber vberschrecklich lustig inn einen Teut-
schen Modet vergossen/ vnd vngefärlich obenhin/ wie man den Grindigen lauft/
inn vnser Mutterlallen vber oder drunder gesetzt. Auch zu disem Truck wi-
der auff den Ampoß gebracht/vnd dermassen Pantagruelisch ver-
posselt/ verschmidt vnd verdängelt/ daß nichts ohn ein
Elsen Nisi dran mangelt:
Durch Huldrich Elloposteron.
Si laxes erepit: Si premas erumpit.
Zu Luck entkriechts: Ein Truck entziechts.
Im Fischen Gilts Nüschen.
Getruckt zur Grenslag im Gänsseruch. 1582.

FIGURE 16.3–16.4 *Johann Fischart*, Geschichtschrift [...] (*Strassbourg, Bernhard Jobin: 1575*), *title page.*



Affentheurlich Naupengeheurliche Geschichtklitterung

Von Thaten vnd Rhaten der vor kurtzen langen vnnd je weilen Vollenwolbeschreiten Helden vnd Herren

Grandgoschier Gorgellantua vnd deß deß Eiteldurstlichen Durchdurstlechtigen Fürsten Panta gruel von Durstwelten/Königen in Vtopien/Jederwelt

Nullatenenten vñ Nienenreich/Soldan der Neuen Kannarien/Fäumlappen/Dipsoder/Dürstling/vñ Vndiffen Inseln: auch Großfürsten im Finsterstall vnd Nu bel Nibel Nebelland/Erbvögt auff Nichilburg/vnd Niderherren zu Nullibingen/Nullenstein vnd Niergendheym.

Etwan von M. Franz Rabelais Frantzösisch entworffen:

Nun aber vberschrecklich lustig in einen Teutschen Model vergossen/vnd vngefärlich oben hin/wie man den Grindigen lauft/in unser Muttersprachen vber oder drunder gesetzt. Auch zu disen Truck wider auff den Ampoß gebracht/vnd dermassen mit Pantadurstigen Mythologien oder Geheimnus deutungen verposselt/verschmidt vnd verdängelt daß nichts ohn das Eisen Nisi dran mangelt.

Durch Huldrich Ellopoleteron.

Si laxes erepit: Zu Luck entkriechts:
Si premas erumpit. Ein Truck entziechts.

Im Fischen Gilts Mischen.

Gedruckt zur Grensing im Gänsserich. 1590.

FIGURE 16.5 *Johann Fischart*, Geschichtklitterung [...] (*Strassbourg: Bernhard Jobin: 1590*), *title page.*

Fischart managed to translate Rabelais' puns by switching between different languages. For instance, he offered the German phrase *ein Hafen mit Senff* for Rabelais' *pot à moustarde*. At that time, the German word *Hafen* meant a pot, or a bowl. That image of a pot full of mustard, therefore, stands for the meaning 'that my hope turns sour' (*das mein hoffen unsanfft versaur*). Fischart used the almost homophonical German word pair *Hafen–Hoffen* for a very much equivalent translation of the French *moutard-moult tarde*. Moreover, he also included the French example, playing on it one more time: *ein Pott mit Moustart, daß mein Hertz* '*moult tard*', *ist Most art, juert wie neuer Wein hinden auß*. Stressing again homophonical occurences, Fischart compared the French *moult tarde* to the German Most-art: His heart is like young wine (in German: "Most"). That the overconsumption of new wine might lead to digestive turbulence is also indicated by Fischart's last comment, *juert wie neuer Wein hinden auß*. Thus, he managed to create the comic association of a heart suffering from diarrhea. Fischart invented new puns of this kind when he used the word for hornet (*hurnauß*) as image for a brothel (*Hurnhaus*), or the phrase for an empty pitcher (*laere Kann*) for a chancellor (*Kantzler*).

Rabelais' remarks in this context that such meaningless forms of symbolism are to be differentiated from the authenticity of the Egyptian hieroglyphs (as can be noticed in the books of Horapollo and Francesco Colonna),[12] were used by Fischart as an occassion to add a catalogue of 64 hieroglyphs, which is not provided in Rabelais' *Gargantua*:

> Als der Helffant ein Keyser: *ein groß Ohr ein Weiser*, Schaf gedult, Taub einfalt, Schlang listig, Wolff fraesig, Fuchs diebisch, *Delphin libisch*, KuerißPferd Krieg, Han sig: Hund unflaetig. Aff unuerschamt: Seu wuest: Schneck langsam: Wider widersinnig: Woelfin ein Hur: Esel ein Stockfisch: ein Beschneidstul: ein Cartetschbanck: Has forchtsam: Mauß schaden: Katz Weiberrammel: Maulwerff plind: Storck fromm, Kranch wacker: Eul weiß: *Aug Auffsehen: Greiff schnelligkeit: ein tod Roß schelmigkeit: Crocodyl untrew: ein Schermeußlin ein Maeutzlein: ein Schoeffel ein Rhatsherr: ein*

Ausgabe von 1590 von Tobias Stimmer, new ed. H. Schnabel, 2 vols. Neudruck deutscher Literaturwerke 65/69, 70/71 (Halle a.S.: 1969) 182. The italicised passages in Schnabel's edition indicate that the text was not yet part of the first edition from 1575, but was added in the second (1582) or third edition of (1590).

12 'les saiges de Egypte, quand ilz escripvoient par lettres, qu'ilz appelloient hieroglyphiques. Lesquelles nul n'entendoit qui n'entendist: et un chascun entendoit qui entendist la vertu, proprieté, et nature des choses par icelles figurées. Desquelles Orus Apollon a en Grec composé deux livres, et Polyphile au *songe d'amours* en a davantaige exposé'. Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes* 29.

> *Sessel ein Richter: ein Cantzel ein Predigkautzen: zwen Finger uber eim Kelch ein Priester, ein Kelch inn Munsteri Mapp ein Hussit: ein Lucern ein* '*Candelabrum Patriæ*'*: eins Menschenhaupt ein Gelehrten: ein Eselskopff ein unuerstaendigen: Fisch stumm:* Schwalb leidig: Nachtigall Music: Hetz geschwetz: Ganß geschwigen: Pfau stoltz: der Gauch ein guter Mann: der die Frembde Schuh bei seiner Frawen Bett vor zorn zerschneidet: die Binen einig: Muck verdruessig: Spinnwepp vergeben werck: Krebs hindersich: Froesch Beurisch: Hebheu alter: Weiden Unfruchtbar: Maulboer ein Maultasch: Feigen Or Feig: Apffel Meydlinspil: Ror zart: *oder unbestaendig*: Dornen haß: Lilgen schoene: Nesselen Kranckheit: Rut zucht: Bonen Keusch: Zwibel weynen: Kuerbs onnuetz hoffnung: Oelzweig Frid: darauß man sicht das Gott etwas auff solche zeichen gehalten: weil er mit Noe durch ein Rappen: Taub unnd oelzweig inn der Arch geredt hat. *Auch Jonas auff die Kuerbs vergebens hoffnung satzt, da* '*citò quod fit, cito perit*'.[13]

Rabelais' positive remarks about Egyptian hieroglyphs and their natural way of referring to the properties of the beings depicted are deconstructed in the lists of examples provided by Fischart. Renaissance literati projected the cratylistic promise of a natural language into Egyptian hieroglyphs.[14] There is not much left of such hopes however, when a *Kelch inn Munsteri Mapp* is presented as an old hieroglyph for a Hussit. In Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, one can find a map of Bohemia, which denotes Papal and Hussit territories by using images of crowns, chalises, keys and semi circles. A chalice indicates—as the caption points out—*Husincae sectae / Hußis* [Fig. 16.2].[15] Fischart thus presents an arbitrary cartographical convention as an exemple of a natural hieroglyph. The basic fact that 15th-century phenomena cannot count as old Egyptian knowledge makes this case even more ridiculous.

After his catalogue of hieroglyphs, Fischart took the two authors, mentioned by Rabelais (Horapollo and Francesco Colonna), and added a large number of contemporary emblematic writings, thus bringing Rabelais' reflections of blazons up to the most current state of the arts. When Rabelais wrote *Gargantua*, the emblematic fashion was still *in statu nascendi.* Alciat's *Emblematum liber*

13 Fischart, *Geschichtklitterung* 183.

14 Giehlow K., "Die Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance, besonders in der Ehrenpforte Kaiser Maximilians I.", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 32,1 (1915) 1–232; Dieckmann L., *Hieroglyphics. The History of a Literary Symbol* (St. Louis: 1970).

15 Münster, Sebastian, *Cosmographei oder beschreibung aller laeender / herrschafften / fürnemsten stetten / geschichten / gebreüche*[*n*]*/ hantierungen etc.* […] (Basel, Heinrich Petri: 1550).

was published in 1531. From the 1550s on, an abundance of emblematic writings appeared in print. Fischart quoted most of them in his list of writers of such books:

> Wie solche vnnd dergleichen Bilderschrifften der vralt Orus Apollo, der VollibPolyphil im Libtraum, Pieri Boltzan, Caelius *Cittolinus, der Herold, der Goropius, der Schwartzialupi, die Hieroglyphischen Heyligschrifftenerklaerer haben artlich erkliebet,* auch sonst vil Emplemateschreiber*, Sam Buch Stamm Buch Holderstock, Aldus Hadrianus Brachmonat, Reußner, Holtzwart, Fischart, Paradin, Jovius, unnd viel Divisendichter verbluemt und verkuenstelet.*[16]

In this list, Fischarts cited his own name (as the translator and editor of Holtzwarts book), but he also quoted in alienated form:

- Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* (Venice, [Aldus Manutius]: 1505): 'der uralt Orus Apollo'
- Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Polyphili* […] (Venice, Aldus Manutius: 1499): 'der VollibPolyphil im Libtraum'
- Pierius Valeriano Bolzani, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* (Basel, Michael Isengrin: 1556): 'Pieri Boltzan'
- Allesandro Citolinus, *La Tipocosmia* (Venice, Valgrisi: 1561): 'Cälius Cittolinus'
- Johannes Herold, *Heydenwelt und jrer Götter anfengklicher ursprungk* […] (Basel, Heinrich Petri: 1554): 'der Herold'
- Goropius Becanus, *Hieroglyphica*, in: idem, *Opera* […] (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1580): 'der Goropius'
- Johannes Sambucus, *Emblemata* […] (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1564): 'Sam Buch Stamm Buch Holderstock'
- Aldus Manutius, the famous printer who also published *Horapollo* and the *Hypnerotomachia*: 'Aldus'
- Hadrianus Junius, *Emblemata* […] (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1565): 'Hadrianus Brachmonat'
- Nicolas Reusner, *Aureolum Emblematum liber* […] (Strassbourg, Bernhard Jobin: 1587): 'Reußner'
- Mathias Holtzwart, *Emblematum Tyrocinia* (Strassbourg, Bernhard Jobin: 1581): 'Holtzwart'
- Claude Paradin, *Devises heroiques* 1557: 'Paradin'

16 Fischart, *Geschichtklitterung* 183.

– Paulus Jovius, *Dialogo dell' imprese militari et amorose* [...] (Rome, Antonio Barre: 1555): 'Jovius'.[17]

It is remarkable how Fischart embedded playful gestures and language games into the contemporary discourse concerning symbolism and imagery. When Fischart took the name of the writer Johannes Sambucus and turned it into *Sam Buch Stamm Buch Holderstock*, he used homophony to first associate the author's name with a book, then with typical emblematic plant symbolism, further with the Stammbuch, a type of book that was used for keeping emblematic imagery. Finally, he added the German equivalent of the Latin word Sambucus: Holderstock (elderberry). And when Fischart turned Hadrianus Junius into *Hadrianus Brachmonat*, he not only germanized the name (Brachmonat was the German name for June), but he also used emblematic methods to turn the names into language games, using them for a parody of emblematic discourse itself. And—as I will try to show in my further presentation—Fischart also used games with language and imagery for reflecting upon his own poetry. And this is where Fischart's hermeneutic animals come into play.

3

As Michael Giesecke pointed out, the title page of a book is the address of the book.[18] It indicates its place in the field of printed literature, the author, the publisher, the printer, the literary genres and discourses, which enable us to identify a given book within a certain context. If we try to apply this metaphor to the title page of Fischart's *Geschichtklitterung*,[19] things become difficult. The

17 Seelbach, *Ludus lectoris*, 343, 351–352, 354, 355, 363, 367, 368.

18 Giesecke M., *Der Buchdruck in der frühen Neuzeit. Eine historische Fallstudie über die Durchsetzung neuer Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien* (Frankfurt a. M.: 1991) 420–425.

19 See: Kleinschmidt E., "Gelehrtentum und Volkssprache in der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt. Zur literaturgesellschaftlichen Funktion Johann Fischarts in Straßburg", *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 10 (1980) 128–151: 143–144; Weinberg F.M., *Gargantua in a Convex Mirror. Fischart's View of Rabelais,* Studies in the Humanities 2 (New York – Bern – Frankfurt a. M. – et al.: 1986) 11–15; Müller J.-D., "Texte aus Texten. Zu intertextuellen Verfahren in frühneuzeitlicher Literatur, am Beispiel von Fischarts *Ehzuchtbüchlein* und *Geschichtklitterung*, in Kühlmann W.– Neuber W. (eds.), *Intertextualität in der Frühen Neuzeit. Studien zu ihren theoretischen und praktischen Perspektiven*, Frühneuzeit-Studien 2 (Frankfurt a. M. – Bern – Berlin – et. al.: 1994) 63–109; Zymner R., *Manierismus. Zur*

title page itself became more elaborated from edition to editon. Fischart continuously added new elements to increasingly complicate his densely packed game with intertextual references.

Searching for the address of this book is a challenge. The image on the title page does not represent anybody's printer signet, and certainly not the one of the printer Bernhard Jobin. The city of Strassbourg is not mentioned—instead we find 'Grensing im Gänserich'. The name indicates the goose that is traditionally eaten on St. Martin's day (November 11th), the day marking the beginning of the carnival period. The author Huldrich Elloposcleron is entirely unknown, unless taken as Fischart's pseudonym.[20] If you expect a *historia* in this genre, you'll find Fischart's neologism 'Geschichtklitterung'. Since 'Klitterung' can be traced to the meaning smudging, blurring etc.,[21] the dignity of historia, which implies truth, might not be what you get.

And who are those strange heroes, whom the story is about, and where do they come from? Utopia, Nullantenen and Nienereich, Nichilburg—these are all nonexistent, non-places.[22] They have *no* address: there is *no* place, as Fischart clearly points out, quoting Thomas Morus' *Utopia*. Consequently, Fischart realized all possible implications of this idea of a no-place, thus creating a book title for a book without an address.

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poetischen Artistik bei Johann Fischart, Jean Paul und Arno Schmidt (Paderborn et. al.: 1995) 90–101; Bachorski H.-J., *Irrsinn und Kolportage. Studien zum 'Ring', zum 'Lalebuch' und zur 'Geschichtklitterung'*, Literatur—Imagination—Realität. Anglistische, germanistische, romanistische Studien 39 (Trier: 2006) 490–498; Kaminski N., "Gigantographie. Fischarts *Geschichtklitterung* zwischen Rabelais-*imitatio* und *aemulatio* mit des Gargantua *vnnachzuthuniger stärck*", in Grenzmann L. – Grubmüller K. – et al. (eds.), *Die Präsenz der Antike im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit. Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommision zur Erforschung der Kultur des Spätmittelalters 1999 bis 2002*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, vol. 263 (Göttingen: 2004) 273–304; Kleinschmidt, E., "Gradationen der Autorschaft. Zu einer Theorie paratextueller Intensität", in Ammon F. von – Vögel H. (eds.) *Pluralisierung des Paratextes in der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: 2008) 1–17; Kellner B., "Fischarts *Geschichtklitterung* und Rabelais' *Gargantua*. Komparatistische Perspektiven" *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 59 (2009) 1, 149–167; Bulang, *Enzyklopädische Dichtungen* 466–476.

20 Huldrich Elloposcleron is a traductonym, which translates the Hebrew name Johannes into German (Huldrich) and combines the greek words for fish and hard (Elloposcleron).

21 Kleinschmidt, *Gelehrtentum* 143; Kellner B., "Verabschiedung des Humanismus. Johann Fischarts *Geschichtklitterung*", in McLelland N. – Schiewer H.-J. – Schmitt S. (eds.), *Humanismus in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. XVIII. Anglo-German Colloquium, Hofgeismar 2003* (Tübingen: 2008) 155–182, 156, note 5.

22 Bulang, *Enzyklopädische Dichtungen* 469.

Some further remarks on the book title deal with Fischart's ideas on translation. Fischart's formulations show that his translations are rather free and that a lot of additional text will be added to the French original: Rabelais' *Gargantua* is 'Nun aber vberschrecklich lustig in einen deutschen Model vergossen und ungefährlich obenhin wie man einen Grindigen laust in unser MutterLallen drüber und drunder gesetzt'. *Gargantua* is transferred into a German form. The act of translation is compared to removing lice from a scabby head, indicating a rather ideosyncratic approach indeed. And the goal is not the mother's tongue, but the 'MutterLallen', indicating the babbling and slurring of speech of drunkards—an important topic in Rabelais' novel and in Fischart's translation as well. For the third addition, Fischart added:

> Auch zu disen Truck wider auff den Ampoß gebracht, und dermassen mit Pantadurstigen Mythologien oder Geheimnusdeutungen verposselt, verschmidt und verdaengelt daß nichts ohn das Eisen Nisi dran mangelt.

Fischart's multiple additions to Rabelais' original are declared as 'Pantadurstige Mythologien oder Geheimnissdeutungen'. One could assume that drunken ideas, enigmatic language and other such nonsense have been added to Rabelais' *Gargantua*, thus imitating in a German way the Rabelaisian poetry indicated with the word 'pantagruelisms'. In the end, Fischart used a lot of technical metaphors to circumscribe his way of translating. He used the image of forging without iron, indicating a useless and meaningless occupation.

The image on the title page shows two hands reaching out of the clouds, one of them holding an eel, the other a crab. Above and below the image are related mottos and a subscriptio, although the traditional order of an emblem seems to have been inverted. The motto: *Im Fischen gilts mischen*—an acronym of the author Johann Fischart genannt Menzer—is placed under the image, the explanation above. *Si laxis erepit* (*Zur Luck entkriechts*) refers to the crab, which will retreat into the next gap or cavern if you don't hold onto it tightly enough. The other subscription refers to the eel. *Si premas erumpit* (*Ein truck entziechts*): the eel will slip out of your hand if you squeeze it too tightly. That slippery eels are hard to hold onto was already mentioned in Isidor's *Etymologies* as well as in Gesner's *Historia animalium*.[23] The motto *Im Fischen gilts mischen* can stand

23 Isidor de Sevilla, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, tom. II, (Oxford – New York – Toronto – et. al.: ^{9}1991): XII, VI, 41: '[…] quanto fortius presseris, tanto citius elabitur'.—Gesner Conrad, *Fischbuch / Das ist Außfuehrliche beschreibung und lebendige Conterfactur aller unnd jeden Fischen/ von dem kleinsten Fischlein bis auf den großen Walfisch* […] (Zurich, Christopher Froschauer: 1575), 178b: 'habend ein starcke bewegung

for the necessity to switch between tight and loose grips when dealing with different kinds of fish (Fisch-art). One could also translate that it is necessary to cloud the waters (stirring up the ground) in order to catch fish.

The emblematic character of the arrangement raises questions of its interpretation. First of all, the image shows different kinds of fish, in German 'Fischarten'. Together with the acronym in the motto and the pseudonym Hulrich Elloposcleron, we have a complex codification of the author's name that outperforms Rabelais' famous anagram Alcofribas Nasier on the title page of the *Gargantua*.

Of course, the arrangement begs for further poetological interpretation. Several scholars have connected it to the question of how to translate texts. Not too freely (loosely) and not too closely (tightly): The fish which is slipping away or hiding in a cave would then be the meaning of the text. Other scholars have suggested interpreting the arrangement as an allegory of reading: The reader will not be able to grasp the meaning of the text, it will slip away or hide no matter how hard the reader tries.[24] Also, it has been suggested to see a codification of the castration complex of the obsessive narrator in the confrontation of the phallic eel and the crab's scissor-like claws.[25] All these possibilities seem vague and quite speculative.

I will try to offer alternative options. Fischart researchers have provided various interpretations of the clouds in the picture, seeing in them a religious connotation as well as a secularisation of religious thought.[26] More plausible, I find, is to connect this imagery to proverbs, which were objects of big contemporary collections in Fischart's day. To fish without water or rather 'to fish in the air' (*in ære piscari*)[27] signifies an entirely useless occupation. The hands in the clouds, one could argue, depict this proverb. Since fishing seems to be the topic of the arrangement, the motto *Im Fischen gilts mischen* can be related to proverbs that recommend the clouding of water, especially when you want

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und schlipfferige ardt. […] und ye stärcker man ihn erfasset oder greyfft/ ye harter man in behalten mag.'

24 See Weinberg, *Gargantua in a Convex Mirror* 15.

25 Bachorski, *Irrsinn und Kolportage* 496–498.

26 Weinberg, *Gargantua in a Convex Mirror* 15: 'that Fischart himself is a gift of good'. Also Glowa J.K., *Johann Fischart's 'Geschichtklitterung'. A Study of the Preliminaries and the Functions of the Narrator*, Renaissance and Baroque Studies and Texts 27 (New York – Frankfurt a. M. – et. al.: 2000) 21–22.

27 *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi* (*TPMA*). *Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters*, founded by Samuel Singer, ed. by the Kuratorium Singer of the Schweizerische Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften, 13 vols (Berlin – New York: 1978–2004), vol. 3 1996, 274–275.

to catch an eel (e.g.: *Flumen confusum reddit piscantibus usum*).[28] This is, of course, not a very useful hint, when you're fishing in the air anyway. By referring to proverbs, Fischart created in this emblematic arrangement a complex meaning, which corresponds to the use of the proverbial forging without iron. The emblematic arrangement configures meaningless, useless and foolish occupations, which therefore stand for the *Geschichtklitterung* in toto. Fishing in the air, forging without iron: rhetorically spoken, these are adynata, impossible things, they are fictitious, useless, and don't share the earnest of other discourses.

Related to this interpretation, an additional reading of this arrangement is possible if one considers the emblematic traditions as well. I am not aware of any image that shows eels and crabs in the same frame. However, both the flexibility and mobility of the crab as well as the slipperiness of the eel were topics of emblematic imagery. In Alciato's *Emblematum liber* of 1531, one finds the crab unter the motto 'In Parasitos' as a metaphor for the devourer: like the crab, he is able to shoot deadly arrows and is very agile, sparing no one at the table with his sarcastic mockery.[29] In Holtzwarts' *Emblematum Tyrocinia*, the code of arms of a priest is depicted showing an eel in a fist.[30] The image depicts the discretion of the clergyman, who has to control the slippery tongue, like the hand in the picture that does not let go of the eel. The image and its interpretation also appears in Reusner's emblem book.[31]

Fischart's image presents the animals before they are freed. His text will be full of crabbish mockery and full of eelish loquacity. Thus, the satirical force of the novel is indicated (also by the sharp scissors of the crab) and its digressiveness (slippery tongue). In both cases, the reader will have to deal with a transgression of speech, which is programmatic for Fischart's translation of Rabelais.

Fischart's creative use of the emblematic discourse in his satirical parody of the same in the text and on the title page reveals an aggressive and wanton play with language beyond restrictions and control. On the title page, he

28 See: TPMA vol. 3, 275: 3.27–3.39 (fishing in clouded water); TPMA vol. 1, 4: 2.31, 2.33 (catching eels).

29 I use the Frankfurt Latin-German edition with the translations of Jeremias Held: *KunstBuch Andreae Alciati von Meyland* […] (Frankfurt: 1580), Emblem No. CLXI.

30 Holtzwart, *Emblematum Tyrocinia* No. LXII, 142–144.

31 Reusner, *Aureolorum Eblematum liber* 1587, emblem No. CXIV: 'Lubrica verba cave, digito compesce labellum: Pressa anguilla manu lubrica rite manet.—Dein Mund bewahr/ schluepffrig sein Wort/ Als glatter Aal/ heb fest/ bleibt fort'.

uses emblematic codes to signify the unpredictable poetology of his Rabelais translation.[32]

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32 I would like to express my gratitude to Janet Grau for substantial help with the English language, and to Johannes Stuhrmann for extensive proofreading of footnotes and bibliography.

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CHAPTER 17

Orbis pictus for Boys—Emblematics for Men: Some Remarks on Learning by Studying Pictures and Interpreting Riddles

*Sonja Schreiner**

Introduction

The close connection between emblematics and natural history is widely known.[1] The ideal preparation for reading, interpreting and understanding the often complex emblems—especially when their topics are drawn from the natural world—is to start to learn about the *tria naturae regna*[2] as a child or

* The author expresses her thanks to Danuta Shanzer for improving the English and to the editors of the present volume, Karl Enenkel and Paul Smith, for important recommendations.

1 Countless emblems show, describe, explain and interpret animals, plants, various scenes taken from nature, scientific instruments or newly invented machines; there is a wide range from common to sophisticated and extremely specialised knowledge illustrating the incredible variety of the popular genre. Cf. Papy J., "Joachim Camerarius's Symbolorum et Emblematum Centuriae Quatuor: From Natural Sciences to Moral Contemplation", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Visser A.S.Q. (eds.), *Mundus Emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, Imago Figurata Studies 4 (Turnhout: 2003) 201–234.

2 Cf. the definition by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, "Die drey Reiche der Natur", in Richter K. (ed.), *Gedichte und Interpretationen 2: Aufklärung und Sturm und Drang* (Stuttgart: 1983), 192–203 = *Der Naturforscher* 9 (1747): 'Drey Reiche sinds, die in der Welt | Uns die Natur vor Augen stellt. | Die Anzahl bleibt in allen Zeiten | Bey den Gelehrten ohne Streiten. | Doch wie man sie beschreiben muss, | Da irrt fast jeder Physikus. | Hört, ihr Gelehrten, hört mich an, | Ob ich sie recht beschreiben kann? || Die Thiere sind den Menschen gleich, | Und beyde sind das erste Reich. | Die Thiere leben, trinken, lieben; | Ein jegliches nach seinen Trieben. | Der Fürst, Stier, Adler, Floh und Hund | Empfindt die Lieb und netzt den Mund. | Was also trinkt und lieben kann, | Wird in das erste Reich gethan. || Die Pflanze macht das andre Reich | Dem ersten nicht an Güte gleich. | Sie liebet nicht, doch kann sie trinken, | Wenn Wolken treufelnd niedersinken. | So trinkt die Ceder und der Klee, | der Weinstock und die Aloe. | Drum was nicht liebt, doch trinken kann, | Wird in das andre Reich gethan: || Das Steinreich ist das dritte Reich | Und dies macht Sand und Demant gleich. | Kein Stein fühlt Durst und zarte Triebe; | Er wächset ohne Trunk und Liebe. | Drum was nicht liebt, noch trinken kann, | Wird in das letzte Reich gethan. | Denn ohne Lieb und ohne Wein, | Sprich, Mensch, was bleibst du noch? Ein Stein.'—'There are three realms in the world, | put before our eyes by nature. |

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a young adult.[3] Starting early, carefully studying as many details as possible, and constructing a system step by step were the guiding principles for Joachim Camerarius the Younger,[4] who as a renowned botanist and physician in the 1590s became famous as *spiritus rector*, main author, and general editor of the influential *Symbolorum et emblematum centuriae*,[5] assisted by a group of learned men—amongst them his son Ludwig[6]—and well trained by his father, Joachim Camerarius the Elder, who had developed holistic pedagogical ideas.[7]

Probably the best way to acquire deeper insight into the miracles of nature is to have a close look at an *orbis pictus*, and to study the accompanying texts—a technique which also improves the (early or young) reader's Latin—according to Johann Amos Comenius' principle 'res et verba simul discere'—'learning

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The number is throughout the centuries | not discussed by learned men. | But nearly every *physicus* is wrong | in describing them. | Listen, learned men, listen to me, | if I can find the fitting words. || The animals are comparable to men, | and both are forming the first realm. | Animals live, drink and love, | each one following its desires. | Earl, bull, eagle, flea and dog | feel love and moisten their mouth. | So, what can drink and love, | is put into the first realm. || The plant forms the other realm | which does not have the same virtue as the first. | It does not feel love, but it can drink, | when wet clouds are sinking down. | The cedar drinks, so does the clover, | the vine and the aloe. | Therefore, what does not feel love, but is able to drink, | is put into the other realm. || The stony realm is the third one, | which makes sand and diamond equal to each other. | No stone does feel thirst nor tender desires, | but gets bigger without a drink and without love. | In consequence, what does neither love nor drink, | is put into the last realm. | For without love and without wine, | tell me, man, what are you then? A stone'.

3 Childhood in the past clearly differs from today; children usually were regarded as small adults, wearing the same clothes, feeling the same worries and desires, following the same moral, religious and sentimental intentions, and having no different virtues or vices than later in their lives.—Cf. Ariès Ph., *Geschichte der Kindheit* (Munich: 1978). Cunningham H., *Die Geschichte des Kindes in der Neuzeit* (Düsseldorf: 2006).

4 Wenning S., *Joachim II. Camerarius (1534–1598). Eine Studie über sein Leben, seine Werke und seine Briefwechsel*, Medizinhistorische Studien 9 (Duisburg: 2015).

5 Camerarius Joachim, *Symbola et emblemata (Nürnberg, Vögelin: 1590–1604)*, ed. W. Harms – U.-B. Kuechen, Teil 1: *Centuria I (1590)—Centuria II (1595)—Centuria III (1596),* Naturalis historia bibliae. Schriften zur biblischen Naturkunde des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts 2/1 (Graz: 1986); Teil 2: *Centuria IV (1604)—Einführung—Register,* Naturalis historia bibliae. Schriften zur biblischen Naturkunde des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts 2/2 (Graz: 1988).

6 Schubert F.H., *Ludwig Camerarius (1573–1651). Eine Biographie*, Münchener Historische Studien. Abteilung Neuere Geschichte 1 (Kallmünz: 1955).

7 Kunkler St., *Zwischen Humanismus und Reformation. Der Humanist Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574) im Wechselspiel von pädagogischem Pathos und theologischem Ethos*, Theologische Texte und Studien 8 (Hildesheim – Zurich – New York: 2000).

concepts and words simultaneously'.[8] Both, the emblems and the pictorial encyclopaedias for the promising offspring of people who could afford the richly illustrated books, are indebted to traditions seen in many pictures and read in many texts. Symbols, mottoes and *imprese*,[9] three important sources for emblematic literature, accompanied pupils from their childhood during the daily routine of their upbringing and educational surroundings. Thus, the emblems' connection with the natural world acquires another facet: its base, but also its further development in pictorial books or its adaptation for pictorial dictionaries composed by some of the most learned men of their respective ages.

However, the prominent and influential pictorial dictionary, the *Orbis sensualium pictus*[10] by Jan Koménsky, better known as Johann(es) or Jan Amos Com(m)enius,[11] was first published in 1658, several decades after Camerarius' medallions[12] were distributed. Without a doubt, Comenius was familiar with emblematics: He did not hesitate to print his own emblem and motto as a sophisticated vignette on the title page of his broadly used children's book: two programmatic sentences ('Omnia sponte fluant. Absit violentia rebus'—'May everything flow spontaneously. May violence be far away from things')[13] frame an icon depicting a *locus amoenus*, an ideal representation of nature. This combination of motto and icon is the most emblematic emblem in the *Orbis sensualium pictus*: The woodcuts in the book, destined for childlike onlookers, exhibit other qualities; they consist of (*a*) a title resembling the motto, (*b*) a picture to parallel the icon, but not as multiform as emblematic icons usually

8 E.g. Reinfried M., *Das Bild im Fremdsprachenunterricht. Eine Geschichte der visuellen Medien am Beispiel des Französischunterrichts*, Gießener Beiträge zur Fremdsprachendidaktik (Tübingen: 1992) 47 and 54.

9 For the social value of mottoes and *imprese*, cf. Oexle O.G. – Hülsen-Esch A. von (eds.), *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen. Texte—Bilder—Objekte* (Göttingen: 1998). Heck K. – Jahn B. (eds.), *Genealogie als Denkform in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Tübingen: 2000).

10 Comenius Johannes Amos, *Orbis sensualium pictus. Hoc est omnium fundamentalium in mundo rerum et in vita actionum, pictura et nomenclatura. Die sichtbare Welt. Das ist aller vornemsten Welt-Dinge und Lebens-Verrichtungen Vorbildung und Benahmung* (Nuremberg, Michael Endter: 1658). For the edition of 1698, cf. http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/comenius1698.

11 Dieterich V.-J., *Johann Amos Comenius mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*, rowohlts monographien 466 (Reinbek bei Hamburg: 1991).

12 For the intellectual and institutional background, cf. Marti H. – Marti-Weissenbach K. (eds.), *Nürnbergs Hochschule in Altdorf: Beiträge zur frühneuzeitlichen Wissenschafts- und Bildungsgeschichte* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 2014).

13 For its deeper meaning and influence, cf. Zirfas J. – Jörissen B., *Phänomenologien der Identität. Human-, sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Analysen* (Wiesbaden: 2007) 37.

are—a technique that shows great consideration for the young readers; and finally, (*c*) the metric *subscriptio* is replaced by a bilingual or even multilingual[14] dictionary informing the children about the content of the illustration and teaching them playfully a hefty *pensum* of vocabulary.[15]

From the 17th century onwards, the so called 'emblematic worldview' had planted its roots in the education of the youngest and harvested its fruits in the complex genre designed for the adults: the perfect combination of motto, icon, (poetic) text and prose commentary. But it also worked the other way around: The textual and visual language of the emblems constituted an ideal pictorial dictionary for the younger generation; Comenius probably is the best example.

Presenting some significant high points in the history of the not merely multiple (the same subjects are used in both genres), but also surprising relationships (the intellectual level of the pictorial books is nearly as developed as in the emblematic riddles) between the *orbes picti* and the masterly constructed emblematic collections will probably give a new insight into the worldview of younger and older audiences of the respective genres and produce a snapshot of the social, literary and pedagogical *realia*: That crossover synopsis will enable us to analyse the intellectual profit for adult readers, who put the underlying meanings in the right place of the emblematic 'jigsaw', familiar with the combination of visual and textual elements since their (early) childhood—and designing pedagogically perfect pictorial dictionaries after having carefully studied emblematic literature.

Friedrich Justin Bertuch's *Bilderbuch für Kinder* as a Late Response on Pictorial Tradition

In 1790 Friedrich Justin Bertuch,[16] a daring businessman and ceaseless advocate of innovation began to publish his *Bilderbuch für Kinder*.[17] Up to 1830

14 Comenius Johannes Amos, *Orbis sensualium pictus quadrilinguis emendatus. Hoc est omnium fundamentalium in mundo rerum et vita actionum, pictura et nomenclatura, Germanica, Latina, Italica et Gallica. Cum titulorum indicibus atque vocabulorum dictionariolis accurante Carolo Coutelle* (Nuremberg, Johannes Andreas Endter: 1760).

15 Even the correct pronunciation was of distinguished relevance to Comenius; that is the reason why he prints stress marks (*ictus*) on nearly every single word.

16 Steiner W. – Kühn-Stillmark U., *Friedrich Justin Bertuch. Ein Leben im klassischen Weimar zwischen Kultur und Kommerz* (Cologne – Vienna – Weimar: 2001).

17 Bertuch Friedrich Justin, *Bilderbuch für Kinder enthaltend eine angenehme Sammlung von Thieren, Pflanzen, Blumen, Früchten, Mineralien, Trachten und allerhand andern unterrichtenden Gegenständen aus dem Reiche der Natur, der Künste und Wissenschaften; alle*

237 instalments appeared, filling twelve volumes; 3000 (!) books were printed. Bertuch lived in an age when illustrations were an important factor; that is why he used them in different publications aimed at adult readers: Those were the same people, who were meant to buy the pictorial dictionary for their children after having themselves been socialized with illustrated literature. Bertuch's calculation worked well: In most cases both target groups were fond of what they saw. The *Bilderbuch* became a long-term bestseller.[18] Its place in cultural memory and Bertuch's method of making cosmos out of chaos—for that was the normal structure of older pictorial dictionaries with the exception of Comenius' *Orbis sensualium pictus*—have been analysed.[19] No wonder that the scholars dealing with Bertuch's efforts tend to highlight his knowledge, his success, and his genius; but in accordance with his personality, Bertuch did *multa*, not *multum*.[20] Sometimes he had to react on modern developments in order to achieve accuracy in the vast areas and countless fields he tackled: e.g. he

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nach den besten Originalen gewählt, gestochen, und mit einer kurzen wissenschaftlichen, und den Verstandes-Kräften eines Kindes angemessenen Erklärung begleitet (Weimar, Verlag des Industrie-Comptoirs: 1790–1830). Chakkalakal S., *Die Welt in Bildern. Erfahrung und Evidenz in Friedrich J. Bertuchs "Bilderbuch für Kinder" (1790–1830)*, Ph.D. dissertation (Humboldt University Berlin: 2012) = (Göttingen: 2014).

18 Feuerstein-Herz P. (ed.), *Friedrich Justin Bertuchs Bilderbuch für Kinder. Das illustrierte Wissen des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt: 2012); cf. http://diglit.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bertuch1790ga.

19 Kaiser G.R. – Seifert S. (eds.), *Friedrich Justin Bertuch (1747–1822): Verleger, Schriftsteller und Unternehmer im klassischen Weimar* (Tübingen: 2000). te Heesen A., *Der Weltkasten. Die Geschichte einer Bildenzyklopädie aus dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: 1997). Mairbäurl G., "Friedrich Justin Bertuchs *Bilderbuch für Kinder*", *lili-Sonderheft 2006 = Verborgenes Kulturerbe*, 24–32. Mairbäurl G., *"Die grellste und bunteste Mischung der Gegenstände*. Friedrich Justin Bertuch und die philanthropische Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in der Fideikommissbibliothek", *lili-Sonderheft 2007 = Die Ästhetik des Unvollendeten*, 80–99. Mairbäurl G., "Ordnung und Chaos: Johann Sigmund Stoys *Bilder-Akademie* und Friedrich Justin Bertuchs *Bilderbuch*", in Seibert E. – Blumesberger S. (eds.), *Kinderliteratur als kulturelles Gedächtnis. Beiträge zur historischen Schulbuch-, Kinder- und Jugendliteraturforschung I* (Vienna: 2008) 59–74.

20 Bertuch voted against any kind of strict specialisation, but for a childlike and pedagogically valuable variety. For the difference between *multum* and *multa*, cf. Schreiner S., *100 Jahre Georgia Augusta Gottingensis—(K)ein Grund zum Feiern. Prosa und Dichtung über die Säkularfeier 1837* (Göttingen: 2010) 57–58 (open access: http://univerlag.uni-goettingen.de/bitstream/handle/3/isbn-978-3-941875-45-6/schreiner.pdf;sequence=1); with cross-references to Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* X, 1, 59: 'et multa magis quam multorum lectione formanda mens'—'and the intellect has to been formed more by reading a lot, not by reading (too) many (different) things', and Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* VII, 9, 15: 'aiunt enim multum legendum esse, non multa'—'therefore they say it is necessary to read a

categorized seals as amphibians in an early volume,[21] using the traditional understanding of the word, and changed the classification of these animals some years later to mammals,[22] thereby following a different zoological terminology. The ancient and early modern authorities (from Pliny to Camerarius and Gesner) had used the term 'amphibians' simply meaning 'living in water and on land'. Anyway, Bertuch finally realized that he—as a responsible teacher, author and publisher—had to avoid this misleading denomination.

How the Change of Terminology Influenced the Presentation

In the 1st century AD, Pliny the Elder composed his impressive, partly highly scientific, partly imaginative *Natural History*.[23] This vast encyclopaedia comprising 37 books became one of the most important sourcebooks for subsequent scholars. In his zoological books Pliny provided considerable information on mammals, fish, birds, insects, etc. He classified the dolphin and the whale as mammals,[24] and he was well informed about the crocodile, the hippopotamus, the seal, and the beaver; besides somewhat fantastic information[25] concerning their anatomy and behaviour, he informs his readers that these animals dwell in the water and on the land, that they are at home in both spheres; Pliny does not use the term 'amphibia' in these passages, he simply describes their double nature.

In the *Symbolorum et emblematum ex aquatilibus et reptilibus desumtorum centuria quarta*, published in 1604, the son of Joachim Camerarius, Ludwig, informs the reader about the history of the volume's publication; his father died before finishing the collection; so he as a pious son, co-worker and successor made everything ready for the printer, e.g. emblem IV, 65 "Contraria prosunt" (Opposites are useful) showing a hippopotamus; the explanatory prose text reads as follows: 'Inter amphibia, quibus, ut Florus loquitur, aquam terramque incolendi gemina natura est, omnium maximus et monstrosißimus

lot, not (too) many (different) things'. Cf. Otto A., *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig: 1890) 252.

21 Vol. I, no. 20.

22 Vol. XI, no. 61.

23 Römer F., "Die plinianische *Anthropologie* und der Aufbau der *Naturalis historia*", *Wiener Studien* 96 (1983) 104–108.

24 For the emblematic tradition, Pliny's imagination of the dolphin's phenotype became a *topos*; cf. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* IX, 20 and 25.

25 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* VIII, 89–96; VIII, 109 and 111.

est Hippopotamus, Nili et Hydaspis fluviorum Aegyptii et Indiae alumnus' ('Amongst the amphibians, who according to Florus have a double nature which causes them to live in the water and on the land, the biggest and most monstrous one is the hippopotamus, native to the rivers Nile and Hydaspes in Egypt and India'). Again, the classification 'inter amphibia' in Florus[26] implies the double habitat and nothing else. Camerarius' next emblem, IV, 66 "Cum tempore crescit'" (It gets bigger as time goes by) describes a crocodile, classified in a similar way as 'terrestre simul animal et aquatile' ('at the same time a land and water animal'), which is somewhat closer to Pliny's wording. IV, 68 "Secure"—"Safe" depicts a seal, termed as an amphibian: 'Inter amphibia vitulus quoque marinus est. Nam in mari et terra degit' ('Amongst the amphibians you can also find the seal, because it dwells in the sea and on land'). Only the salamander in emblems IV, 69 "Candide et syncere" (Sweet and good) and IV, 70 "Coelo turbato alacrior" (Happier when the sky is grey) equally meets the modern meaning of amphibians *zoologico sensu* and the traditional use of the word, where only the double habitat counts: 'Ex amphibiis et Salamandra est' ('And also the salamander has to be counted among the amphibians'). But in the prose commentary to emblem IV, 69 a fatal problem arises: 'Eam non tantum non consumi igne, sed flammam etiam extinguere rigore suo' ('It not only cannot be consumed by fire, but even manages to extinguish the flames by its cold- and wetness'); Camerarius mentions 'plerique veterum'—'many of the ancient authorities' as his sources; Pliny the Elder is among them, but in fact it is he who in one out of two passages[27] is rather critical about the reliability and truthfulness of this strange account.

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26 Florus I, 41, 6, which is a small part of the so called *Bellum piraticum*, reads as follows: 'Non ideo tamen tot cladibus domiti terra se continere potuerunt; sed ut quaedam animalia, quibus aquam terramque incolendi gemina natura est, sub ipso hostis recessu inpatientes soli in aquas suas resiluerunt, et aliquanto latius quam prius Siciliae quoque litora et Campaniam nostram subito adventu terrere voluerunt' ('Nevertheless, even thrown down by so many defeats, they could not stay on the land, but like some animals, who have a double nature living in the water and on the land, they were the only ones, who, as the enemy went back, jumped impatiently back into the water; and somehow broader than before they wanted to fill with terror the beaches of Sicily and of our Campania with their sudden appearance)'.

27 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* XXIX, 76: 'Ex ipsa quae Magi tradunt contra incendia, quoniam ignes sola animalium extinguat, si forent vera, iam esset experta Roma' ('As to the ability to help against fire, which the *Magi* attribute to it, since in their opinion it is the single animal amongst all that can put fire out, this, were it true, Rome by trial would have already got to know'); ibidem X, 188: 'Huic tantus rigor, ut ignem tactu restinguat non

Another celebrity in the field of natural science who plays an important role here is the Swiss born Conrad Gesner[28] (1515–1565), who published many influential books on animals and plants,[29] namely the *Historia animalium* in four volumes (*Quadrupedes vivipares* in 1551; *Quadrupedes ovipares* in 1554; *Avium natura* in 1555; *Piscium et aquatilium animantium natura* in 1558),[30] posthumously (1587) followed by another volume on snakes and scorpions.[31] In Gesner's description the hippopotamus and the crocodile are listed under the header 'beluae aliae (communes mari, terra, amni)'—'other wild beasts (common to sea, land, and river)': Gesner—according to all authors, scholars and scientists—depends on authorities and eagerly quotes his models, e.g. Guillaume Rondelet (vol. IV, 79: 'Postremus liber non de aquatilibus, sed de amphibiis, extra huius divisionis rationem est'—'The very last book is not about animals of the water, but about amphibians, not fitting the scheme of this classification') or Pierre Bellon (vol. IV, 80: 'Sanguinei pisces maiores vivipari, etiam ossibus praediti, id est cetacei proprie, ita differunt, ut eorum alii sint pedibus praediti iique vel quadrupedes, ut phoca, hippopotamus, testudines marinae.'—'The larger fish who have blood and give birth to living young, even with bones, those are especially the whales, are quite different, in that way that some have feet like the quadrupeds as do the seal, the hippopotamus, or the sea turtles').

Some decades afterwards, Comenius' 'beydlebige Thiere'—'animals living in both realms' still are simply animals living 'terra marique'—'on land and in the sea'; this is another reflex of Pliny's expression, but with the consequence that, fitting this scheme, also the crocodile and the beaver are *verbatim* classified as amphibians. This use continued throughout the centuries and became a source of misunderstanding only then, when the zoological definition of the word 'amphibian' fundamentally changed and anatomy, not the habitat

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alio modo quam glacies' ('It is so cold and wet, that it extinguishes fire by pure contact, not different from ice').

28 Pyle C.M., "Conrad Gessner on the Spelling of his Name", *Archives of Natural History* 27, 2 (2000) 175–186 (doi:10.3366/anh.2000.27.2.175).

29 Leu U.B., *Conrad Gessner (1516–1565), Universalgelehrter und Naturforscher der Renaissance* (Zurich: 2016). Springer K.B. – Kinzelbach R., *Das Vogelbuch von Conrad Gessner (1516–1565). Ein Archiv für avifaunistische Daten* (Berlin: 2008). Riedl-Dorn Ch., *Wissenschaft und Fabelwesen. Ein kritischer Versuch über Conrad Gessner und Ulisse Aldrovandi*, Perspektiven der Wissenschaftsgeschichte 6 (Vienna – Cologne: 1989).

30 *Historia animalium*, vol. 1: doi:10.3931/e-rara-1927; vol. 2: doi:10.3931/e-rara-8151; vol. 3: doi:10.3931/e-rara-8154; vol. 4: doi:10.3931/e-rara-4928.

31 *Historia animalium*, vol. 5: doi:10.3931/e-rara-5255.

became the decisive point: And this change took place,[32] when Bertuch categorized seals (a) as amphibians and (b) as mammals in his *Bilderbuch*, which could be called a modern and vernacular successor of Comenius' *Orbis sensualium pictus*.

The *Orbis sensualium pictus*

First published in 1658, Comenius' pictorial dictionary became well known from the 17th throughout the 19th century, not only in the German-speaking world. To fulfil its special didactic and pedagogical purpose, several vernacular versions appeared.[33] As a constant and valuable element, Comenius used the interrelationship of emblematic presentation and the structure of a dictionary clearly aiming at teaching and learning new things and new words somewhat more quickly and definitely more easily. For example, the young reader sees the picture of a crow next to the German sentence 'Die Krähe krechzet' = 'The crow caws', followed by the Latin translation 'Cornix cornicatur' and enriched by useful information: *f.* (indicating the grammatical gender) and 3. (for the declension). Right below the same procedure is applied to other animals; what follows is onomatopoetic:

> Das Schaf blöcket / Ovis balat—Der Heuschreck zitschert / Cicada stridet—Der Widhopf rufft / Ilpupa dicit—Das Kind wemmert / Infans ejulat—Der Wind wehet / Ventus flat—Die Gans gackert / Anser gingrit—Der Mund hauchet / Os halat—Die Maus pfipfert / Mus mintrit—Die Ente schmackert / Anas tetrinnit—Der Wolf heulet / Lupus ululat—Der Bär brummet / Ursus murmurat.

32 Borkhausen Moriz Balthasar, *Versuch einer Erklärung der zoologischen Terminologie. Ein Handbuch zum Gebrauche derer, welche die Zoologie studieren wollen* (Frankfurt, Varrentrapp and Wenner: 1790) 136.

33 E.g. Comenius. Johannes Amos, *Orbis sensualium pictus. Hoc est, omnium fundamentalium in mundo rerum et in vita actionum, pictura et nomenclatura; Joh. Amos Commenius's Visible World. Or, a picture and nomenclature of all the chief things that are in the world; and of mens Employments therein. A work newly written by the author in Latine and High-Dutch* (*being one of his last Essays, and the most suitable to children's capacities of any that he hath hitherto made*) *& translated into English.* By Charles Hoole (London, J. Kirton: 1659).—For further information on the value of translated children's books, cf. Lathey G., *The role of translators in children's literature. Invisible storytellers* (New York: 2010).

> The sheep bleats—The grasshopper croaks—The hoopoe talks—The baby child mewls—The wind is blowing—The goose cackles—The mouth aspirates—The mouse whistles—The duck quacks—The wolf howls—The bear growls.

In another column and in strict alphabetical order, starting with *ah ah* for the crow and followed by *beh beh* for the sheep the child could read the respective animal's utterance and learn the alphabet at the same time: So, Comenius offered a visual teaser (the picture), a German sentence, even a very young reader could understand, a Latin translation, grammar included, for the older boys and animals' voices for the very small ones who had to write down the letters and to read them out loudly.

Another definitely more complex and metaphysical example offers the headline 'DEUS. GOTT' = 'GOD' to the young recipient. It is followed by an icon showing the sign of the *trinitas*, and some vocabulary: 'DEUS est / GOTT ist—ex seipso / aus sich selber—ab aeterno / von Ewigkeit—in aeternum / in Ewigkeit—perfectissimum / das allervollkommenste' = 'GOD comes from himself, from eternity to eternity he is the most perfect'.

A third and last example, now quite close to the method of emblematic presentation, is the following one: The caption 'Lapides. Die Steine' = 'Stones' and the picture of a room with a table full of stones marked with different numbers is followed by corresponding lines of numbers and names of stones. This attractive presentation made it easier for the children to learn and to remember petrological terminology; for a modern reader it shows clearly enough that the pictures and texts contained so many different elements and offered so many layers that a teacher, a nanny or a parent had to explain some details, because each new look at no matter what page gives new insights in details hidden even to the closest inspection: many pages follow, showing different aspects of the world, of nature, of handicraft, etc. to the—hopefully—curious and—a decisive point for Comenius—god-fearing recipient: The *mirabilia naturae* were created by god; it is Comenius' intention that his young readers never ever forget this: That is his personal teleology.[34]

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34 As time goes by, *panta rhei*: Nowadays the *Orbis pictus Latinus*, a spartanic, but useful pictorial dictionary makes it easy to memorise even 'exotic' Latin vocabulary, no matter which mother tongue you speak: This is possible, due to the simplistic black-and-white drawings surrounded by Latin words: Koller H., *Orbis Pictus Latinus. Vocabularius imaginibus illustratus—Lateinisches Bildlexikon—Dictionnaire latin illustré—Dizionario latino illustrato—Illustrated Latin Dictionary—Diccionario latin ilustrado* (Zurich – Munich: ^{2}1977).

Bertuch's Sources (and Influence)

Until now, it should have become quite understandable that Comenius and Bertuch are not the first and will not be the last to use a special technique of presentation and to realise a differentiated and sophisticated pedagogical concept.[35] In the case of Bertuch, there is a close interrelationship not only with emblematic, but also with philanthropic literature and its concepts—not to say: worldviews, e.g. formulated by their main representative, Johann Bernhard Basedow.[36] In rather different ways, Bertuch was influenced by Johann Siegmund Stoy's *Bilder-Akademie*[37] and inspired by Charles-Nicolas Cochin's *Portefeuille des Enfans*.[38] Furthermore, he revered a certain number of philosophical (and pedagogical) 'stylites' or 'cornerstones': namely John Locke[39] and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.[40] Of especial importance was the so

35 E.g. Seba Albertus, *Cabinet of Natural Curiosities. Das Naturalienkabinett. Le Cabinet des curiosités naturelles. Locupletissimi rerum naturalium thesauri 1734–1765*. The complete plates in colour 1734–1765. Based on the copy in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, Bibliotheca Universalis (Cologne: 2015). The author, a German-Dutch pharmacist, collector and one of the most influential encyclopaedic editors of his times, published extremely laborious and expensive volumes, cooperating with artists over a long period and aiming at adult readers.

36 Basedow Johann Bernhard, *Elementarwerk* (Dessau, Crusius: 1774). Cf. Schröder H., *Lehr- und Lernmittel in historischer Perspektive. Erscheinungs- und Darstellungsformen anhand des Bildbestands der Pictura Paedagogica Online* (Bad Heilbrunn: 2008).

37 Stoy Johann Siegmund, *Bilder-Akademie für die Jugend. Abbildung und Beschreibung der vornehmsten Gegenstände der jugendlichen Aufmerksamkeit—aus der biblischen und Profangeschichte, aus dem gemeinen Leben, dem Naturreiche und den Berufsgeschäften, aus der heidnischen Götter- und Alterthums-Lehre, aus den besten Sammlungen guter Fabeln und moralischer Erzählungen—nebst einem Auszuge aus Herrn Basedows Elementarwerke. In vier und funfzig Kupfertafeln und zweyen Bänden Erklärung* (Nuremberg, Johann Siegmund Stoy: 1784).

38 Cochin Charles-Nicolas, *Le Porte-Feuille des Enfans. Mélange intéressant d'animaux, fruits, fleurs, habillemens, plans, cartes & autres objets dessinés suivant des réductions comparatives; avec de courtes explications & diverses tableaux élémentaires* (Paris: 1783–1790). Michel Ch., *Charles-Nicolas Cochin et le livre illustré au XVIIIe siècle. Avec un catalogue raisonné des livres illustrés par Cochin 1735–1790*, Histoire et civilisation du livre 18 (Geneva: 1987).

39 Locke John, *An Essay concerning Humane Understanding. In four books* (London, Basset: 1690). Locke John, *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (London: A. and J. Churchill: 1693).

40 Rousseau Jean-Jacques, *Émile ou de l'éducation* (La Haye, Jean Néaulme: 1762).

called 'Pädagogik vom Kinde her',[41] pedagogics seen from the children's perspective, brought to vigorous life by a simple sort of illustration which was (a) not overloaded, (b) gave a limited amount of iconographical information and (c) was therefore easier to assimilate. Furthermore thematic changes and broad variety matched Bertuch's principle of the colourfulness of nature, which is why he depicts different topics, animals, plants, buildings, ships in a long and varied chain.

There is no further need to stress that Bertuch only pretends not to have a plan. In fact, he deconstructs this assertion immediately in his preface by clearly underlining that the intensive reading of a great heap of books will construct a system that opens the secrets of the world to young readers from one instalment to the next. This very system stands in a close connection with the famous and in 1790 still recent Linnean *Systema naturae* famous for its author's scientific love for details;[42] Bertuch loves to give specialised information as well: Describing e.g. the human skeleton he shows his deeper knowledge of medical literature[43] demonstrating the relationship of disciplines and his wide horizon on two levels: in the text and in the respective illustration.

Modernism as a Motor of Success

Being up to date is an essential part not only of Comenius', but also of Bertuch's success: The latter included the microscope[44] in his *Bilderbuch*, the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 1794 and the excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum.[45] The connecting element is the deadly pyroclastic flow of the year 79 AD. The brightly coloured illustrations and the long and complex explanatory texts made it necessary to ask for detailed explanations by an adult: Curious children desired responses to the multifold riddles given in the pictures and in the accompanying stories; these illustrations often showed animals, plants, buildings or instruments the young readers were not familiar with; the texts

41 Surall F., *Ethik des Kindes. Kinderrechte und ihre theologisch-ethische Rezeption* (Stuttgart: 2009).

42 Linnaeus Carolus, *Systema naturae sive regna tria naturae systematice proposita per classes, ordines, genera et species* (Leiden, Theodorus Haak: 1735).

43 Vesalius Andreas, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1543). Vesalius Andreas, *Anatomia*, mit einem Vorwort von Gunther von Hagens (Wiesbaden: 2004).

44 Vol. III, no. 21.

45 Vol. III, no. 51–54.

contained new and difficult words, terminology in a foreign language, content that was fascinating, but too complicated for a boy to understand without help, and too enigmatic to solve all the problems and questions arising on his own. In general, Bertuch is fond of the juxtaposition of ancient institutions and their modern equivalents: Horse races in England are presented next to those in the *circus maximus*, when the British Isles were not part of the Roman Empire. Air-balloons, prototypes of airplanes, the railway, and alpinism are at the centre of Bertuch's interest as well; furthermore, he instructs his young readers in the lifestyle in exotic countries, sightseeing included: Vol. 6 provides a lot on the archaeological sites of Rome in the early 19th century. He presents St. Petersburg and Vienna next to Napoleon in St. Helen's: This is remarkable insofar as Bertuch's Catholic equivalent Stoy in his *Bilder-Akademie* shows religion and orthodoxy as predominant, realizing a concept of presentation, that is rather complicated—and not exclusively for childlike eyes and brains! Bertuch loves everything that is new and miraculous, he prefers *rarae aves* to common knowledge owing to his major concern that the latter could become boring: Topics familiar to the kids are also treated—regularly as starting points for a comparison with (more) exotic variants; nevertheless, Bertuch makes an exception for horses and dogs,[46] two species with close relationships to mankind—and to children: Dogs and horses both have a special position indeed, beginning with Pliny the Elder who is of especial importance for Bertuch.[47] In cynology and ornithology, Bertuch fulfils what nowadays belongs to the genre of *Bestimmungsbuch*,[48] books specialised on one species and still a favourite reading of many children.

Finally, Bertuch as a learned man, a fellow of many academies, and—last, not least—a talented merchant, feels responsible to his young readers (and—likewise—their teachers and mentors) to prove tools and instructions for the most productive use of his pictorial dictionary. Some of his trading partners thought that he was too modern, but success definitely vindicated his praxis. Nowadays the reader of the *Bilderbuch* is considerably older than the original

46 Vol. II, no. 1–2 and vol. III, no. 64, 68, and 72.

47 Cf. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* VIII, 142–153 and 154–175. The introduction sounds as follows (VIII, 142): 'Ex his quoque animalibus, quae nobiscum degunt, multa sunt cognitu digna: fidelissimumque ante omnia homini canis atque equus.'—'From those animals living with us many are worth it to know more about them: the most loyal and faithful of all are the dog and the horse.'

48 Up to now classification books, classification guide books, field guides and identification books are written for different target groups: for specialists and for hobby scientists, for adults and for children.

public intended by the author, even though in Bertuch's times the *terminus technicus* 'Bilderbuch' was used for an illustrated book in general,[49] not only for a publication designed for children. It is here that we can define another trait and find another trace of the long-lasting and multiform emblematic tradition. Furthermore books like Bertuch's *Bilderbuch für Kinder* are telling examples of a still expanding trend in literature, the so called 'cross-writing' or 'crossover' literature in which books originally composed for young readers are often and enthusiastically read by adults.[50]

Emblematics and Pictorial Dictionaries

Putting the unity of picture and text (with or without further explanatory notes) in the centre is one of the main characteristics of emblematics. Clearly enough literature made for children is different from this multifaceted, allusive and transmedial genre; but there are some points of intersection: (*a*) both genres deal with a great variety of topics. (*b*) Emblematic collections give a complete picture, the solution of a riddle only by combining text, picture and motto. The child as (an early) reader gets a fuller, better, more durable impression of the miracles of nature, when text is completed by illustration. (*c*) And finally yet importantly, many emblematic collections focus on thematic fields that are of special interest in Bertuch as well: e.g. plants or animals.

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49 Doderer K. – Müller H. (eds.), *Das Bilderbuch. Geschichte und Entwicklung des Bilderbuchs in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Weinheim – Basel: ^{2}1975).

50 E.g. Beckett S.L., *Transcending Boundaries. Writing for a Dual Audience of Children and Adults* (New York – London: 1999). Beckett S.L., "Crossover Books", in Zipes J. (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's Literature 1* (New York – Oxford: 2006) 369–370. Beckett S.L., *Crossover Fiction. Global and Historical Perspectives* (London – New York: 2009). Blümer A., "Crossover/All-Age-Literatur", in Franz K. – Lange G. – Payrhuber F.J. (eds.), *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur. Ein Lexikon. Autoren, Illustratoren, Verlage, Begriffe* (Meitingen: 1995) 41. Falconer R., *The Crossover Novel. Contemporary Children's Fiction and its Adult Readership* (London – New York: 2009). Falconer R., "Cross-reading and Crossover Books", in Maybin J. – Watson N.J. (eds.), *Children's Literature. Approaches and Territories* (London: 2009) 366–379. Kümmerling-Meibauer B., *Kinderliteratur, Kanonbildung und literarische Wertung* (Stuttgart – Weimar: 2003). *lili. libri liberorum* 16/45–46 (2015) = *Crosswriting* (especially 7–12: Gittinger K., "*Crossover, Crosswriting, Crossreading, Crossover author, Crosswriter*, … oder doch wieder Mehrfachadressierung und Doppelsinnigkeit? Von den schier unendlichen Wortkreationen mit dem Präfix *Cross-* und den verhärteten Fronten zwischen anglo-amerikanischem und deutschem (KJL-)Forschungsraum").

Probably the most interesting books for comparison are the *Symbola et emblemata* by Joachim Camerarius. Split into four *Centuriae* he presents botany and zoology: plants, mammals, birds, reptiles, fish, insects, snails and mythical creatures. In many cases the prose passage following each emblem is indispensable not only for a deeper, but for any understanding. *Quae cum ita sint*, we find a similar structure in Comenius: His *Orbis pictus* comprises a huge section on animals, beginning with "Aves. Die Vögel"—"Birds", followed by "Insecta volantia. Fliegend Ungeziefer, Quadrupedia—Domestica. Vierfüssigte Thiere—Die Hauß-Thiere, Serpentes et Reptilia. Schlangen und Gewürme, Amphibia. Beydlebige Thiere, Pisces fluviatiles et lacustres. Fluß- und Weiherfische, Marini pisces et conchae. Meerfische und Muscheln" ("Flying insects, quadrupeds—domestic, snakes and reptiles, amphibians, river fish, lake fish, sea fish and mussels").—If an adult reader used to the typical phenotype of an emblem looks at any page of Comenius' *Orbis pictus*, he might think he had opened a work of emblematics. The pictures are designed like emblems. The proportion of header, illustration and text looks like motto, icon and poem; and only the combination of text and picture provides a (complete) solution. Comenius was familiar with emblematic literature and used its well-known scheme for his pedagogy. His *Orbis pictus* is a simplistic book of emblems.

However, the technique also worked the other way round: A young reader socialized with the *Orbis pictus* would have found it much easier to solve the often difficult riddles typical of emblems, because he was used to looking at the proper elements from his (earliest) childhood. Furthermore, Comenius' principle 'res et verba simul discere'—'learning things and words simultaneously' worked well. The same is true for his concept of language teaching, the so called *via* (*vestibulum—ianua—atrium*),[51] which is consequently designated 'emblematic' in the secondary literature: Pictures made the world more understandable, also for Bertuch; via different sources—one of the most important was Comenius who made direct use of emblematics and even showed to his young readers by his motto, how a real or full emblem worked—he used as a kind of positive side effect successful elements of emblematic structure and texture: e.g. Bertuch's title page indicates many thematic fields which are also prominent in Camerarius: At the very beginning of the latter's *Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumtorum centuria altera*, published in 1595, the *dedicatio* starts with the basics of successful learning—in

51 Comenius is the author of various books on language teaching for different ages. He used the various terms well known from ancient architecture as codes for every single step: As a young boy, the learner comes to the *vestibulum*, enters through the *ianua* and finally comes to the *atrium*.

adults and in children: 'Vetus est praeceptum ac multorum eruditorum hominum sententia confirmatum in omni laudabili doctrina bonarum artium et litterarum utilitatem debere esse conjunctam cum aliqua oblectatione: idque inprimis observandum in puerili institutione, cuius principia alioquin molestiae ac taedii saepenumero expertia esse non solent.'[52] ('It's an old rule confirmed by the judgment of many learned men, that in every doctrine which is praiseworthy, be it fine arts or literature, usefulness has to be combined with a certain amount of pleasure: this principle is especially noteworthy with regard to the education of children, whose fundamental precepts are usually not free of a certain amount of annoyance and boredom'). Only a couple of lines later he describes how useful it is for physicians to be well informed about nature, and cites Aristotle, *de partibus animalium* 1, 5 (= 645 a), where the Greek philosopher sets out the ideal pedagogical effect of learning by looking at pictures of natural things, simultaneously acquiring insight into the creator's subtle work and an even closer insight into nature itself:

> Absurdum, inquit, nullaque ratione probandum est, si imagines quidem rerum naturalium non sine delectatione propterea inspectamus, quia ingenium una contemplamur quod illas condiderat, id est, artem pingendi aut fingendi: rerum autem ipsarum naturae ingenio miraque solertia constitutarum contemplationem non magis persequamur atque exosculemur, modo caussas perspicere valeamus.[53]
>
> It is absurd, he says, and cannot be proved by any rational argument, that, if we study pictures of the works of nature, we do that not without delight, because we at the same time contemplate the genius who had created them, in other words, the art of drawing or sculpting: but we cannot reach and fully embrace the (real) contemplation of the works created by the genius of nature itself and by its miraculous art, as long as we do not have the ability to understand the reasons.[54]

What follows is the train of thought formulated by Pliny the Elder in book 11 of his *Natural History* describing the miraculously perfect construction of

52 *Illustriss. et praeclariss. Indolis principibus ac dominis, D. Christiano, D. Johanni Georgio et D. Augusto, sereniss. Electoris Christiani l.m. filiis, dominis suis clementissimis s.d.* = "Dedicatio" 11, fol. a2r–a2v.

53 Ibidem, a3r.

54 The creator's or god's *opus* will be the main target in Comenius some decades later.

insects;[55] in Camerarius' words, a paraphrase of another piece of Aristotle coming right after the quotation above, goes as follows: 'Quamobrem viliorum animalium disputationem perpensionemque fastidio puerili quodam sprevisse molesteque tulisse dignum nequaquam est, cum nulla res sit naturae, in qua non miraculum aliquod inditum habeatur.'[56]—'For that reason it is not acceptable at all to have neglected and disliked the discussion about and (e)valuation of lower animals by some boyish antipathy, because there is nothing in the realm of nature that does not include some miraculous element.' It goes without saying, that Camerarius shows his didactic bent in the dedicatory letter to the *Symbolorum et emblematum ex volatilibus et insectis desumtorum centuria tertia*, published in 1596, as well: '[…] tam liberalis delectationis quam honestae utilitatis caussa (praesertim propter studiosam juventutem, quae ex his, ut spero, tanquam ludendo, seria colligere et inde non parum proficere poterit) tractanda suscepi.'[57]—'I undertook to treat this field for sheer delight

55 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* XI, 1 and 4: 'Restant inmensae subtilitatis animalia, quando aliqui ea neque spirare et sanguine etiam carere prodiderunt. Multa haec et multigenera, terrestrium volucrumque vita (alia pedata, ut iulus, alia pinnata, ut apes, alia utroque modo, ut formicae, aliqua et pinnis et pedibus carentia), et iure omnia insecta appellata ab incisuris, quae nunc cervicium loco, nunc pectorum atque alvi, praecincta separant membra, tenui modo fistula cohaerentia, aliquis vero non tota incisurae ambiente ruga, sed in alvo aut superne tantum imbricatis flexili vertebris, nusquam alibi spectatiore naturae rerum artificio. […] Sed turrigeros elephantorum miramur umeros taurorumque colla et truces in sublime iactus, tigrium rapinas, leonum iubas, cum rerum natura nusquam magis quam in minimis tota sit. Quaproper quaeso, ne legentes, quoniam ex his spernunt multa, etiam relata fastidio damnent, cum in contemplation naturae nihil possit videri supervacuum.'—'What is still missing, are animals of immeasurable minute structure. Some even proclaimed that they cannot breathe and that they have no blood. They are multiform, there are many species, they live the life of land animals and of flying ones (some have feet, like the centipede (= millipede), others have wings, like the bee, others have both, like the ants, others do not have either wings nor feet); and completely right they are all termed insects, coming from the incisions, which in the regions of their necks, their chests and their bellies divide the separate parts, only coherent by a faint vessel. In some insects the wrinkle of the incision does not go all around the body, but is located in the belly or on the back and is flexible due to joints in the manner of cavity bricks […] But we are admiring the shoulders of the elephants carrying towers, the necks of bulls and the wild jumps in the air, the raids of the tigers, the lions' manes […]. But in fact nature is nowhere more perfect than in the tiniest things. Therefore I beg that my readers, even if they dislike much of that, will not damn full of aversion what I narrate, because nothing in nature's contemplation should be seen as superfluous.'

56 "Dedicatio" II, fol. a3r-a3v.

57 *Amplissimis viris, genere, virtute, sapientia ac dignitate praestantissimis d.d. consulibus ac senatoribus inclytae reipublicae Norimbergensis, dominis suis observandis s.d.* = "Dedicatio" III, fol. a2r.

and honourable utility: especially for the young students who hopefully—as in a playground—can collect sincere and earnest things and therefore earn some profit.'

Bertuch's didactical concept is complex and multi-layered as well. He tries to teach on very different levels and combines practical, pedagogical, pragmatic and useful features, beginning with a quite formalistic *trivia*: The engravings are on the left, the text is on the right. The children were—dramatic and traumatizing—forced to be right-handed, so the pages on the left stayed cleaner, which was not bad for the copperplates. This is an important point, because—like other toys—the book was supposed to stay in the child's closet. It did not have to be carefully returned to daddy's library right after use—as would a *liber catenatus*. Furthermore, the whole book was printed in *antiqua*, not in Gothic letters, which made reading for beginners easy. Bertuch disliked the 'altfränkisch' letters, the 'widrige teutsche Mönchsschrift'.[58] Last, but not least: The coloured copperplates are little masterpieces.

Bertuch's technique of presentation is successful, because it follows traditional patterns, e.g. the eighth book of Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia*; in the ancient encyclopaedia and in Bertuch's pictorial dictionary the first animal presented to the children is the elephant,[59] followed by various species of camels. Furthermore, it is a clear sign of Bertuch's realism that the camels are depicted notably smaller than the elephant, and that the different species belonging to

58 Bertuch disliked Gothic letters, because he considered them too difficult for children who had problems understanding what they had just read owing to the high concentration needed to decipher the complex script.—"Plan, Ankündigung und Vorbericht des Werks", s.p.: 'Ich habe ferner den Text des Bilderbuchs mit lateinischen Lettern drucken lassen, weil ich herzlich wünschte, dass wir endlich unserer altfränkischen widrigen teutschen Mönchsschrift loswerden, und in teutschen Werken auf die lateinischen weit schöneren Typen aller abendländischen Völker von Europa allgemein übergehen könnten, wie es England und Frankreich schon vor etlichen Jahrhunderten gethan hat. Ich weiss, dass sich hierin kein rascher Schritt thun lässt, und dass wir den Uebergang erst in den Schulen lange vorbereiten müssen, um das Auge der neuen Generation, gleich vom Anfange an, an neue Formen der Buchstaben zu gewöhnen. Da ich nun gerade ein Buch für Kinder schreibe, so halte ich es für Pflicht, mein Scherflein zum Ganzen mit beyzutragen.'—'Furthermore I took care that the text of the pictorial book was printed using Latin letters, because I wished by heart that we skip those olde-worlde, quaint, nasty German monkish letters. I desired to change in German prints to the definitely more beautiful Latin letters all European occidental peoples use, as did England and France a couple of centuries ago. I do know that a quick change will not be realistic, that the state of transition has to be prepared in schools for a long time, to adapt the eyes of the new generation from the very beginning to the new forms of the letters. Due to the fact that I'm just now writing a children's book, I think it is my duty to help a tiny little bit in the whole affair.'

59 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* VIII, 1–34; Bertuch, vol. I, no. 1.

this family differ in size as well.[60] The same is true for the hippopotamus and the tapir, the exotic anteater's portrait mirrors its phenotype,[61] whereas the illustration, which is intended to depict a sloth in fact, looks like a human being in costume.

Mastering the technique of cross-reference and citing authorities, Bertuch provides many learned details to his young readers (and their instructors); e.g. he offers a differentiated terminology for the camel: *chameau bactrien* or 'Bactrian'—a term Pliny the Elder used in his *Naturalis historia*[62] when he discusses the dromedary.[63] Pliny is an authoritative source for Camerarius as well, who cites the Roman author in the prose commentary on emblem II, 15 'Turbata delector'—'I like it mixed up' in a wider context: A dromedary mixes up water before drinking it, another (strange) detail provided by Pliny.[64] The distich explains the icon: 'Turbat aquam sitiens cum vult haurire Camelus | sic pacem ex bellis, qui lucra foeda sitit.'—'The thirsty camel mixes up its water, when it wants to drink; so he disturbs the peace, who is thirsty for bad profit as a result of wars'. Besides, while Pliny thinks that the horse is somewhat quicker than the dromedary, Bertuch affirms that precisely the opposite is true.

For the sake of variety, the amusement of younger readers and the satisfaction of their curiosity, Bertuch treats many exotic animals, for example the giraffe.[65] In Pliny we find that remarkable mammal in VIII, 69.[66] With whales

60 Recently Bertuch's camels were used as cover illustration by Simonis A. – Simonis L. (eds.), *Kulturen des Vergleichs* (Heidelberg: 2016).

61 Vol. I, no. 65.

62 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, VIII, 67: 'Camelos inter armenta pascit oriens; quarum duo genera, Bactriae et Arabiae. Differunt, quod illae bina habent tubera in dorso, hae singula et sub pectore alterum, cui incumbant—'In the orient camels are put out to pasture together with the herds; two species exist, Bactrians and Arabians. They differ, because the first group has two humps on the back, the second one only one and another one beneath the chest, they lie upon'.

63 Vol. I, no. 1.

64 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, VIII, 68: 'Sitim et quadriduo tolerant inplenturque, cum bibendi occasio est, et in praeteritum et in futurum, obturbata proculcatione prius aqua: aliter potu non gaudent.'—'Furthermore they tolerate thirst for almost four days and fill up themselves, when the occasion to drink comes, for the time passed by and for the time to come in the same manner, mixing up the water beforehand; otherwise they do not enjoy their drink.'

65 Vol. I, no. 6. In analogy to Pliny Bertuch terms it 'Kameel-Pardel'.

66 'Nabun Aethiopes vocant; collo similem equo, pedibus et cruribus bovi, camelo capite; albis maculis rutilum colorem distinguentibus, unde appellata camelopardalis. Dictatoris Caesaris circensibus ludis primum visa Romae. Ex eo subinde cernitur, aspectu magis quam feritate conspicua, quare etiam 'ovis ferae' nomen invenit.'—'The Ethiopians call it "Nabu", with a neck like a horse, with feet and legs like a cow, with a head like a camel;

and dolphins, Bertuch is familiar as well, taking care to insert realistic pictures and to use the appropriate passages from the ninth book of the *Naturalis historia*, the famous letter IX, 33 by Pliny the Younger, and emblematic literature as his major sources.[67] Bertuch even knows about the existence of the narwhale, he quite traditionally calls 'See-Einhorn';[68] the illustration, he presents to his amazed readers, is correct;[69] it shows the characteristic protruding canine tooth which is responsible for the zoological *terminus*, the narwhale bears: *monodon monoceros*, coined by Linnaeus in 1758 and therefore recent literature for Bertuch.[70]

In fact, there is more than one structural parallel between Pliny and Bertuch; when he treats insects, he is dependent on him again, who deals with them in the eleventh book of the *Naturalis historia*. Silkworms and bees were of great importance for many authors through the centuries owing to their perfection *en miniature* and to the encomiastic, philosophical, and literary impact that was constantly attributed to those very species.[71]

Especially in the earlier instalments Pliny's disposition proves an important structural element for Bertuch; in the later books insertions became inevitable, because more species were known to the modern author: Bertuch presents some animals still extant at the end of the 18th century, which can today only

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with white dots making a contrast with the redbrown colour, and for that reason it's called "camelopardalis" (= giraffe). In the circus plays organized by the dictator Caesar, it was seen in Rome for the very first time. From then on, it was seen sometimes. It is special more because of its appearance than because of its wildness; that's why it also got the name "wild sheep"'.

67 Römer F., "Der Delphin—kein gewöhnlicher Zeitgenosse", in Kompatscher Gufler G. – Römer F. – Schreiner S. (eds.), *Partner, Freunde und Gefährten. Mensch-Tier-Beziehungen der Antike, des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit in lateinischen Texten* (Vienna: 2014) 121–138.

68 Cf. Roling B., "Der Wal als Schauobjekt: Thomas Bartholin (1616–1680), die dänische Nation und das Ende der Einhörner", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Smith P.J. (eds.), *Zoology in Early Modern Culture. Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education*, Intersections 32 (Leiden – Boston: 2014) 172–196.

69 Cf. vol. I, no. 7 and vol. II, no. 57.

70 Linné coined the name in the 10th edition of his *Systema naturae*: Caroli Linnaei *Systema naturae per regna tria naturae, secundum classes, ordines, genera, species, cum characteribus, differentiis, synonymos, locis. Editio decima, reformata* (Stockholm, Laurentius Salvius: 1758).

71 E.g. Waszink J.H., *Biene und Honig als Symbol des Dichters und der Dichtung in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Vorträge der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften G 196 (Opladen: 1974). Marco Girolamo Vida (ca. 1485–1566) even wrote two books *De bombyce*.

be found in books like *Brehms verlorenes Tierleben*,[72] e.g. the dodo. New species were being discovered, and as a scholar and a scientist, Bertuch had to react properly to such developments. Bertuch's texts and pictures presenting the big apes show this tendency clearly enough. From the evolutionary point of view, the remarkable difference between his presentation and that of the Carthaginian Hanno used by Pliny as an important source is that the ancient authors thought gorillas a very special kind of human beings.[73] In Bertuch's times, the zoologists thought the orangutan the closest relative to humankind.[74] Today we know that this place is the bonobo's, or pigmy chimp's.

Unlike Pliny Bertuch does not believe in mythical creatures or half-human, half-animal beings, but is nonetheless fond of showing some of them to children's eyes, wide with curiosity.[75] Basically, he understood the family relationships between (more or less) exotic species such as the capybara and the guinea pig[76] and between well-known ones such as the wild and the domestic donkey; *summa summarum* Bertuch knew a great deal and was not afraid to parade it. He shared his knowledge with the young generation. Adults too had the chance to learn something new by reading smaller or bigger parts of his *opus magnum*, e.g. the strange changes in the wide field of terminology: in Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia* a *dasypus* was a hare.[77] Today, in Bertuch's

72 Zeckau H. – Aermes C., *Brehms verlorenes Tierleben. Illustriertes Lexikon der ausgestorbenen Vögel und Säugetiere,* mit einem Vorwort von J.H. Reichholf, 60 Monografien aus Brehms Tierleben, 70 farbigen Bildtafeln und 3 Übersichtskarten (Frankfurt am Main: 2007, ^{2}2008).

73 The author of the *Periplus Hannonis* (= GGM. Geographici Graeci Minores I, pp. XVIII–XXXIII) terms those individuals, he did not recognize as big apes, but as exotic human beings, "gorillai". The Greek text is the source for Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* VI, 200: 'Contra hoc quoque promunturium Gorgades insulae narrantur, Gorgonum quondam domus, bidui navigatione distantes a continente, ut tradit Xenophon Lampsacenus. Penetravit in eas Hanno Poenorum imperator prodiditque hirta feminarum corpora, viros pernicitate evasisse; duarum Gorgadum cutes argumenti et miraculi gratia in Iunonis templo posuit, spectatas usque ad Carthaginem captam.'—'They say that the Gorgades-isles are located opposite that foothill, in former times the home of the Gorgones, at a two-days-distance from the continent, as Xenophon of Lampsacus tells us. Hanno, the commander of the Carthaginians, arrived there and informed the world that the female bodies were furry and the men managed to escape due to their quickness. As proof and because he regarded it as an astonishing fact he located the skins of two female Gorgades in the temple of Juno, where everybody could see them until Carthage was destroyed'.

74 Cf. vol. I, no. 8 and vol. III, no. 58.

75 Vol. I, no. 57–59.

76 Vol. II, no. 59.

77 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, VIII, 219; X, 173–174, 179 & 182; XI, 229.

times[78] and in Camerarius' emblem II, 83 'Lorica virtus'—'The shield is the virtue' it means armadillo.[79]

Conclusion

The group of authors and genres analysed in this article shows some resemblances—especially the didactic purpose, the scientific value, the literary ambitions and the importance of illustrations –, but the genres as such, the authorial intentions, and the respective target groups differ in many ways, even if some of the works can be read and understood as significant 'crossover' examples: Comenius and Bertuch primarily wrote for young readers, but were definitely studied by adults as well; instructions by a parent or a teacher made some points clearer and better understandable; some details hidden in the illustrations were interesting for early onlookers and for readers with abundant knowledge and emblematic experience given by Camerarius and other authors of emblematic collections specialised on natural history. The emblematic worldview was presented to adults in a sophisticated and learned way—and somehow simplified to children by using pictorial dictionaries, a genre with an increasing artistic value: Comenius' woodcuts, designed in simple black-and-white style and a revolutionary idea in the 17th century, were substituted by Bertuch's colourful copperplates. Both authors used the emblematic tradition spread throughout Europe for centuries for their purposes: didactics for children, while Seba used the illustrative potential of pictures for adult customers and for the promulgation of scientific progress. Ancient and modern authorities (from Pliny the Elder to Conrad Gesner) were used as important references and made deeper insight possible. Throughout the centuries terminological and scientific changes took place and were—step by step—reflected in the texts and in the pictures. The panopticum presented to the readers' and the onlookers' eyes and minds fulfilled what Comenius uttered as his greatest wish: Books on natural history accompanied and assisted by significant illustrations

78 Vol. I, no. 44.

79 Cf. Camerarius' commentary *ad locum*: 'Hispani nominant Armadillo, id est, armatum sive cataphractum, quod quasi panoplia vel armatura quadam loricata a capite usque ad pedes sit contecta.'—'The Spanish people call it "armadillo", in other words, "armed" or "armoured", because it's, so to say, by shell or armour shielded from the head to its feet.'

should always be ideal examples for lifelong learning full of pleasure and of joy, free of any torture or molestation.[80]

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80 Comenius, *Orbis sensualium pictus*, Vorrede, s.p.: 'Dieses Büchlein auf diese Art eingerichtet wird dienen, wie ich hoffe: Erstlich die Gemüter herbey zu locken, dass sie ihnen in der Schul keine Marter, sondern eitel Wollust einbilden. Dann bekandt ist, dass die Knaben (stracks von ihrer Jugend an) sich an Gemälden belüstigen und die Augen gerne an solchen Schauwerken weiden.'—'The disposition of this booklet will serve according to my hopes: firstly to attract the minds in a way that makes them see school not as torture, but as lovely joy, because everybody knows that boys (from their earliest years on) do love pictures, in other words, that their eyes do indulge in looking at spectacles of this very sort'.

aller vornemsten Welt-Dinge und Lebens-Verrichtungen Vorbildung und Benahmung (Nuremberg, Michael Endter: 1658).

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